

PLACES TO GROW

Public Libraries and Communities in Ontario 1930–2000



Lorne D. Bruce

Revised 2020

PLACES to GROW

Lorne D. Bruce

PLACES to GROW:
PUBLIC LIBRARIES and
COMMUNITIES
in ONTARIO,
1930–2000

Lorne D. Bruce

First published September 2010
Revised with corrections December 2020

Copyright © Lorne D. Bruce, 2010

ISBN 978-0-9866666-0-5

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise (except for brief passages for the purposes of review), without the prior written permission of the copyright holder.

Permission to copy should be requested from Access Copyright. Visit <https://www.accesscopyright.ca/> for more information.

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Bruce, Lorne, 1948-
Places to grow : public libraries and communities
in Ontario, 1930-2000 /
Lorne D. Bruce.

Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 978-0-9866666-0-5

1. Public libraries--Ontario--History--20th century.
I. Title.

Z735.O5B784 2010 027.471309'04 C2010-905065-7

Cover illustrations: *Front*: Fort William Public Library parade float, 1 July 1927, credit Thunder Bay Public Library. *Back*: Recruitment poster, University of Toronto Library School, 1945, credit *Ontario Library Review*, May 1945

Printed and bound at the University of Waterloo for Libraries Today

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures and Tables	i
Illustration Credits	ii
Abbreviations and Acronyms	iii
Acknowledgements	v
1. Introduction	1
2. Depression and Survival, 1930–39	11
Broader Perspectives: <i>Libraries in Canada</i>	
The Public Libraries Branch and the OLA	
Modern Methods	
Local Libraries in the Great Slump	
County Library Associations	
School Curriculum Revision and the Public Library	
The Libraries Recover	
3. War and the Home Front, 1939–45	73
Military Libraries and American Allies	
Wartime Services and Planning	
The Spirit of Reconstruction	
Peacetime Prospects	
4. Postwar Renewal, 1945–55	123
The Library in the Community	
Revised Regulations and Legislation	
Postwar Progress and the Massey Commission	
Intellectual Freedom and the Right to Read	
The Hope Commission Report, 1950	
New Media and Services	
Setting Provincial Priorities	

5. Provincial Library Planning, 1955–66	185
Library Leadership and Professionalism	
Book Selection and Censorship	
The Wallace Report, 1957	
The Provincial Library Service and Shaw Report	
The Sixties: Cultural and Societal Change	
Towards the St. John Survey and Bill 155	
6. “Many Voices, Many Solutions, Many Opinions,” 1967–75	259
The Centennial Spirit	
Reorganizing Local Government	
Schools and Libraries	
Regional and Local Roles	
Reaching New Publics and Partners	
<i>The Learning Society</i> and Cultural Affairs	
The Bowron Report	
7. Review and Reorganization, 1975–85	325
“Canadian Libraries in Their Changing Environment”	
“Entering the 80’s”	
The Programme Review	
<i>A Foundation for the Future</i>	
The Public Libraries Act, 1984	
8. The Road Ahead: <i>Libraries 2000</i>	385
New Directions and Consolidation	
Legal Obligations	
<i>One Place to Look: A Strategic Plan for the Nineties</i>	
The Information Highway	
Savings and Restructuring, the Megacity, and Bill 109	
The Millennium Arrives	
Illustrations, Figures and Tables, Index	follow 450

FIGURES and TABLES

1. FIGURES 451

Figure 1: Ontario Libraries Legislative Grants, 1920–1940

Figure 2: Library Expenditure per Capita Served in Ontario, 1920–1940

2. TABLES 453

Table 1: Half Century of Public Library Growth in Ontario to 1931

Table 2: Librarians in Canada and Ontario, 1931

Table 3: Library Cooperation with Adult Study Groups, 1935

Table 4: Cooperation between Public Libraries and Schools, 1935

Table 5: Public Libraries Summary by Status, 1931

Table 6: Public Libraries in Northern Ontario Districts, 1931

Table 7: Public Library Book Expenditures and Circulation, 1930–1939

Table 8: Juvenile Use of Public Libraries, 1940–1942

Table 9: Growth of Free Libraries, 1945–1953

Table 10: Canadian Public Libraries Comparison by Province, 1952–1954

Table 11: Provincial Library Grants, 1930–2000

Table 12: Library Service in Metropolitan Toronto, 1958

Table 13: Regional Schemes by the Province of Ontario

Table 14: Major Public Library Openings, 1960–1966

Table 15: Centennial Libraries, 1967

Table 16: Local Area Governance Studies, 1965–1974

Table 17: Major Public Library Buildings, 1968–1995

Table 18: Provincial Expenditures on Regional Libraries, 1966–1981

Table 19: Ontario Public Library Finance and Performance, 1985–1995

Table 20: Public Library Positions in Ontario 1955, 1984, and 1995

Table 21: Major Municipal Restructuring and Amalgamations after 1995

ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

- 1 Thunder Bay Public Library
- 2 Library and Archives Canada
- 3 Toronto Public Library
- 4 Hamilton Public Library
- 5 Library and Archives Canada
- 6 Orillia Public Library
- 7 York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections,
Toronto Telegram
- 8 Ontario Department of Education and Ministry of Citizenship and Culture
- 9 *OLA Focus*, Dec. 1976
- 10 Author photo
- 11 Ontario Library Association
- 12 Region of Waterloo Library
- 13 Ontario Library Association
- 14 Western Libraries, Archives and Special Collections
- 15 Hamilton Public Library
- 16 Toronto Public Library
- 17 Toronto Public Library, *Annual Report*, 1942
- 18 *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, June 1942
- 19 Ontario Dept. of Education, *Report of the Minister*, 1946
- 20 Library and Archives Canada
- 21 *Ontario Library Review*, February 1955
- 22 Huron County Library
- 23 Library and Archives Canada
- 24 Library and Archives Canada
- 25 Ontario Dept. of Education, *Report of the Minister*, 1956
- 26 Oshawa Community Museum and Archives
- 27 London Public Library
- 28 Niagara Falls Public Library
- 29 Toronto Public Library
- 30 to 31 York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special
Collections, *Toronto Telegram*
- 32 Ontario Library Association
- 33 to 39 Author photos
- 40 Blue Mountains Public Library

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ALA	American Library Association
A.L.A.	Associate of the Library Association (UK)
ALBO	Association of Library Boards of Ontario
AMO	Association of Municipalities of Ontario
AMPLO	Administrators of Medium-sized Public Libraries of Ontario
AO	Archives of Ontario
ASPLO	Administrators of Small Public Libraries of Ontario
BLS	Bachelor of Library Science degree
CARML	County and Regional Municipality Librarians
CELPLO	Chief Executives of Large Public Libraries in Ontario
CISTI	Canada Institute for Scientific and Technical Information
CLA-ACB	Canadian Library Association/Association Canadienne des Bibliothèques (1946–2016)
CLC	Canadian Library Council (1941–46)
<i>CLJ</i>	<i>Canadian Library Journal</i>
COGP	Committee on Government Productivity (1969–73)
COPSE	Commission on Post-Secondary Education [in Ontario]
CORLS	Central Ontario Regional Library System
DBS	Dominion Bureau of Statistics
DORLS	Directors of Ontario Regional Library Systems
F.L.A.	Fellow of the Library Association (UK)
ILL/ILLO	Interlibrary loan
INFO	Information Network for Ontario (1992–)
IPL/IPLO	Institute of Professional Librarians of Ontario (1958–76)
<i>JRAIC</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada</i>
LCIB	Libraries and Community Information Branch
MARC	Machine Readable Cataloguing
MCC	Ministry of Culture and Communications (1987–93)
MCU	Ministry of Colleges and Universities (1972–75)
MCZC	Ministry of Citizenship and Culture (1982–87)
MCZCR	Ministry of Citizenship Culture and Recreation (1995–2001)
MCR	Ministry of Culture and Recreation (1975–82)

MCTR	Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation (1993–95)
MLS	Master of Library Science degree
NDO	Network Development Office
OECA	Ontario Educational Communications Authority
OLA	Ontario Library Association
<i>OLR</i>	<i>Ontario Library Review</i>
OLTA	Ontario Library Trustees Association
OLS	Ontario Library Service (1985–89)
OLS-N	Ontario Library Service-North (1989–)
OPLAC	Ontario Public Librarians Advisory Committee
OPLC	Ontario Provincial Library Council
OPLIN	Ontario Public Library Information Network
OPLPR	Ontario Public Libraries Programme Review
PLS	Provincial Library Service
SDC	Ontario Public Libraries Strategic Directions Council
SOLS	Southern Ontario Library Service (1989–)
SPG	Ontario Public Library Strategic Planning Group
TPL	Toronto Public Library
TRESNET	Trent Resource Sharing Network
UTLAS	University of Toronto Library Automated Systems (1971–84)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book has required a great deal of help from many people—conscientious librarians, archivists, and experts in many areas—without whose assistance my work would not be possible. Those I want to thank especially are from the Ontario Archives, Toronto Public Library, Hamilton Public Library, London Public Library, Ottawa Public Library, and Kitchener Public Library. Many other libraries contributed valuable information and images. The document delivery people at the University of Guelph Library will be happy this project is now complete! Of course, Karen has contributed helpful comments and support in many ways throughout the entire process.

PLACES to GROW:
PUBLIC LIBRARIES and
COMMUNITIES in ONTARIO,
1930–2000

INTRODUCTION

Shortly before Canada celebrated its Diamond Jubilee of Confederation in 1927, members of the Ontario Library Association captured the outpouring of national spirit by unanimously carrying a resolution confirming they “would view with satisfaction any steps to draw into closer relations the libraries of the country generally.” Two days later, on 24 June, at the American Library Association’s (ALA) fiftieth-anniversary conference held in Toronto, a small but influential contingent of Canadian librarians agreed to support the formation of a national association.¹ These were tiny steps towards the creation of a national association of libraries that would take two decades, punctuated by depression and war, to accomplish. For Ontario’s public librarians, the ALA June 1927 conference held in Toronto signalled the ending of an era dominated by provincial and local concerns.

By Canadian standards, Ontarians were not lacking in good public libraries. By the late 1920s, free public library service had reached about two-thirds of Ontario’s population and there was a sense of permanence about the components of public library service. The modern public library that emerged after World War I in urban municipalities provided basic programs, such as children’s story hours and book nights for adults; public reference; and circulating collections for adults, adolescents, and children. Trained librarians, overwhelming female in number, worked in cities and larger towns to improve efficiency in operations and services using ideas from the field of library science. Free libraries were the norm in urban centers where leadership resided among trustees and librarian-administrators who worked at implementing economy and efficiency within a municipal framework. In the main, the public library had established itself as a beneficial civic institution and a useful cultural instrument for disseminating print resources.

There were hopeful expectations about the extension of library services to rural areas and improvements in smaller municipal settings. Generally, it was accepted knowledge across Ontario that library service varied in extent and quality. On a macro level, there were sharp disparities among Toronto; southern Ontario’s cities, towns, rural communities, and the vast northern Ontario regions. Within these three major regional groupings, service levels were also uneven. In a previous work, *Free Books for All*, I examined the fundamentally urban development of libraries from 1850 to 1930, focusing on the work of many people who helped frame the course of the public library movement’s progress in Ontario’s municipalities. The success of this

2 Places to Grow

movement in many localities had led to a generally optimistic outlook that prevailed among knowledgeable persons engaged in promoting libraries. After decades of growth, many library accomplishments served as a firm foundation to expand and build upon free library service. The Ontario Library Association's founding Secretary, Dr. Edwin Hardy, confidently conveyed a dream about a better future in his 1926 presidential address:

My dream for the Ontario of 1976, then, in a word, is a free library service for every man, woman and child in all parts of the province, central or remote, utilizing every contrivance of organization and transportation, staffed by educated men and women specially trained, adequately paid, and ranking with the other learned professions.²

Hardy's expansive concept was one that promoted modern methods in library work and the emerging profession of librarianship. He sought to "cover every portion of this province with a network of library service." Ideally, skilled staff could provide reference assistance, shelf-list new purchases, prepare public card catalogues for author/title or subject access using the Dewey classification, and circulate books using a simple book-card pocket loan system with a borrower's register book. There was confidence that libraries could demonstrate their educational value to community life and become an essential, rather than optional, service.

The Ontario free public library of the 1920s had become a standard community institution even though its legal basis lay in an enabling provincial statute. The public library was by no means universal. Its public was mostly restricted to residents of municipalities who had voted to authorize a library bylaw and tax themselves for its annual operations. A library building or equivalent quarters were a familiar occurrence in public life, often a reminder of Carnegie philanthropy or local civic self-help. Free libraries were efficient organizations operated by trained staff, many with university degrees, and a citizen board of trustees. For many decades, lay leaders had helped shape the organization and development of public library relationships amongst authors, publishers, booksellers, politicians, and the reading public within an urbanized municipal structure. Then, in the 1920s, trained librarians from the Ontario Library School and the University of Toronto assumed leadership roles by promoting the principles of managerial efficiency and professional expertise. Together, trustees and librarians carried out a service philosophy of making books free to all residents. There was a sense that library users—borrowers and book readers mostly—shared common cultural values. The task of libraries was to provide access to materials on an impartial and open basis. The Toronto Public Library (TPL) became an outstanding example of public

service in a North American context. This legacy of optional, local-based service, which dated from the earliest days of the mechanics' institutes in Upper Canada, left about one-third of Ontario unserved or with subscription libraries. For rural southern and northern areas, there was growing recognition that the county or regional library system seemed to offer the most hope for providing adequate service. Three decades of county library development in American states and England (after World War I) had been truly remarkable.

As a 'neutral gatekeeper' and supplier of cultural resources, the 'modern public library' was a potential non-partisan, non-sectarian source for beliefs, values, and actions that could influence its users and change the way people envisaged themselves. It was an active local agency.³ In many ways, this local institution's growth reflected and influenced the evolving political, social, and liberal-democratic intellectual life of the province and the nation. Beneath the surface of differentiated local development and regional disparities lay shared liberal-democratic beliefs and practices as well as a common public library service ethic. The 'public library' was an adaptable concept that trustees, citizens who agreed to participate actively in public office, or librarians, who were early advocates for an active community service approach, could refashion and extend. The first issue of the *Ontario Library Review* in 1916 carried two articles, from London and Ottawa, about the importance of library work in the community and its value to residents.⁴ In the following year, Collingwood Public Library's newspaper advertising promotion personalized the potential of contemporary community library service.

I am the storehouse of knowledge in Collingwood.

I am opportunity.

I am the continuation school for all.

I hold within myself the desires, hopes, theories, philosophies, impressions, doctrines, culture, attainments, experiences, and sciences of all ages.

I am a house of wisdom and an institution of happiness.

I am supported by the people for the people.

I offer you the opportunity to know all there is to know about your work.

I am for those who would enjoy fiction, poetry, philosophy, biography, or learn more about business, trade and science.

I have books for all tastes and needs and creeds.

I am the literary service bureau for the boys and girls.

I am free to the public to profit from and enjoy.

I am in the care of interested attendants who are willing to help you profit from me.

I open my doors as a great public mental recreation ground for your leisure hours.

4 Places to Grow

I Am The Collingwood Public Library.⁵

Within Ontario's municipal libraries, these ideas were slowly taking hold by the 1920s.

These early efforts were prescriptive and localized. By the 1920s, in Toronto, innovative librarians such as Marjorie Jarvis expanded library assistance in programming to include local dramatic productions based on community activity.⁶ After WWI, the scale of cultural and educational activity increased. National bodies, for example, the Canadian Authors Association (est. 1921), Frontier College (est. 1899), and Canadian Association for Adult Education (est. 1935), naturally allied with the library in its traditional role as a community book provider.⁷ In the Great Depression, provincial and federal funding expanded when it became evident that local governments did not have the resources to cope with social problems. Later, Canadian planners in the 1950s began to develop the concept of region as community, i.e. as part of a whole system, with regional development studies. When the Carnegie Commission of Enquiry toured Canada in 1930, its three commissioners, John Ridington, George Locke, and Mary J.L. Black, expounded on modern library thought. Their report, *Libraries in Canada*, offered a new cure for Ontario's problem of small, isolated libraries: "That remedy is co-operation—the pooling of the resources, in funds, in books and in personnel, of these little libraries into a unified regional library system, soundly financed, ably led, competently staffed, and efficiently administered."⁸ This collaborative approach was fresh political thinking, indeed for libraries and librarians.

The 1930s marked a turning point in the development of local public library services in Ontario. American and British influences had always factored into provincial library progress at the municipal level, but now there were Canadian innovations to consider: regional co-operative boards and partnerships with leaders or groups from other provinces. On a larger scale, Canada was gradually developing a national identity with shared responsibilities, a common purpose, and recognition of diversity that transcended English-Canadian culture and dominion-provincial-municipal boundaries. As modern communication systems grew, mass or popular culture thrived and revealed the complexities of how people and nations shape their multiple identities. The conception of 'public,' i.e. the community or the people as a whole, itself was expanding. For libraries, there was enquiry and concern for broader organizational improvements on a national basis accompanied by a proactive service philosophy: legislation to form larger service units; better education for librarians; improved administrative ideas and practices; and the introduction of new cultural programs and services for lifelong learning. It was an ambitious vision infused by national and

international trends, and one often contested by members within Ontario's libraries or ignored by local governing bodies that primarily funded public libraries.

Nonetheless, gradually modern methods would prevail, partly from economic necessity. National economic conditions naturally affected libraries—years of draconian cutbacks would depress library work well beyond the crash of 1929 and the great slump of the early 1930s. When a Canadian Library Association (CLA) finally organized in Hamilton in 1946, Ontario librarians, who formed the majority of members, were ready to participate in national causes and transcend parochial concerns. The Second World War had reinforced the sense that Canadians had national qualities that set them apart from their Anglo-American counterparts. After 1930, Ontario's public libraries, subject to provincial statutes, grew on a regional basis, yet they exhibited national economic, social, intellectual, and political themes that transcended provincial boundaries and administrative models. They became part of a larger Canadian framework of ideas and processes that ultimately established the public library as an integral institution on a local and regional basis from coast to coast.

The modern public library was an energetic force, a public service organization with a trained staff that promoted books and the use of its services to individuals for their self-improvement and the entire community by working with local schools, adult organizations, and national agencies. The public library and librarians of the Depression years aimed to realize a broad number of educational needs, to reach beyond local jurisdictions by cooperative activity with kindred groups. Profitable liaison took place with the Association of Canadian Bookmen (1936-39); university extension departments in Toronto, Hamilton, London, and Kingston; local service clubs, such as Rotary; Women's Institutes; branches of the Workers' Educational Association based in Toronto; and Ontario teachers' groups and school boards.⁹ Popular education for individuals moved closer to the centre of the library's essential mandate. Instead of guarding and preserving books, the 'new library' collected the best books and tried to make them useful. Variations of the familiar Anglo-American slogan, "the right book for the right reader," were invoked frequently. The Carnegie Commission put it:

So the modern public librarian came into being, with the present interpretation of library service, namely, that a library is not simply a building, nor is it a collection of books only; it is a public service, whereby the right book is brought to the right reader at the least cost, by a person who has been trained for the work.

6 Places to Grow

Where such a trained librarian is in charge of a suitable collection of books, a community has the right to expect that at least a third of the population are regular borrowers, and that five books per capita are read annually.¹⁰

Encouraging reading in a welcoming environment was necessary for success. Libraries sought tasks beyond offering collections containing high cultural uplift. High culture was still admired, of course, because it provided entertainment as well as moral and spiritual improvement, a still treasured Victorian goal of beneficial social improvement. The diffusion of popular, less edifying ideas by mass entertainment media on a national scale—radio programs, popular music, magazines, newspapers, and inexpensive recreational fiction in popular genres like detective stories—was progressively reshaping the nation's character as well as library resources and service.

A sober struggle unfolded during the lean years of the Depression over what libraries could deliver with sharply curbed revenue. As a local tax-supported local institution, the library sought new users and catered to people's needs. Popular novels, manuals for workers, non-fiction for white-collar workers seeking advancement, and current periodicals with Canadian information were necessary additions to collections. The practice of building a tailored, in-demand, ever-changing collection was emerging alongside the highbrow and middlebrow concepts of establishing enduring collections based on established popular tastes and library standards. The narrow dimensions of library work were yielding to national or universal interests that expanded the range of collections and services. In library budget allocations, the chronicle of the Whiteoaks family in Mazo de la Roche's *Jalna* series competed successfully with the refined publishing list of Graphic Publishers Ltd. (1925-32). Efficient methods developed from library science and business management would reinvigorate operations, thereby making the library a more energetic force at a time when it faced the threatening prospect of drastic Depression-era public sector cuts. When Dominion-Provincial relations came under study in the late 1930s, library submissions urged a national approach to issues beyond their ability to remedy on a local or provincial scale. At this time, few politicians of any stripe recognized library service as a cooperative activity with features familiar to communities across the entire country.

After World War II, the mantra of modernized service was successively expanded and refined, especially by the Canadian Library Association. The cultural aspects of library work, exemplified in London, became a postwar frame of reference. The 'library in the community,' a set of beliefs, themes, and norms, reinforced the modern library concept. Public library service, modified by professional leadership, politics, and technology, spread to all

corners of Ontario by the late-1970s. By 2000, libraries were knitted together to form an information system with many new publics to serve. A succession of new media augmented book collections: vinyl records, films, audiotapes, videotapes, CDs, and DVDs. Reference departments, local history sections, readers' advisory service, inter-library lending, mobile services, branch libraries, and collections of multilingual materials, talking books, and large print books became fundamental features. Storytelling, language learning, lectures, book talks, summer programs, cultural performances, art displays, outreach and extension services, and community meeting rooms became typical offerings. Widespread use of new technology and access to the Internet for provided programs and databases of information and digital content. Online discussion and social networking software allowed remote access to personal accounts and reference works using the Internet. Education and training at universities and community colleges transformed staffing. Unions challenged the traditional authority of trustees and administrators. By the end of the century, the public library had successfully transcended its traditional role as "a place to find a good book" to become one of the most frequently used community educational and recreational services. Ontario's library experience was not unique but it preserved distinctive features stemming from its history before 1930 and the evolution of the Ontario state after 1945.

The idea of the library as a beneficial cultural place—not just a space for books or other resources—open and accessible to its entire community, where social interaction and communication occurred with staff or other users, also evolved over the decades. The buoyant spirit of Second World War Reconstruction, an aspiration for systematic national planning and building better communities, took hold in libraries. The 'library in the community' became a catchphrase that spawned many ideas about architecture, collections, and social programming for groups and individuals that went beyond the distribution of books and limited programs focused on individuals. Several years after 1945, the Massey Commission duly reported that municipal public libraries were active cultural agents in their communities. As immigration to Canada intensified, as mobility improved with transportation systems, as radio and television broadcasting reached all Canadians, and as communication devices such as mobile phones multiplied the range of personal and social networking across the decades of the century, the idea of community underwent successive changes which blurred local, regional, provincial, and national distinctions. Libraries reached new communities of users in many ways. In the 1960s and 1970s, educational studies identified continuing education and lifelong learning as recognized social purposes for the public library. With the implementation of automated computer systems, the potential of networking

for cooperative projects and interloan between all types of libraries greatly expanded. The advent of the Internet in the mid-1990s further extended library services and provided a fresh rationale for the provision of information resources in an information-hungry world. By this time, the standard concept of the library's clientele current in the early twentieth century, a local municipality, had changed markedly.

Ontario's administrative entities—its cities, towns, villages, counties, and northern districts—were constant concerns of library planners following the publication of *Libraries in Canada* in 1933. Three decades later, Ontario's regional economic development plans and regional municipal reviews, accompanied by the 1960s explosion of public sector educational and cultural spending, began a process of consolidation and amalgamation that would enlarge the basis for library governance. This course also triggered a clash between different administrative perspectives to organize library service on a broader regional basis between 1966 and 1984. Further, new communities of interest constructed on language, ethnicity, age, physical condition, and shared values or identities came into prominence. The legal expansion and protection of civil and political rights accompanied this process.

In the 1970s, the fluid notion of community found a receptive home with library planners, librarians, and trustees. The idea of community centres, community organizations, or community development transformed library planning in various ways. Communities encompass multiple places. They might also be ethnocultural groups with shared interests or individuals possessing mutual identities. Accommodating a diverse plurality of groups within the idea of community was associated with the ethos of responsiveness. As a site for cultural interaction, the public library continued to evolve. There were new publics to serve with outreach services, multicultural collections, and non-traditional library programs. The library's role as a public space was expanding the traditional concepts of building style, shape, or design. Now it was becoming a standard locale for exchanges of information, personal learning, social and cultural interaction, and enrichment.

In the Ontario of 1930, people were comfortable living in a distinctive political culture with its British character, its tenacious adherence to provincial rights, and its principal role in Canada's east-west economic alignment. Steadily, the provincial role in government social policy and financing was growing at the expense of municipal powers.¹¹ Within this framework, library promoters speculated about the concept of regions as remedies to urban-rural differences or the northern-southern divide between New and Old Ontario. Local promotion, the older 'library movement,' could no longer yield substantial results on a provincial scale. By 2000, Ontario's distinctive

political culture had been transformed by Canadian national progress, globalization, neo-liberal free trade agreements, information communication technology, immigration, cultural and societal changes. It was a commonplace notion that individuals separated by geography could join shared communities, for example, a virtual community or shared language, to help make their culture and society more coherent. Now library planners worried about a 'digital divide' between the information-poor and the information-rich. Communities of place were continually evolving: after the 1970s, the Greater Toronto Area became successively larger and more complex and southern areas experimented with the 'new rural economy,' a mix of urban-rural activities with improved technological capabilities. Communities of identity and collective interest were in continual renewal. Through this process, library planning for progress—an embedded social thought at all levels of government—acknowledged the variable condition of community life and technological progress occurring in society.

In Ontario, the theme of community prospered during the twentieth century as the population swelled from 2 million to almost 12 million. Growing with the community in its various manifestations was a fundamental *raison d'être* as libraries expanded from less than a million to more than 31 million volumes. In this process, there were many new roles available for the library and librarians to undertake—to serve as an information specialist; to be a change agent; to interpret community needs for improved service; and to offer expertise in planning and group processes. During Canada's Centennial year, Ontarians would oft repeat the lyrics of the province's unofficial anthem from the 1967 Oscar-winning short film, *A Place to Stand*. This song featured a strong sense of geography and landscape with a familiar refrain that Ontario could be "a place to grow." Three decades later, in 2000, in a multicultural province infused by global connections and expansive internationalized popular culture, people's emphasis on images of scenery and permanence of physical place (or region) was naturally diminished. Difficult questions obscured Ontario's identity because a plurality of groups based on non-geographic characteristics was in ascendance. Is Ontario a separate region-state or still the heartland of Canada? Do Ontarians identify first with Canada or their province? The conceptualization of space and place was no less complicated to express in public libraries.¹² Nevertheless, the idea that Ontario is a place to grow—more than a space on the map—still resonates with the public in a networked information age. Libraries, too, are still growing, shifting their geographic boundaries, engaging plural identities, social philosophies, and innovative technologies as they continue to reinvent themselves to satisfy multiple public needs and expectations.

INTRODUCTION NOTES

1. *Proceedings of the Ontario Library Association Annual Meeting* (1927): 12 in Ontario Library Association Fonds, Archives of Ontario [hereafter AO], F 1195-4, box 6; and Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "1927: CLA born again—in Toronto?" *Felicitier* 45 (March-April 1999): 98-105, 122.

2. E.A. Hardy, "Half a Century of Retrospect and Prospect: Annual Presidential Address," *OLR* 11, no. 2 (Nov. 1926): 44.

3. See "The Old Library; the Modern Public Library," *OLR* 3, no. 3 (Feb. 1919): 53 and the following editorial on its active promotion.

4. Rev. J. T. Foley, "A Public Library Confers a Benefit on Its Whole Community," *OLR* 1, no. 1 (June 1916): 11-12; and W. J. Sykes, "Why Should a Community Support a Public Library?" *OLR* 1, no. 1 (June 1916): 4-5.

5. "I Am the Collingwood Public Library," *OLR* 2, no. 2 (Nov. 1917): 62. An earlier American version appeared in the July 1917 *Library Journal*.

6. Marjorie Jarvis, "The Librarian and Community Drama," *OLR* 9, no. 1 (June 1924): 9-13.

7. Alfred Fitzpatrick, founder of Frontier College, emphasized the role of libraries in literacy work: see his *Handbook for New Canadians* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1919), 109; and his pamphlet *Library Extension in Ontario: Travelling Libraries and Reading Camps* (Nairn Centre, Ont.? c. 1900).

8. John Ridington, Mary J. L. Black, and George H. Locke, *Libraries in Canada: A Study of Library Conditions and Needs* (Toronto and Chicago: Ryerson Press, American Library Association, 1933), 61-62.

9. For example, B. Mabel Dunham's speech to the OEA: Dunham, "The Public School and the Public Library," in Ontario Educational Association, *Proceedings of the Annual Convention, 18-21 April 1927 [66th]* (Toronto: OEA, 1927): 66-76.

10. *Libraries in Canada*, 9.

11. For this process, see Frederick F. Schindeler, *Responsible Government in Ontario* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 1969); and J.E. Hodgetts, *From Arm's Length to Hands-On: The Formative Years of Ontario's Public Service, 1867-1940* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 1995).

12. See P.J. MacKenzie, E.M. Prigoda, K. Clement, and L. McKechnie, "Behind the Program-Room Door: The Creation of Parochial and Private Women's Realms in a Canadian Public Library," in J.E. Buschman and G.J. Leckie, eds., *The Library as Place: History, Community, and Culture* (Westport, Conn.: Libraries Unlimited, 2007), 117-34, for the use of public space in an Ontario library branch. For a broader perspective see Thomas Courchene and Colin Telmer, *From Heartland to North American Regional State: The Social, Fiscal and Federal Evolution of Ontario* (Toronto: Centre for Public Management, Univ. of Toronto, 1998).

DEPRESSION AND SURVIVAL, 1930–39

Ontario in the first months of 1930 did not appear to be slipping into recession; in fact, there were signs of economic vitality. The Conservative government, returned to office in a sweeping election victory in October 1929, set to work on its election promises. Led by George Howard Ferguson, the Conservatives had proposed to extend the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway to James Bay to open new mineral areas, to decrease hydroelectric rates for rural consumers, to renumber the new provincial roads as The King's Highway, and to establish a Royal Commission to investigate public welfare. The new system of locks on the Welland Canal, built at the cost of \$120 million, opened in April to shipping between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. Year-round, fast airmail routes were now in operation connecting the United States postal services via Toronto-Buffalo and Montreal-Toronto-Detroit. The De Havilland Aircraft Company's new factory at its airfield a few miles north of Toronto in Downsview was beginning to assemble Moth airplanes and produce Gypsy engines for Canada's aviation industry. Construction on the railway viaduct along Toronto's waterfront west of Yonge Street was nearing completion to allow twelve new higher-level tracks to go into service at the Union Station. The International Nickel Company, which produced 90% of the world's nickel, opened a new refinery at Copper Cliff at a cost of \$8 million. The newly formed Ontario Research Foundation, established in 1928, was forming a library and conducting research in metallurgy, animal pathology, chemical engineering, and textiles. At the close of the Roaring Twenties, Ontarians seemed content with the province's state of affairs: minimal government intervention in the economy with balanced budgets generated mostly by revenue derived from payments by users of government services.¹

But conventional political nostrums would soon succumb to withering economic blows. After October 1929, share prices on the Toronto Stock Exchange dropped dramatically and unemployment began to rise steadily. Jobs became a crucial issue during the national election held in summer 1930. Howard Ferguson repeatedly criticized the federal Liberal government's inaction during the national campaign, but the *Toronto Globe* questioned his record in a June 28th editorial: "Then is it not reasonable to inquire whether the Government of Premier Ferguson, who has deplored so lamentably the conditions of employment, is doing anything to provide extra public work in a

distress period?” Even when federal Conservatives, under R.B. Bennett, returned to power with the promise of relief for workers, Ferguson continued to sound further warnings: “I shudder when I think what is facing us this winter,” he told a Picton crowd.² A full-scale slump was underway, one that would continue to increase in severity until the term Great Depression would be evident in many economic sectors—agriculture, finance, transportation, mining, manufacturing, construction, and international trade. Some economists believed market forces alone would provide sufficient redress. Many officials in municipal, provincial, and federal politics followed financial orthodoxy by balancing budgets and trimming costs. Not until later, as the Depression deepened into 1936, was it forcefully argued in J.M. Keynes’ *Theory of General Employment, Interest and Money*, which became the most influential economic text for the next forty years, that this course simply worsened conditions.

Ontario’s public libraries, of course, were subject to volatile markets and political adversity. They remained popular, locally supported institutions that gave a semblance of stability in troublesome times. According to the 22 April 1930 front page of the *Globe*, about a thousand people inspected Toronto’s new Central Circulating Library after its official opening ceremony on the previous evening. The latest addition was a greatly enlarged extension on the St. George Street side of the Public Reference Library, originally built with Andrew Carnegie’s generosity. At the opening, the chief librarian, Dr. George Locke, caught the tenor of the time by saying, “The motto of this and all libraries is intelligence—the education that helps to form sensible judgments founded on understanding, the kind of intelligence that makes the libraries a greater foe to Communists, and much more hated by these people, than ever the greatest police force could be.” Toronto had been the scene of violence between Communists and police in July and August 1929, and Locke took the opportunity to declare that libraries stood for sound judgment, an agency for citizens to withstand “Red activities” which authorities, including Ontario’s Conservative government, felt threatened democracy. Good citizenship, in its conventional liberal political manifestation, was a quality that libraries could encourage with open access to free thought.

Locke would return to this theme in the 1930s from time to time—expanding it to include the ‘isms’ of socialism and fascism that were intruding on Canadian life—to emphasize the library’s traditional democratic role in the provision of educative reading materials to an informed citizenry.³ Canon Henry J. Cody, chair of the University of Toronto Board of Governors, was more welcoming. He developed a theme on adult education and hoped that as more people moved to the five-day workweek, they would use their leisure

time wisely at the library. In his view, the public library constituted a recreational and educational resource that could enrich citizens' lives: "But what I want to point out is the fact that a city would not be a really progressive city if it neglected the things of the mind and soul."⁴ Ontario was gradually becoming more enlightened: in 1927, Premier Ferguson had ended both the prohibition of alcohol and the limits on French instruction in French-language Catholic separate schools. Together, Locke and Cody also realized libraries had traditional roles to fulfill, yet it was important to look to the future.

Broader Perspectives: *Libraries in Canada*

On the national stage, change also was unfolding. Canada had celebrated its sixtieth jubilee of Confederation in 1927, a senior Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations striving for a clear sense of its nationalism. Diplomacy was ongoing to achieve legal independent sovereign status through the Statute of Westminster in 1931. Now, the governor-general would be the personal representative of Canada's monarch, and native-born or naturalized citizens living in Canada would continue to be British subjects. Not until 1947 would Canada's Parliament create 'Canadian citizens' and enact provisions to qualify for citizenship.⁵ Many people realized Canada was a young country in search of its identity. In the 1920s, the Group of Seven formed a distinctive school of Canadian landscape art and the *Canadian Forum* reflected on culture and politics with a left-leaning nationalist perspective. In the library field, although there were sporadic appeals for a National Library and repeated efforts in the late 1920s to establish a national association of libraries and librarians, neither goal was achieved. Fortunately, the Carnegie Corporation, a supportive American ally of libraries in Canada, approved in April 1930 the expenditure of \$10,000 to conduct a comprehensive survey of Canadian libraries. John Ridington, chief librarian at the University of British Columbia, became chair with two Ontarians, George Locke and Mary Black (Fort William), as commissioners. It would be the task of this Commission of Enquiry to investigate and publish a report on the state of Canadian libraries, a daunting assignment by any measure. The Commission was a landmark national study in the elucidation of what constituted Canadian library service and its progress from coast to coast.

At a meeting of the American Library Association held in Los Angeles in June 1930, the three commissioners agreed upon their responsibilities and commenced work in July. Over the next three months, they traveled and worked diligently, finishing their cross-Canada tour by October. They began drafting text in early 1931 but their final report did not appear until spring

1933, a point when economic conditions virtually precluded any action on the part of local, provincial, or dominion governments. For Ontario, the Report's conclusions and recommendations would surprise many. The twenties had been a time of growth, and it was reasonable to assume that Ontario's nationwide leadership role would continue. A roseate view of Ontario's public library progress was commonplace. The columnist, A. Raymond Mullens, wrote in *Maclean's* that it was a province where enthusiastic communities could turn "lock-ups [a converted jail on St. Joseph's Island] into libraries."⁶ A knowledgeable few recognized there was ample room for improvement.

The commissioners' work followed the humanist tradition: at an early point, Ridington opined, "The prospect of going over scores, perhaps hundreds, of questionnaires simply appals me."⁷ They did not refer to any extent to published statistical abstracts, although the Dominion of Bureau of Statistics published biennial library reports, nor did they prepare a survey instrument. They were certainly aware of such resources, but theirs was a predictable, subjective overview based on their own experience and observations at a time when social science methods in Canada were merely stirring. Mary Black told Ontario Library Association (OLA) conference delegates in April 1931 that "Ours was a pilgrimage for information, and that was sought from as many different sources and angles as possible. We could not hope to visit all libraries, but we did try to get as complete a cross section as possible by visiting libraries of all sizes and types."⁸ The Ontario chapter of *Libraries in Canada* illustrates this clearly and gives a summary. "The city libraries of Ontario are decidedly above the average—very fine work being done in most of them, but with the Toronto Public Library far in the lead."⁹ Indeed, Toronto was a model to be emulated: its personnel were highly educated and had formed a staff association, it possessed a renowned reference collection, an up-to-date charging system, separate boys and girls quarters, a business and technical library, readers' advisory service, and an outstanding central library with branch libraries throughout Toronto's neighbourhoods. "When the time comes that a Regional Library is organized with Toronto as a centre, librarians are assured it will be worth taking a long journey to see" (p. 50).

The commissions reported that other city and town libraries were doing excellent work in their own right:

- London: "... has always been known for its splendid work with adults."
- Windsor: "...the first readers' guide to Canadian periodical literature."
- Hamilton: "...specializes in her business and trade library."
- Ottawa: "There is probably no other library in the world that

carries on its English and French work side by side to the same extent.”

- Kitchener: “...the second language is German. This library is noted for its fine collection of clippings, pictures, and lantern slides...”
- Kingston: “...to see a fine, educated staff doing excellent work (at less than one-half the salaries they should be paid)...”
- Fort William and Port Arthur: “Theirs is not a bi-lingual, but a multi-lingual problem. Already they are doing extensive work in the outlying districts.”
- Sarnia: “...has already extended her influence out into the country, is all ready to co-operate and to lead in the organization of a county library.” (p. 50-51)

However, despite their satisfaction, the three surveyors pointed to the need for improvement and new service structures. They estimated that a minimum-sized Canadian community of 3,000 people supporting its library with \$1.00 per capita—\$3,000 total for all operating expenditures—would be necessary for realistic service (p. 10). Just more than fifty Ontario libraries met this minimum threshold in 1931.

Planning for larger centralized library schemes was a requisite for future development. The multiplication of smaller association public libraries with minuscule revenue, untrained staff, and modest collections was not a recipe for success.

Thus Ontario’s boast has now become its problem. The next forward step in library work in Ontario is to make such plans as will render possible the grouping of libraries, either in counties or in districts, to centralize book selection, and distribute efforts in such a way that all living in any district, whether in an organized municipality or not, may have the advantage of all the books in that county or district. (p. 53-54)

Two administrative structures advocated by the commissioners were groupings of libraries within counties and amalgamation or a combination of libraries around convenient, larger regional library centres. The report suggested a regional demonstration in the District of Thunder Bay, with Fort William and Port Arthur as the main libraries, or in northeastern Ontario with Haileybury or Cobalt as the focal points. In southern Ontario, county systems, similar to the American or U.K. experience, were the best course. Popular provincially funded travelling libraries, the small boxes of books shipped to libraries and community groups, could supplement the county work.

The report recommended a plan of action: “The immediate need is for a thorough study of the situation in its social and economic relations by an

interested, enthusiastic, and practical person who will conduct the social experiment with the same care and interest as would a man a problem in a laboratory” (p. 54). The obvious agency possessing the financial resources and leadership to carry out such a study was the Public Libraries Branch of the Department of Education. Although its primary role was the oversight of legislation and grants, the branch did offer assistance to libraries and librarians across the province. Already, its former director, William O. Carson, had previously identified the need for county library systems in his 1928 report to the Minister of Education concerning the “rural library problem.”¹⁰ Unfortunately, Carson, who had been Inspector of Libraries for more than a decade, fell ill and died unexpectedly in September 1929. Samuel B. Herbert, a long-time official who started work in the library branch as far back as 1911, stepped in as acting head for almost three years until summer 1932.

Ontario seemed well placed for advancement. Under the aegis of William O. Carson, a completely revised library act had appeared in 1920. The Department of Education distributed the quarterly *Ontario Library Review and Book Selection Guide* to all corners of the province. The Ontario Library School, sufficient to educate and train about thirty students each fall, had become a one-year academic program at the Ontario College of Education by arrangement with the University of Toronto in September 1928, under the skillful directorship of Winifred Glen Barnstead.¹¹ The commissioners noted Carson’s successor, Frederick Cecil Jennings, who began his official duties in July 1932, intended to expand educational training to introduce certification of librarians in larger municipalities. While the one-year diploma program at Toronto (requiring minimum high-school matriculation for entry) suited larger libraries, the need in smaller towns and villages was more rudimentary. Shorter courses, especially in the summer, followed by subsequent advanced training, would help ‘local girls,’ who were often employed by libraries in smaller communities, to attain a higher level of proficiency. Inspector Jennings also supported the formation of countywide library services where persistent efforts could overcome local autonomy and succeed in establishing co-operative exchanges. “The newly-appointed Inspector of Libraries could not more auspiciously inaugurate his term of office than by convincing the provincial government that such projects are the next and immediate forward steps in the province’s library progress, and by doing everything in his own official power to make them successful.” (p. 62)

Ridington, Locke, and Black briefly dealt with library legislation in their report. In their view, the Ontario Act, issued in 1920 (10 George V, chap. 69) during the Farmer-Labour coalition that held sway at Queen’s Park under Ernest C. Drury, needed a few additions and revisions to become a model.¹²

Foremost, the Inspector of Libraries would require support. For this reason, the report resorted to a topic dear to the hearts of many library commentators.

It is probably that his hands could be greatly strengthened if he were supported by a Library Commission, consisting of unpaid but interested laymen. This Commission should not be made up of *ex-officio* members, nor of people in the employ of the government. It should consist of influential men and women, qualified to promote library development because of their known interest in public affairs. Appointment should be entirely divorced from any political connection. (p. 133)

A commission was not a new idea. Library commissions in American states were commonplace, and a provincial one was active in British Columbia. The Ontario Library Association had pressed for such an organization as early as 1902 without success.¹³ The three authors stressed the need to require library boards to employ trained workers (skirting the thorny issue of certification), to enact county and regional library legislative provisions, and to empower boards to obtain funds to reach a required minimum of service. Provincial grants should be based on “service rendered” and directed to modern methods, not outmoded smaller ad hoc library operations.

The Ridington report contained many excellent ideas. Mary Black concluded one speech about urban and rural disparities with a rousing motto “Equal library opportunities for all a national necessity!”¹⁴ John Ridington eloquently voiced support for a permanent national library association and library expansion in Canada on a national radio broadcast during the American Library Association convention held at Montreal in summer 1934:

In the transition period, from the present to whatever changes Canada may decide for in the future, the safeguard of the Dominion must be the sober, common sense, the education of its citizenry. To achieve this, the library must assume an ever-increasing importance in the Canadian scheme of things. At present, we give it far too little.¹⁵

But the report’s observations and proposals often fell on deaf ears, librarians and trustees included. For the most part, other matters absorbed Ontario’s provincial education administrators. F.C. Jennings, for one, made no mention of *Libraries in Canada* in his annual reports to his superior, the Minister of Education, between 1932 and 1935.

The Public Libraries Branch and the OLA

Given the economic circumstances after the disastrous crash of 1929, F.C.

Jennings and the small staff he supervised at Queen's Park faced a demanding challenge to implement any part of the Commission's program. Indeed, one of Jennings' first tasks as Inspector was to resume publishing the *Ontario Library Review* by establishing it on a subscription basis after the Conservative government's austerity measures resulted in its suspension shortly before his appointment. Another predicament Jennings inherited was a draconian cut in grants made in February 1932 when the education department reduced its transfers, based on book purchases, by half, from \$200 expenditure to \$100 for each library. This economy measure was estimated to save approximately \$10,000 annually;¹⁶ in fact, it reduced provincial grants by almost 35% because libraries were unable to sustain new book purchases when their local revenues from municipal sources also fell (See Figure 1: Ontario Libraries Legislative Grants, 1920–1940).

The period 1932–35 witnessed the Depression's bleakest days. Insightful proposals in the Ridington report, such as merging the government's travelling libraries into "a Central Loan Library, from which the public libraries throughout the province could borrow the costly book, or the book not sufficiently in demand to warrant purchase in the local library" or creation of a "Union Catalogue of all the larger libraries in the province, so that Ontario's total book resources might be put at the service of any student," were unattainable (p. 60). Oftentimes, the Inspector had to justify the status quo or defend the statutory power regarding the appropriation of books from smaller closed libraries and their redistribution to local operating libraries or public schools: "books in a closed library are of no value to anyone, the Department desires to place them where they will circulate."¹⁷

Despite these adversities, Jennings took measured steps forward. To halt the decline in the legislative grant to libraries based on reduced book expenditures, the Inspector successfully amended departmental regulations in May 1933. The changes included a \$50 grant-in-aid to eligible main and branch libraries in municipalities less than 100,000 that employed a librarian or assistant holding a diploma from the Ontario Library School or its equivalent. County library projects, such as the successful book distribution system in Lambton that originated in May 1931, prior to the release of *Libraries in Canada*, were promoted as cooperative efforts with limited funding. The current *Public Libraries Act*, section 79, allowed provincial aid authorized by the Minister of Education, George S. Henry, for "experimenting in the interest of new and improved library methods." Lambton applied, of course, but it did not receive funds until an amending regulation in January 1933 included county associations.¹⁸ These cooperative efforts were the first step towards systematic county schemes because they promoted member

participation, joint action, and concern for community advancement.

In place of the thoroughgoing provincial study advocated by the Ridington Report, Jennings personally resorted to visiting practically every one of the five hundred libraries operating in Ontario (in some cases twice) in two years, 1932-34. On the railway coach and in his motor car, the Inspector had many hours to ponder the divide between emerging professional British and American library standards that stated communities of less than 20,000 normally could not provide efficient library service. This guideline would exclude all but 16 of Ontario's 467 municipalities. It was a tour where rhetoric gave way to reality. The free library in Sudbury, a city of 17,500, held only 6,000 books. It was in crowded quarters on the top floor of the C.P.R. Telegraph building and employed no formally trained staff. Jennings judged it "one of the poorest in the province."¹⁹ When the Inspector presented a condensation of all his findings in his annual reports, it made sober reading.

F.C. Jennings addressed several issues that amplified the statements (and sentiments) made by Ridington, Locke, and Black.²⁰ With few exceptions, finances were inadequate. The Ontario statutory municipal free library minimum rate was 50 cents per capita but the ALA recommended \$1.00. Even 50 cents per capita was not attainable by many boards due to public indifference, opposition from parsimonious councils, and reluctance on the part of trustees to press their legal rights. Inadequate revenue was a severe handicap:

This entails low salary, or salaries, and makes it impossible for the Board to secure a sufficiently competent or numerous staff; it is impossible also to keep the shelves supplied with fresh, up-to-date reading matter. In consequence, public interest declines; thus the difficulty of securing finances is aggravated, and the vicious circle is completed. (1934, p. 79)

In 27 cities, library appropriations exceeded fifty cents in 6 places, equalled it in 3, and were below in 18. Jennings concluded, "The supposition that all library authorities cherish a desire for progress must be qualified" in his 1935 report. He also observed that many boards did not meet monthly despite this statutory requirement (one board had not met since 1922!). A few boards did not maintain minute books, and some treasurers did not keep cash books. Board practices and policies concerning personnel were undeveloped for the most part, e.g. because superannuation schedules or salary scales were nonexistent, elderly staff had no recourse but to continue working. Qualified personnel was a particular need: "With an efficient library school graduating annually from 40 to 50 trained librarians, it is difficult to appreciate the wisdom shown by boards, in larger centres at least, in continuing to engage

unqualified, untrained personnel to administer their library services” (1934, p. 84). The Inspector respectfully suggested that long-serving “key” trustees should decline additional executive duties and consider recruiting younger members to administer and invigorate boards with current ideas.

F.C. Jennings habitually emphasized the need for trained staff on his visits. In small operations, a proficient librarian could make a vital difference. Reference work and readers’ advisory service was a case in point: success could be achieved with limited well-chosen non-fiction, periodicals, and reading lists for individuals and the public. Juvenile book sections and programs, such as story hours, were often wanting.

The result of neglecting children’s work is what might have been foreseen: the adult readers of past generations, for whose benefit the library stock was almost entirely selected ... have passed away; the Juvenile readers have meantime grown to maturity, without having become acquainted with the library. Consequently, many adults of the present generation feel no interest or enthusiasm for the library, and decline to give it their support. (1934, p. 78)

There were many sources for library advice. The Toronto Public Library’s boys and girls work stood as a model for others to emulate. Boys’ and Girls’ House was a frequent stop-off for travelling librarians and an acknowledged leader in children’s service across North America and Great Britain.²¹ TPL’s *Books for Boys and Girls*, edited by Lillian Smith, first appeared in 1927 with a 1932 supplement and the library often published shorter lists that were readily available for selection purposes. Well-selected circulating book collections were at the heart of the library’s activities. “Though a few boards still give cheapness the first consideration,” Jennings felt by 1935 that more attention to quality was bringing results (1935, p. 45). Non-fiction, such as sociology, economics, and politics, was generally more in demand. Most people recognized that a ‘good’ fiction section could promote cultivated tastes and support the ‘step-ladder’ theory of readership. Ontario’s departmental regulations limited the percentage of fiction that public libraries could purchase. William J. Sykes, Ottawa’s chief librarian, was a staunch defender of fiction reading; but only budgeted 20-25 percent for this purpose.²²

The Inspector reported some satisfaction with library accommodations. The older Carnegie libraries, mostly three decades old, were adequate despite the failure to furnish the annual upkeep of ten percent of the original grant value.

Many, especially in the larger centres, are points of outstanding civic interest. Some can be rendered much more convenient for modern conditions by interior alterations,

since they were erected at a time when open access to the shelves was not permitted. In consequence, the interior is filled with numerous useless partitions and railings, most of which could be removed without structural damage. (1934, p. 79)

Although the aura of Graeco-Roman intellectual ancestry conveyed by exterior ornamentation might deter some users, Carnegie library interiors still presented opportunities for good quality service. The chief drawbacks to Carnegie buildings in Ontario were their main entry stairways, inadequate overall size for local populations, insufficient lighting, and enclosed rooms that intruded on open floor space.²³ But in a decade of austerity, building design became a moot point—the contemporary erection of new buildings or additions had virtually ceased. Overall, the Inspector laboured mightily to remedy things during his two-year tour. Despite obvious difficulties presented by the Depression, Jennings began to sound a few optimistic notes in his 1935 report about the elimination of obsolete volumes; better record keeping through shelf-lists and card systems of charging books; cooperative projects in some southern counties; and the beneficial impact of revised provincial regulations regarding staff.

The agenda for progress Jennings charted repeated the counsel issued by *Libraries in Canada*. The interest of juveniles was essential because future library advancement depended on nurturing the value of reading. Cooperation with schools and teachers could eliminate duplication and strengthen the work of each. The provision of books to hospital patients, especially recreational reading, was another avenue to pursue. Jennings suggested an amendment to provide for additional cash grants to boards employing fully qualified librarians and a regulation to limit appointments to certified librarians or assistants in towns and a few villages in excess of 5,000. By far, “The permanent solution of province-wide library service would appear to be organization by counties, or by regions (including two or more counties or districts)” (1934, p. 84). Consolidation of weak, autonomous libraries into better-financed and directed associations already had proven its value in Lambton and Middlesex counties. Prospects for similar groupings in the future were, for the moment, bright.

In terms of marshalling support, the Ontario Library Association, about three hundred members strong, could be an effective ally. The annual OLA meetings offered a forum to present ideas, confirm support, propose changes, and receive publicity for library concerns. Between 1930 and 1936, Mary Black, George Locke, and F.C. Jennings addressed OLA delegates several times about the potential of library service. “County Libraries Urged for

Ontario,” reported Toronto’s *Globe* on 30 March at OLA’s 1932 meeting. The 1933 session was well-publicized, and Jennings’ address on the future of library service was summarized in part:

In the new order of libraries, the towns and villages would own regional book stations, and, working in co-operation with the Canadian radio stations, the man in the country would be as well posted as any in the city, the speaker averred. The problem of making use of the leisure time which now approaches the ordinary citizen after years of struggle in building and perfecting the machine age, the library will take its appointed place and will not be classed in the village mind with the ice-cream parlor or the refreshment stand,²⁴

When Jessie L. Beattie, the director of rural recreation for the Community Welfare Council, addressed delegates in 1935, the news headline “Go into County” stated the obvious.²⁵ A year later, “County Library Centre Sought” was the *Globe*’s 15 April 1936 reaction to OLA’s conference resolution on county library organization.

During these years, the OLA itself was evolving into a more heterogeneous organization with broader goals. Librarians outnumbered trustees and OLA’s executive, especially the presidency, naturally reflected this reality. Trustee influence, the dominant lay component of the “public library movement” for many decades, was rapidly waning. Many delegates attended to express their ideas at special round table discussions that included Lending Libraries, College and Reference, School Libraries, and Boys’ and Girls’ work. High school libraries were particularly eager to organize more effectively in the early part of the 1930s.²⁶ In April 1935, the OLA accepted the School and Intermediate Libraries as an official Section for school and public librarians. Jean L. Merchant, one of its leaders from the Toronto Normal School, was actively teaching a course on school libraries at the Library School. OLA’s executive officers were also trying to devote more time to library development, less to conference preparations. Previously, in 1932, OLA’s executive and councillors had established a committee to review the Public Libraries Act, which led, in 1936, to a resolution to provide for county library association legislation. When F.C. Jennings added a \$50 grant to employ a trained librarian, OLA petitioned the Minister of Education in 1935 to introduce legislation for the certification of librarians, especially for towns and cities above 5,000. The plan included the creation of a departmental committee of five persons to scrutinize all candidates who had completed work at the Library School in Toronto or another acceptable library school of good standing. Ministerial certification would improve qualifications, help eliminate

local “political” appointments, and perhaps bestow a higher status on librarians.

Other library associations were beginning to represent the interests of librarians in various ways. The Ontario Regional Group of Cataloguers, formed at the American Library Association’s 1927 Toronto convention as part of ALA’s cataloging section, regularly met at the same time and location as OLA’s spring convention. This group, originally numbering forty members, emphasized improving the description and classification of books.²⁷ The Library Association of Ottawa was a regional body. Together with the Library Group in the Professional Institute of the Civil Service (est. 1920), the LAO helped represent librarian interests in the nation’s capital. It helped prepare the conference program in advance of the 1937 OLA convention held at Ottawa in conjunction with the Quebec Library Association and Montreal Special Libraries Association. In many ways, this successful 1937 conference, the first full-scale one OLA held outside Toronto, was the precursor for a bigger 1939 meeting of eastern Canadian libraries hosted in Montreal and, ultimately, national conferences following the Second World War.

By the mid-1930s, it was apparent that OLA’s focus was progressively shifting toward issues that its leadership advocated concerning the organization of services and provincial or national concerns. Library administrators, especially in Toronto, recognized that the ethnic composition of their communities was changing despite a restrictive federal policy. Ontario had long been an Anglo-Saxon bastion: the 1931 census recorded its population as 74% British origin, 24.4% European, 0.4% Asiatic, 0.9% Indian and Eskimo, and 0.3% “other.” Moreover, the majority, 90.2%, spoke English; 1.9% spoke French, 6.4% spoke both, and 1.5% spoke neither. The assimilation of New Canadians was a standard notion infused by British conventions with tacit recognition of foreign potential contributions to the national character. As early as 1929, after the appearance of a short piece on Mary Black’s library immigrant work at Fort William in Kate Foster’s *Our Canadian Mosaic*,²⁸ the OLA established a committee to select a “list of suitable books” to introduce foreign-born library users to Canadian languages, laws, institutions, and ideas. The committee members, led by Lurene (McDonald) Lyle, Hamilton’s chief librarian, struggled for two years but reported in 1931 with a shortlist, admittedly with a sense that there were many matters that existing Canadian titles failed to address acceptably.²⁹ Fort William was unique in providing services to a large ethnic population that included many Polish, Finnish, and Ukrainian immigrants. Libraries in the thirties, even larger ones such as Windsor, often were unable to supply materials even upon request from local groups, such as the Lebanese Canadian Club, which desired to have books in

Arabic for immigrant families.³⁰

Modern Methods

Although the Commission of Enquiry and the Department of Education had found Ontario's library services wanting in many instances, statistical evidence indicated that public libraries, Free and Association, had established deep roots across the province. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics analyzed the growth of libraries in the province on the fiftieth anniversary of the passing of the Free Libraries Act, 1882. Using per capita figures, the DBS reported that there had been a steady increase in volumes, circulation, and expenditure (Table 1: Half Century of Public Library Growth in Ontario to 1931). Despite the effects of the economic slump

The reported expenditure for books has risen from one cent to eight cents per capita, and the total expenditure from five cents to thirty-nine cents, indicating that the cost per book circulated is lower in recent years,—much lower if the changed value of the dollar is considered. This in turn is probably related to the fact that the rate of circulation per volume has been doubled.³¹

For the 1931 *Survey of Libraries*, DBS analyzed library returns and calculated that 62.8% (2,156,363) of Ontario's census population, 3,431,700, was served by libraries. Using the same Ontario population total and statistics from the Dept. of Education's annual report, I previously distributed the population served on a county-by-county basis and calculated that 63.1% (2,163,625) were served.³² Thus, about 1.2 million Ontarians were without library service in 1931, higher than Inspector W.O. Carson's oft-quoted 900,000 people, but below Mary Black's observation that the inspector's total could easily be doubled.

Compared to other Canadian provinces and American states, Ontario was well off: DBS ranked it twenty-first in terms of circulation per capita (4.1) in its 1935 library survey, behind California (9.1), Massachusetts (7.8), New York (4.3), Ohio (5.0), and Michigan (4.4), and leading all Canadian provinces. According to DBS, in 1935 there were 814,329 registered library borrowers or about 23% of 3,575,000 Ontarians.³³ Thus, the situation was not entirely gloomy. Outside of cities and towns—in the growing suburbs around Toronto and other larger cities; in more progressive rural townships in southern counties; and a few sparsely settled northern districts—some libraries could form the basis of shared systems and deliver books and services with trained staff.

Optimism could prevail because many public libraries possessed a small nucleus of trained librarians. University educated women were chiefly attracted to library training because it was known as a profession for single women. Women usually resigned when they married. For the DBS Canadian 1931 census, almost 88% of the total female librarians (806) were single (709), and widowed/divorced women outnumbered married women 67 to 30. In Toronto, a contemporary remarked on the overwhelming number of female graduates:

In the main, however, librarianship is increasingly becoming a woman's profession, because the particular qualities needed for the successful pursuit of this work are the ones which are regarded as peculiarly feminine attributes, such as sympathy, intuition, patience in research, thoroughness in detail, and a tendency to stress the human side of library work. It is considered a rare thing for a man to enter a library training school as a student, nor, when he does, is he able to compete with the women students, as a general rule.³⁴

The 1931 census data revealed Ontario had just more than 60% of persons listed under professional services as "librarians." The overwhelming majority, about 85 percent, was female (see Table 2: Librarians in Canada and Ontario, 1931). There were some opportunities for advancement. For 1933, DBS reported that 43 of 186 reporting Ontario public libraries employed 261 of the Canadian total 328 library school graduates with a total of 595 librarians and library assistants (891 for all Canada). Of course, Toronto accounted for the lion's share of those trained (140). For 1935, DBS reported 23 female chief librarians in Ontario's 28 cities. In sum, there were about a hundred trained librarians outside Toronto working in southern counties and the northern stretches. As well, it was customary for smaller libraries to provide basic services by employing trained or untrained women who wanted to remain in their hometown.

Local satisfaction with library service regularly revolved around pride in buildings, part of the legacy of Carnegie building, and relationships with local organizations and groups—schools, clubs, associations, and companies—that formed the basis of community life across the province. Local libraries certainly were not socially moribund. The 1935 DBS survey included information on how libraries were working with study clubs and it showed that at least fifty libraries, many in the small population category, were active enough to report their undertakings. A summary of work with adult study groups appears in Table 3: Library Cooperation with Adult Study Groups, 1935. Generally, libraries were giving assistance and direction to adult education activities. It was an area of growth brought to the fore in the mid-

1920s when Inspector Carson included a Canadian section in the American Library Association's landmark 1926 study, *Libraries and Adult Education*, and a chapter on Canadian books in the *Handbook of Canada* published in 1924.³⁵ Carson also suggested closer programming ties between libraries and the Ontario Motion Picture Bureau, formed in 1917 to create silent films and distribute them for educative purposes. It produced programs for evening entertainment, such as "Royal Remembrance," which featured events such as Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee and young Princess Elizabeth waving to crowds outside Buckingham Palace.³⁶ Unfortunately, this union ended summarily—the film bureau closed in 1934 as a cost-saving measure.

The basis for community interaction was a new philosophy that Ontario libraries accepted after the First World War. The OLA under its respective presidents, the Public Libraries Branch under Inspector Carson, TPL under George Locke's admirable charge, and the pages of the *Ontario Library Review* all undertook to modify the thinking and practices of librarians, trustees, and library users by instilling the idea of "modern methods." Simply put, the modern public library had to be an energetic influence that promoted books and the use of its services to the entire community by working with adult organizations, schools, and other agencies.³⁷ It was an outward-looking viewpoint seeking to promote its ambitious agenda of individual self-advancement, and, during the 1920s, the concept gradually touched most areas of the province. Students at the Ontario Library School sessions at TPL had many opportunities to witness, first hand, a world-class library putting modern schemes into practice. At the OLA's annual Easter meetings in Toronto, speakers touted new ideas to encourage adult education work by adopting an educational role. Inspector Carson and his staff carried out periodic inspections across the province and urged trustees to inject new ideas into their local libraries to make them more efficient. In rural areas, Carson advocated active cooperation with Women's Institutes; by 1930, more than fifty libraries were receiving assistance from this vibrant community group.³⁸

The *Ontario Library Review* became a vital communication link to impart new ideas. From its February issue in 1919, which trumpeted "The Modern Public Library," through the turbulent years of the twenties and thirties, it became a constant source for fresh thoughts. Accessible education for individuals and community interests was the library's basic service mandate. In place of guarding and preserving books, the new library was a place for collecting the best books and making them useful. It must seek to place the right book into the hands of every reader, not serve the bookish few. Programs and collections for children with storytimes and guided reading—not restrictive age limits or exclusion—were central to library work. The librarian

with a friendly disposition and an aptitude to guide reading was necessary for success: a missionary spirit—the library spirit—should prevail to seek out users.³⁹ As a tax-supported local institution, the library had to respond to the needs of people and provide free and open access to its bookshelves. More efficient organizational principles, ones developed from the theory and practice of library science, would replace outdated techniques held over from the previous century. Most importantly, the library must be an active force, not a passive one, otherwise, it faced the prospect of declining public support.

To achieve the inspirational rhetoric underlying this plan for change, library services had to expand and improve on various fronts. Circulating all types of books to users was fundamental. Open access to shelves and lending books for home study required knowledgeable staff to encourage the use of collections if readers were to receive the best books for their expressed needs. To promote Canadian issues and authors, the Toronto Public Library and the Public Libraries Branch began issuing the annual, *Canadian Catalogue of Books Published in Canada*, an essential national bibliographic tool for libraries and booksellers from its inception in 1923 until 1950. This phase extended to recreational reading as well. Debates concerning the “fiction question” were now less passionate than at the start of the twentieth century. The time had long passed when novels could be denied a place on library shelves and their readers disparaged. Normally, librarians chose books on a systematic basis using standard reviewing periodicals, not the recommendations of booksellers or promotional flyers.

Modern library methods embraced a broad spectrum of ideas and services. One innovative approach, readers’ advisory service, first taught at the Ontario Library School as an ancillary part of the course on circulating libraries,⁴⁰ sought to recommend titles—mostly non-fiction—to individual readers who asked for assistance. It proved to be valuable in larger centres, like Hamilton, where better assistance could be offered. In smaller centres, like Campbellford, it was often an informal, more personal basis.⁴¹ It would continue as a central role in library work into the next century. Readers’ advisory service would alter its methods after the 1930s, of course, by adding some ‘light reading’ and stressing personal literacy rather than adult education and didactic assistance. A children’s section with fiction and non-fiction complemented by story hours for smaller children was another essential ingredient in librarianship. Librarians generally agreed that there was a need for maintenance of high standards: series books featuring Nancy Drew, Tom Swift, and the Hardy Boys were not welcome. Children’s librarians often heeded the advice of a former Calgary librarian who had written about the growth of Canadian children’s literature; in brief, she deplored the series

genre.⁴² Books in adult and children's sections were catalogued and analyzed using the Dewey Decimal classification with standardized rules to make library contents more accessible. Library accommodation, perhaps a Carnegie or more modern design, such as Toronto's Runnymede branch opened in December 1929, should be attractive and adapted to meet practical considerations, i.e. open access to shelves, space for children's work, reading rooms, and study space to browse newspapers and periodicals. Finally, qualified staff and librarians were chief factors in the success of the entire enterprise. A few city libraries might employ departmental specialists. Smaller libraries might only have one librarian to perform all duties. Inspector W.O. Carson's dictum that "three-fourth of the success of a library depends upon the librarian" was an oft-repeated phrase after WWI.

The progressive nature of library service and changing living conditions resulted in new ventures, especially in rural areas where service levels sometimes were deficient. In 1928, the council of the suburban township of Stamford, which surrounded Niagara Falls, entered negotiations to pay a lump sum for library service at the central Carnegie library, the smaller Drummond Hill branch, and deposits in township schools.⁴³ Of course, inadequate facilities in smaller communities hampered steadfast efforts to establish collections or programs. Yet, there existed well-publicized examples of proper management in the late 1920s that demonstrated determined trustees could raise capital funds to erect new buildings and provide well-organized collections:

- Tobermory's (pop. 400) log and stone cabin in the centre of the village, a gift Henry E. Bodman and Harlow N. Davock, both of Detroit;
- Wellington's (pop. 900) \$18,000 gift by the benefactor Dr. Parry D. Saylor; and
- Marmora's (pop. 1,000) memorial community centre was erected by the municipality to honour war service.

Tiny Agincourt (pop. 500) to the north of Toronto led the way in resourcefulness. "Earnest and intelligent effort and self-reliance" and not "outside help or a fairy godfather" was the key to success at Agincourt where the library board was as proud of its building as its books: "what a mistake it is to under-rate a community and say, or even think, that they will respond to nothing but the popular novel!"⁴⁴ It was effusive rhetoric and dovetailed with the Depression-era viewpoint of the Department of Education officials, who often reiterated that self-help was the first step to achieving local goals.

Cobourg (pop. 5,000), one of the few larger towns continuing as an Association Library, organized book deposits in 1927 on the reserve in Alnwick Township for the use of the Mississaugas who were raising a war

monument at Alderville to commemorate aboriginal service veterans who had fought and died in WWI.⁴⁵ To the north, in the logging area along the Canadian Pacific Railway, an Association library could still prove its worth:

Through the generosity of Mr. George B. Nicholson, Chapleau has a library beautifully housed in the community memorial hall he presented to this town of 2,200 people. Not only the room to which another is soon to be added for reference service, but a well selected collection of books was included with the gift. The newly appointed librarian, Mrs. L.T. Green, is organizing the collection on modern lines and will stress advisory service to the patrons.⁴⁶

Nonetheless, the best days of the association libraries were in the past. The number of boards peaked at 301 in 1928, declining steadily thereafter. The spirit of enterprize and self-help could not withstand adverse economic conditions or keep abreast of higher library standards. At Espanola, a locality without any incorporated municipal status, deteriorating financial circumstances immediately curtailed library expansion that had begun in the late 1920s. When the Abitibi Power and Paper Company ceased operation at the end of 1929, the company town almost disappeared. The library struggled on in the 1930s as people left town, its membership shrank, staff relocated due to illness, and new quarters had to be found. Not until 1952, when the library achieved free public library status, did its revenue base recover and activities return to the level of the late 1920s.⁴⁷

In the 1920s and 30s, the dictum “modern public library” was expanded by increased stress on adult education, extension services (i.e., the promotion of library services to unserved areas), and the issue of larger units of service. Work with community agencies and proposals for county or regional library units of service preoccupied library literature. The regional model was untested but not novel in Canada. Charles Gould, University Librarian at McGill, had spoken and written about its potential for resource sharing in *Library Journal* when he served as President of the American Library Association in 1908-09.⁴⁸ Adult education was an imprecise term, but its advocates believed that libraries should help individuals with their particular studies; assist recent immigrants (“New Canadians” as they were termed) with language study; dispense information about educational opportunities outside the library; and also supply printed materials for other organizations’ educational and vocational programs. The library could be a resource for individuals and community groups.

Inspector W.O. Carson felt this agenda was fundamental to library progress. His 1926 report elaborated various experiments in Ontario libraries and encouraged libraries to devote their resources to readers’ advisory work

and joint efforts with community organizations to improve literacy and to assist vocational training. Exhibits, lectures, meetings, readings, plays, courses of study, business sections, clubs, readings lists, scheduled interviews, collaboration with university extension programs, assistance to New Canadians learning English, and high school sections for adolescents were some of the ways forward. He concluded that a strengthening of the Public Libraries Branch to render better advisory service and space for an expanded central book service along with additional professional training in a library school were requisites for future success.⁴⁹ His plea for enlarged facilities or relocation was understandable because the Public Libraries Branch' home at the Legislature at Queen's Park had no prospect for enlargement.

The most lasting adult education activity adopted by libraries was readers' advisory service. Ideally, staff situated in a small alcove or corner could assist, in a non-judgemental manner, individual learners who were interested in self-guided reading and learning informally. The ultimate goal, of course, was the improvement of reading standards and diffusion of quality books, often encapsulated in the phrase "the right book for the right reader." In some circumstances, courses in related reading could be established. In Ottawa, William J. Sykes, the chief librarian, took the time to speak with interested patrons and promote reading lists in literature and science. Sykes was never reluctant to emphasize quality publications, and he believed fiction had an important role in recreational reading habits. As early as 1914, he published *Selected List of Fiction in English* for public libraries and followed with numerous articles and smaller pamphlets issued by his library over the years. Most large libraries were proactive and publicized these services. In 1927, as part of the 60th anniversary celebrating Canada's Dominion status, Hamilton won first prize for its display of Canadian books in the Macmillan Company of Canada's national exhibit contest.⁵⁰ During the same Confederation Jubilee, Fort William's parade float won a prize for best civic float using the theme "Books are Keys to Wisdom's Treasure" (front cover).

Work with extra-mural learners, often university students and social workers at settlement houses in poor neighbourhoods, was another way to extend adult reading through library-based work. In smaller rural communities, Inspector William Carson admitted that progress was difficult because enthusiastic volunteers, rather than trained professionals, often lacked self-reliance or underrated the potential external readers possessed. For this reason, he recommended expanding his office's mandate to include advisory service and central book loans when he reviewed efforts in Ontario to improve library reading.⁵¹ But, funds and space for an open shelf system or additional staff for Carson's department were not forthcoming. John Ridington's general

observation on cost-conscious Canadian librarians, that “they make one dollar do the work of two,”⁵² applied to the public libraries branch at Queen’s Park as well.

While it is not possible to document every instance where new methods prevailed, a summary of library programming shortly before 1930 indicates the penetration of modern philosophy before Inspector Carson’s premature death in September 1929. A 1927 report from Hespeler, a free library in a Carnegie building serving about 2,700 residents, is instructive.

We have been able to do a little along adult education lines and have made reading lists for mechanics, workers in woolen mills, and for some who wanted to read English classics, English literature, Canadiana, and books on travel, and have purchased books especially for these readers. In connection with the Girls’ Work Board we have been able to supply a large number of books required for the girls’ reading and have purchased others that were needed. The lecture room has been used by different societies for their meetings: the Girls’ Work Board, Community Club, Women’s Institute, lacrosse, football, baseball and hockey teams. The Dramatic Club has held its practices weekly in the library, and for this club the library has purchased books of plays and intends this year to buy more largely of these.—
B.J.[Miss Bella Jardine]⁵³

Brantford (pop. 30,000) was actively involved with the University of Western Ontario’s extension classes in its lecture room on Thursday afternoons. English literature and Canadian history were particular interests there. Brockville (pop. 9,500), assisted by the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire and the local Home and School Association, arranged a lecture series for one dollar on Fridays once a month from October to April 1927-28 covering literature, drama, art, and psychology. Speakers came from the University of Toronto and Queen’s University.⁵⁴ Both communities were fortunate in having Carnegie buildings with space for programming.

It would be an exaggeration to say that all five hundred library boards across the province wholeheartedly embraced every aspect of the modern library philosophy or that staff in small towns eagerly paged through a new 1936 manual, *Library Science for Canadians*, composed by two University of Western Ontario librarians.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, skeptics and older generation critics were mostly silent. Popular literature, magazines, and newspapers were widely available. The notion that “libraries are keeping pace with the demands of people” could be fodder for editorials in smaller towns.⁵⁶ By the start of the 1930s, modern library concepts were catching hold; in fact, they were infused

by ideas emanating from radio broadcasts, public relations, library extension programs, adult education, and work with teenagers. Progressive thoughts and better economic times corresponded with an outburst of library enthusiasm for new ventures. There was a broadening out, not a narrowing—the expanses between larger city libraries could not be described as a “book-desert” because there were well-informed people in small towns and villages willing to engage in progressive library tasks.

Local Libraries in the Great Slump

The arduous task of improving library service in Ontario occupied the Inspector’s office on a daily basis, for example, there were often queries about grants when local budgets were threatened. When F.C. Jennings visited Hanover in August 1934, he suggested the trustees could improve their financial position by requesting the fifty cents per capita rate from council. As well, they could approach Grey County council for a grant relative to their actual work for non-resident library users.⁵⁷ It was a time when minimal planning at the provincial level encouraged local endeavours, so progress was piecemeal. Coordination and cooperative efforts were provided for the most part by the provincial library inspector’s office. It offered grants to public libraries if they submitted an annual statement and attained certain standards of service (e.g. open hours, expenditure on books, and staffing), typically not more than \$250 a year for a central library and branches in larger cities. The success of libraries rested with library boards composed of local trustees. There were two main types of boards serving their respective communities: free boards mostly appointed by municipal and school corporations and voluntary association boards formed of members elected at annual meetings.

A vote of electors established Free Public Libraries to become eligible for a minimum of fifty cents per capita claimable rate from the taxable municipal assessment. Each year boards submitted estimates of expenditures to municipal councils that authorized the municipal levy. If a library request was reduced, the board could choose to readjust its expenses in order to achieve its priorities. Association Libraries typically charged \$1 per year for a library card, although some did receive token municipal support. The Dept. of Education’s grant was crucial to maintain services for many association libraries in rural areas. In the 1930s, these grants frequently were 50% of local expenditures for periodicals and newspapers to a maximum \$100 and a grant of \$10 for a reading room. For small communities, there were special cash grants from the department of education based on various incentives; the largest one was a maximum, one-time \$100 to a community of less than 2,000

that established a free library. In theory, because the majority of free library trustees was appointed, boards were sheltered from “politics.” To this end, trustees sought to guard or to expand their statutory powers with the commonly accepted principle that a separation of politics and administration should be practiced in government.⁵⁸

The Minister of Education oversaw votes of money supply for libraries in the Ontario legislature. By 1930, more than \$50,000 was earmarked for library grants, about \$10,000 for the Public Libraries Branch itself, and \$2,000 for travelling libraries.⁵⁹ In addition, the minister had the power to fund the Library School at the University of Toronto; to provide travel, accommodation, and arrangement expenses for library institutes to improve training and knowledge for trustees and librarians; and to revise regulations for distributing grants. The library institutes appreciated, often conducted over two days. They brought together trustees and librarians, mostly from small libraries on a regional basis, to consider topics of mutual interest.⁶⁰ The exchange of ideas by papers and talks, practical advice on basic operations, discussion groups, opportunities to ask questions, and informal receptions all gave a touch of personal contact and familiarity that was otherwise lacking in the daily workplace. However, after 1920 the Departmental libraries branch put more reliance on library school education courses and direct services to smaller libraries using travelling libraries, thus reducing the number of institutes.

The travelling libraries, boxed collections ranging in size from forty to fifty volumes, were more popular than the institutes and more effective in reaching the public.⁶¹ The public libraries branch had a supply of about 25,000 books, the majority non-fiction, arranged in 600 cases. There was no general catalogue. The boxes supplemented existing book stocks of libraries as well as Women’s Institutes, Farmers’ Clubs, study clubs, and schools in isolated communities where libraries were not available. Local groups had to pay shipping charges (the branch paid return charges) and allow the public borrowing privileges. Boxes usually were loaned for four months. The borrowing organization had to account for circulation using box registers the department provided to record transactions. Circulation varied from year to year; generally, in the 1930s, Ontario’s travelling library system reported increases: 25,112 for 1932; 35,057 for 1933; 37,073 for 1934; and 42,021 for 1935.⁶² For isolated districts in the north, after the mid-1920s, the department attempted to reach people using railway school cars, organized with a schoolroom for teaching that included library books for both children and adults. These specially fitted cars traversed a six-hundred-mile route north of Lake Superior across to North Bay. They were touted as a great success, demonstrating that educational progress and Canadianization of immigrants

(albeit mostly within a British context) could work hand-in-hand.⁶³

Contemporary descriptions of the Ontario library field often divided libraries by their incorporation status and size because free libraries had more staff, buildings, services, and access to higher revenues. Per capita funding introduced in the 1920 Act had been a step forward but smaller Ontario municipalities did not have the population or taxation base to provide suitable quarters, trained staff, quality book collections, and a range of services for children and adults. In 1931, there were more than 300 small libraries in villages, unincorporated places, school sections, and hamlets that accounted for only 13.1% of the total population served across the province (see Table 4: Public Libraries Summary by Status, 1931). Toronto was a North American leader: a main library with 17 branches (1930); Boys' and Girls' House; a reference department with the most extensive collection of Canadiana in the country; modern library techniques in cataloging, circulation, and administration; a well-educated and trained staff; and trustees mindful of their powers.⁶⁴ Four other large cities over 50,000—Windsor, London, Hamilton, and Ottawa—also had well-developed branch systems that compared favourably to Toronto given their resources and local demands from more than 400,000 residents.

Below 50,000 population, services became more difficult to countenance financially. Twenty-two smaller cities, led by Kitchener, Brantford, and Fort William, usually employed graduates of the Ontario Library School. They served about 20% of the Ontario total population with about a 10% share of the legislative grant. Carnegie library buildings were plentiful in this group and they provided reference, children's sections, new methods of classification, and charging systems. About 110 towns in the range of 5,000 to 15,000 people had more limited means and usually could not employ trained librarians—total expenses were approximately \$220,000. The public libraries branch attempted to assist as much as possible but, in fact, the 300 plus smaller operations also demanded supervision. Clearly, constant attention to almost 450 library boards was beyond the capacity of the public libraries branch, a fact Inspector Carson acknowledged several times.⁶⁵ The likelihood that association libraries could develop into free libraries under the 1920 legislation was not impossible, it was slight. As a result, a collective scheme based on counties or regional groupings that could afford to hire trained librarians and assistants; maintain adequate book collections; and provide programming assistance for system branches was a logical solution.

In community work with groups and individuals, libraries were joining amateur historians and private collectors to assemble research collections for regional and local history. Support for local history collections had appeared in

early issues of the *Ontario Library Review* by London librarian, Fred Landon, a principal editor for *The Province of Ontario—A History, 1615-1927*.⁶⁶ By the early 1930s, London and Toronto held valuable local collections. The *DBS Libraries in Canada 1938-40* survey recorded local history work in more than 125 Ontario public libraries. From Kenora to Cornwall to Windsor, some libraries responded that other agencies, e.g. a Women's Institute, were mostly responsible for collections; some libraries assisted other organizations, e.g. a museum; some maintained collections of their own; and some housed other agency's possessions, e.g. a historical society. Larger libraries were leading the way, but many smaller places were cooperating with local organizations, for example,

- Brampton: cooperating with William Perkins Bull on Peel County history;
- Brockville: collecting "as much as possible through the local Historical Society;"
- Collingwood: keeping town history and housing a museum in the library basement;
- Napanee: upper floor of the library used by the historical society for collecting records;
- Norwich: historical society and museum in the library basement;
- Perth: municipal museum located inside the library building.

The general response indicated that libraries considered local history collecting to be part of their mandate. Local collections were at an undeveloped or rudimentary stage in many places. Often, only a few individuals spurred enthusiasm. Nonetheless, local history preservation was a valuable community function performed by public libraries that would continue to increase in importance and build momentum after the 1970s when special rooms or alcoves became more common.

Another fundamental service was in the field of adult education. During the 1920s and early 1930s, OLA annual conventions often promoted adult education through prominent speakers such as W.J. Sykes (Ottawa), Mary Black (Ft. William), Angus Mowat (Belleville), Fred Landon (London), and Anne Hume (Windsor). Dr. William J. Dunlop, from the University of Toronto's extension services, and later Minister of Education during the Conservative administration of Premier Leslie Frost in the 1950s, was another contributor from time to time.⁶⁷ Library cooperation with travel clubs; the arrangement of special loan periods; books lists and bibliographies; library reading clubs; displays, as well as liaison with university extension programs were all effective ways to develop community programs to reach adults who might otherwise not visit a library and register as a borrower.

Providing current information to increasing numbers of unemployed

office, industrial, and technical workers, as well as New Canadians, consumed much reference staff time. Local or regional agencies assisting these groups, such as churches and social aid welfare groups, frequently called on the library requesting information to support their own plans for the unemployed, homeless, and needy. In this regard, Lurene (McDonald) Lyle said Hamilton's plight was typical: her reference department attempted to index Canadian magazines not included in other indexes to keep up-to-date on employment and changing government programs.⁶⁸ For many libraries, the suspension of the *Canadian Periodical Index* from 1933-37 was very inopportune, leaving no alternative. The public craved news on important national stories needing accurate tracking—the saga of the Dionne Quintuplets; Grey Owl's environmental writings, lectures, and travels; Dorothea Palmer's acquittal on charges of distribution birth control information; and Norman Bethune's medical innovations in Spain and China. Not until 1938, when the University of Toronto resumed indexing forty English and French journals and the *Ontario Library Review* published the compilations quarterly, did Canadian libraries have a reliable, timely guide to national periodicals to inform adults. For city libraries, technical manuals and trade books became more important but, on occasion, library staff felt sad or helpless witnessing workers, in the prime of life, reduced to "various stages of seediness."⁶⁹ Many staff felt fortunate to be employed full-time and they accepted low wages. Part-time library workers hired on a casual basis, such as the future novelist Hugh Garner, who shelved books in Toronto for 15 cents an hour for a short time in 1936, often moved on quickly.⁷⁰

Adult education had many faces as did work with schools that were also feeling the pinch of hard times. The emphasis F.C. Jennings and the Ridington Report put on the topic of collaboration with schools received thorough attention in a timely 1935 DBS survey. The Department of Education was about to introduce curriculum reforms that stressed student inquiry and understanding of society rather than rote memorization and compilation of facts. School libraries were not an integral part of the elementary or secondary school syllabus, nor were public libraries mandated to serve pupils. Research on children's reading was lacking, but one Toronto study indicated students with public library cards read more than other pupils.⁷¹ The DBS evidence suggests that many of Ontario's public libraries were liberal in their service policies. Many were dealing with local schools on a regular basis to develop good reading habits and learning techniques, although a small number of libraries replied unhelpfully, "The school has a library of its own."⁷² Selecting pertinent supplementary reading, stocking shelves with appropriate books for assignments, providing reading lists, bringing classes to the library, visiting

classrooms to explain services and learning opportunities, and loaning cases to schools were not uncommon practices (see Table 5: Cooperation between Public Libraries and Schools, 1935). Toronto Public Library was far in advance of other Ontario libraries. TPL's school branches were typically open one morning a week when one of its school branch librarians could circulate about 500 books to students during this short period. Most school deposits were in areas at a short distance from TPL's city branches.⁷³ When supplementary reading for students came into vogue with Ontario's new curriculum reforms in 1937, libraries were hard-pressed to keep up with the increased volume of work. Fortunately, many already possessed a practical knowledge of what constituted 'good reading' for elementary and high school students.

Of course, there were limits associated with community work and new standards of librarianship. Ontario's public libraries were not at the forefront of protecting intellectual freedom or resisting censorship efforts. Even George Locke and Toronto Public Library came in for criticism, especially in fall 1935 when a new Canadian novel was not readily available to the public on the open shelves. A prominent Toronto magazine opined: "Certainly one had the impression that Mr. Callaghan's novel, 'They Shall Inherit the Earth,' was in the Public Library, though whether in a state of reserve or ostracism it was hard to tell."⁷⁴ Early in 1936, when Toronto's mayor and council tried to regulate the content of smaller circulating libraries that might be issuing books banned by the Canadian Customs or not on TPL's shelves, there was no outcry from the library. It was left to the editorial staff of the *Toronto Globe*, *Canadian Bookman*, and *Saturday Night* to suggest remedies, protest the arbitrary nature of censorship by regulation, and police seizures in Toronto the Good. The *Globe* sensibly argued that "because a book is not on the shelves of the public library is no indication that there is anything wrong with it."⁷⁵ At the end of the decade, the *Toronto Daily Star* surveyed publications in an editorial on "sexy books" and declared that libraries were responsibly attempting "to keep the worst books off their shelves."⁷⁶ The library was not only allied with community standards, it was also expected to aid the vetting process.

Aimée Kennedy, Kingston's chief librarian, summed up the general tenor of the relationship between censorship and libraries in 1930: "If a book is immoral, please set it aside, but first be sure it isn't deemed so merely by prejudice."⁷⁷ Mary Silverthorn, who began teaching at Toronto's library school in 1938, advised selectors to judge whether "the line between right and wrong is clear cut and distinct" for doubtful novels.⁷⁸ It was standard practice for library book selection committees (often composed entirely of trustees in smaller places) or reputable booksellers to pass over salacious novels

containing indecent references, even if legally distributed. Premier Ferguson had already confronted popular commercial lending libraries in 1926 with temporary, restrictive amendments to the Public Libraries Act that remained in effect until 1931.⁷⁹ Commercial lending libraries operated by drugstores, stationers, and department stores that charged a few cents/day per book had to comply or face closure. As well, in 1929, the Dept. of Education was quick to ban circulation of *All Quiet on the Western Front* in travelling library collections to rural schools due to “coarse” and “vulgar” content.⁸⁰ Nonetheless, Kennedy advised librarians to be open-minded and not to be swayed by criticisms. Rather, they should consider contemporary trends, e.g. the content presented in picture shows, and judge accordingly. In the same year, 1930, when *The Divorcee* and *Morocco* were entertaining audiences in movie houses across North America and stars like Norma Shearer and Marlene Dietrich were becoming household names, concern about “questionable” novels, such as Estelle Aubrey Brown’s *With Trailing Banners*, was unwarranted. Ontario’s Board of Censors controlled films shown in theatres and upheld a reasonable standard of morality and political sobriety by insisting on showing toned-down American versions. William Strange, author and lecturer, spoke to OLA delegates in 1936 about the necessity to get people to read good books—in this way, the library could counter the influence that “trashy nonsense, Clark Gable, and the Marx Brothers” were making in everyday life.⁸¹

In the legal realm, there was consensus that border seizures by customs officials could include works of literary merit, such as James Joyce’s *Ulysses*, D.H. Lawrence’s *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*, or Radclyffe Hall’s *Well of Loneliness*, because certain parts (not the whole work) might act as a catalyst “to deprave or corrupt” vulnerable groups of people, especially youth. In the course of a typical year, customs officers might deal with hundreds of titles; in 1938, for example, 800 books and magazines covering shipments of 194,400 publications were examined.⁸² Canadian seizures of controversial novels, such as *God’s Little Acre* or *Tobacco Road* by Erskine Caldwell, who fought obscenity charges in the United States in the early 1930s, or columnist Dorothy Herzog’s exposé, *Some Like it Hot*, were not uncommon. By law, the Department of National Revenue was obligated to prevent the distribution of immoral or indecent publications and foreign seditious or treasonable works.⁸³ Even the *Canadian Forum* found that freely circulating “Lady Chatterley” was arguable given the observation that movie theatres played shows “saturated with the worst kind of sexual suggestion.”⁸⁴ Political works blocked by customs agents on questionable grounds, such as *Youth in the Soviet Union* (1934) or Engels’ *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (1880), were not everyday reading.⁸⁵ Advocating legal definitions of obscenity would have to wait many

years, an issue identified by a Toronto editor:

A censorship is intelligible only to the people who operate it. The more a community can express its standards in the clear language of statutes, and the less it has to leave them to the irresponsible discretion of hired officials and assisting busybodies, the more civilized it is sure to be.⁸⁶

It would be a long time before Ontario's librarians or the OLA adopted formal statements on intellectual freedom or censorship but, by the 1930s, they were prepared to defend books they had purchased or kept under the counter.

An area of expansion in the 1930s was at the reference desk. "No phase of a public library's work is more important than reference service," asserted the Department of Education's ground-breaking *Reference Work and Reference Works* published in 1920. It served as a training handbook for Ontario librarians for many years by detailing how to assist patrons and how to build collections, not just of books, but with government publications, clippings, pamphlets, pictures, serials. It enumerated three hundred reference works as a guide for librarians.⁸⁷ Free distribution of federal publications, such as the *Canada Year Book*, was a boon in the Depression years. Modern reference departments contained more than standard dictionaries, yearbooks, and encyclopedias. Government publications, pamphlet materials for vertical files, the creation of reference lists and bibliographies on contemporary topics and special indexes to magazines, such as the *Canadian Periodical Index*, launched by the Windsor Public Library in 1928 on a subscription basis, were necessary additions. Agnes Lancefield's staff at Windsor distributed the *Index* across Canada on a shoestring budget for a short time before financial problems caused its cessation in 1933. Its absence only served to make librarians more aware of its need. Retrospective works were also important. At Toronto, dedicated work by Frances Staton and Marie Tremaine advanced bibliographic standards with *A Bibliography of Canadiana* that detailed TPL's extensive pre-Confederation holdings. This 1934 publication became a valuable resource for a generation of scholars. The new federal depository program for many cities and selected smaller towns, the result of a lobbying effort with the King's Printer held at the 1927 ALA conference in Toronto, also added valuable reference materials.⁸⁸ As a result, about twenty public libraries in Ontario became eligible to receive federal publications, including smaller cities such as Belleville, Brockville, Galt, Stratford, St. Thomas, and Woodstock. Despite some recommendations in the 1930s, a major problem for depository services was the lack of reliable indexes and lists for libraries to select publications.⁸⁹ This problem would continue for another two decades.

As the Depression trimmed local budgets relentlessly, new buildings

became the exception rather than the rule. All major community libraries opened in the thirties were relatively small libraries or branches in cities. The most prominent city branches suited their neighbourhoods: Runnymede, opened officially on 12 November 1930; Ottawa's east-side branch, Rideau, opened on 25 January 1934; Kenilworth, opened on 15 January 1932 in Hamilton's east end; and the Mary J.L. Black branch on the west side of Fort William, opened on 4 October 1938. Runnymede had an exterior domestic design with a distinctive pitched roof. The interior consisted of a main floor for adults and a "high school club room" with the boys and girls department on the upper level. Rideau was a single-storey shrouded with a steep pitched hip roof, with books and services for children and adults on the main floor. Its basement held a lecture hall and club room for meetings.

Unlike Runnymede, Rideau relied on an old-fashioned stack room to restock the shelves in the open circulating areas. The two-storey, Georgian-style Kenilworth branch featured a pitched roof, fireplaces, beautiful south-end bay windows, and new style adjustable shelving. A boys and girls reading room was on the upper floor.⁹⁰ The Mary J.L. Black branch in the Westfort district, built for \$14,000, was a small one-storey building, just less than 2,000 sq. ft. It used perimeter shelving for the most part and offered a meeting room and offices in the basement. It was an unassuming, attractive street corner brick building that Inspector Mowat reported "charms the heart" and was designed "with an eye to efficiency."⁹¹ All libraries were conveniently located and designed on an open plan. This factor combined with pleasant decorative features—Indian totem designs at Runnymede's entrance, Rideau's decorative ceiling beams, and Kenilworth's reading alcove coupled with a broad exterior view, or Westfort's hospitable streetside entrance—helped assure that they all would remain in service for a long time, into the twentieth-first century!

In the smaller towns and villages, lower expectations were in order. Donors' gifts and help from local groups were vital. Smaller libraries, such as Uxbridge, were grateful and fortunate to receive bequests of \$2,000 to help with local budgets.⁹² The St. Jacob's library, opened on 2 June 1934, was redolent of the Carnegie era. It was a red brick building with a modest staircase leading into an open interior featuring perimeter shelving along two wings, room for children on the left and adults on the right, with a rear alcove area for staff to issue books. It cost \$7,000, a gift of the estate of Lola Snider, a long-time resident.⁹³ At Port Rowan, opened on 19 July 1936, the town accepted the gift of a residence at the corner of Bay and Church Streets provided by the donors, Mr. and Mrs. C.S. Killmaster. The library was centrally located and less than 1,000 sq. ft. with its reading room located in a raised basement underneath the circulating collections.⁹⁴

Port Perry exemplified the spirit of self-help. Here, a municipal bylaw to raise \$1,500 for a new library passed and subsequently, after a spirited campaign of private subscriptions, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire raised the total to \$4,500. Port Perry's attractive 2,000 sq. ft. War Memorial Library was built of rugged brick on the corner of Queen and John Streets. The Lieutenant Governor, Dr. Herbert A. Bruce, and Major-General Sir James MacBrien opened it on 24 May 1935. Dr. Bruce declared, "Books are the +weapons of thought against ignorance."⁹⁵ The reading room, children's section, reference, and circulating collections were all on the main floor flanked by two study alcoves. The basement contained a community meeting room. A "Book of Remembrance" was placed inside a bronze niche above the fireplace mantel as a memorial to the fallen soldiers of the Great War from Port Perry, Reach, and Scugog Townships. In these instances, the role of private donors during lean years was significant at a time when municipal support faltered across the province.

County Library Associations

In the depth of the Great Depression, there were expressions of optimism on the topic of cooperation. Based on Lambton's County example and the findings of the Commission of Enquiry, Inspector Jennings offered a way forward in his 1933 report:

Owing to the working of inexorable economic forces many a small library must shortly choose between federation or extinction. The drift of population from rural to urban communities has so depleted many formerly populous rural areas that it is now impossible to secure sufficient income for the maintenance of independent library units. Some adaptation of the regional or county library organization would appear to be the solution. It is only logical that the association principle should be thus extended from the municipal to the county sphere. The advantages accruing when a number of individuals co-operate to form a local library are multiplied when a number of individual libraries form a county association. In time this county association of libraries may be expected to develop into a free county system, including not merely member libraries but branches or book deposit stations in every district and supported by a county appropriation with suitable legislative grants.⁹⁶

Already, in January 1933, Jennings had successfully added an incentive in departmental regulations to include county library associations for legislative

grants up to \$300, a small amount, but a stimulus nonetheless. Dorothy Carlisle, the heart and soul of Lambton County's library association, reported that until the amendment appeared, her county council had not contributed to the new library operation. She felt the lack of formal legislation was restrictive and that some southern Ontario city libraries were not willing to be involved in county work because it represented an added burden.⁹⁷

For the northern districts, from Parry Sound and Nipissing to Rainy River and Kenora on the Manitoba border, where the 1931 census recorded 406,993 people, the outlook was uncertain.⁹⁸ Northern districts comprised improvement areas, villages, towns, cities, school sections, and townships, but had no general governing powers and could not form district library collectives. Only 38 northern free and association libraries were serving 185,379 people in 1931, about 45% of the total population (see Table 6: Public Libraries in Northern Ontario Districts, 1931). Libraries subsisted on threadbare budgets: Dryden operated from a room behind a Royal Bank, and Ignace was crowded into a public school basement room.⁹⁹ Aside from travelling libraries, railway school cars, and a limited "open shelf" book service by mail from the Ontario Legislative Library and Libraries Branch, the education department had no plan to reach scattered, isolated communities in the north. Informal regional associations were unlikely in districts due to distances and lower population levels. The proposed studies on a regional basis recommended by the Commission of Enquiry never received serious consideration. Instead, the Department of Education concentrated on trimming costs in the early 1930s and simply observing counties where most small libraries struggled to survive with meager financial resources.

In southern Ontario, the Commission of Enquiry had hinted at two different solutions for better library service. The burgeoning area surrounding Toronto had access to existing city resources that precluded the development of a county type of library. Toronto, as a city corporation, did not have to participate in county levies for the most part. The surrounding townships were growing rapidly: the township of York was divided into North York (1922), followed by East York (1924), which left the original township area reduced. As new suburban municipalities assumed public responsibilities, they reduced their contribution to the county of York that stretched from Toronto's waterfront to Lake Simcoe. By 1931, besides Toronto, there were free library boards in Mimico, New Toronto, Swansea, Weston, and York Township (at Mt. Dennis) as well as eleven library associations. However, many suburbanites preferred to use Toronto's libraries for a fee rather than use smaller collections of 2,000 to 10,000 books closer to their homes. Thus, the formation of a county-type system for all of York's municipalities was

unlikely. It was a situation that would be repeated in the next half-century as suburban growth and commuting around populous centres—Hamilton and Ottawa especially—became commonplace.

Recognizing the unique nature of the Toronto-centred region, in 1933 the Ontario government appointed members to a Metropolitan Area Committee of the County of York to study solutions for its development and functioning of services. Toward the end of the life of the commission, the Toronto Public Library Board submitted a brief proposing a “metropolitan area” for public libraries under a shared general tax levy covering the territory.

This would provide Branch Libraries, operated from the metropolitan centre as are the Branch Libraries within the City limits, but placed at strategic points within the extra-city communities so that every adult and every child would have book-provision within reasonable distance of their homes. For people somewhat remote, deposit stations and travelling libraries make the best substitute available.¹⁰⁰

Alternatively, TPL’s brief suggested payment for non-residents in surrounding townships based on usage at bordering TPL branches. Possibly, a special payment by the province could bridge to a more stable solution whereby “a permanent scheme financed in the ordinary way would inevitably be developed.” The Metropolitan Area Committee concluded its work just before war broke out in 1939 without changing political structures around Toronto. Metropolitan regional government in the Toronto area would not come until the start of 1954.

Beyond the Toronto city-suburbs, the logical tier of organization in the south was the county where association libraries predominated. The smaller Association Library usually was a voluntary community effort with threadbare funding for its membership. Families in many rural townships relied on free libraries in town or villages for their reading. For non-residents, access to libraries could be a challenging venture. CBC broadcaster Mary Cook recounted her mother’s trip to Renfrew, a Carnegie library with a good collection of more than 10,000 books in a town of 5,000 to the northwest of Ottawa, to get a library card.

I can remember how nervous we all were . . . at least we five children were. Our mother was her usual composed and assured self, and she walked us all in, as if it was a perfectly natural thing to do. I recall feeling very conscious of being an outsider amongst the town children who were running their hands along the bookshelves with a familiarity I was sure we would never know. There was no doubt in my mind that this time my mother had attempted the impossible.¹⁰¹

Her family returned home with their borrowed books after they supplied references and agreed to membership obligations. Renfrew and other small southern towns—Smiths Falls, Bracebridge, Lindsay, Hanover, Leamington, or Simcoe—were prominent centres to distribute books; however, the organization was lacking to develop these resources for rural areas. Too often, cooperation was a word, not a deed.

There were few provincial examples of cooperative action before 1930, notably book purchasing in Lambton County with the Sarnia Public Library. Thinking about larger units revolved around county libraries, following successful American efforts in California and New Jersey and, of course, England, where county libraries were well established by 1930. Charles R. Sanderson, Toronto's deputy chief librarian, explained at the Easter 1930 Ontario Library Association annual meeting how prejudice "against any interference by any outside body" on the part of rural English places had been surmounted by the Carnegie supported county library growth during the twenties.¹⁰² Sanderson's knowledge was firsthand: he had worked in the UK before George Locke handpicked him to come to Toronto. Obviously, larger units of service held the promise of better book resources and sharing of staff services, but local autonomy was a difficult issue to cut through on the back roads of Ontario.

Mary Black and Dorothy Carlisle set the stage for progress in their addresses at the OLA's 1931 conference. Carlisle and a small group organized successful publicity by September 1932 to create a seven-member Lambton County Association, following the principle of local library associations.¹⁰³ Thereafter, the Association expanded to eighteen members and included libraries, independent groups, and schools. Each member paid a small amount, usually \$25 per annum, to pool their fees for new books to exchange every three months in lots of 150. Each library selected its books from the county collection that resided at Sarnia. Schools were particularly anxious to participate, as the provincial government's annual grant to rural school libraries ceased in 1932. By 1935, the county collection comprised more than 2,000 books. After provincial regulations allowed a maximum \$300 grant to a county association, Lambton's county council began to make regular contributions as well.

Middlesex County organized another association in September-October 1934 with guidance from Inspector Jennings and an offer of assistance from London Public Library's chief librarian, Richard E. Crouch. By December 1934, fifteen participants were receiving books across Middlesex. Their quarterly planning meetings were held at a central location, the YMCA building in downtown London.¹⁰⁴ South of Middlesex, smaller libraries in

Elgin agreed to form an association in spring 1936 using St. Thomas as a central resource. By September 1936, the association commenced its quarterly distribution of boxes containing 26 books, a total of 130 books for the five members: Bayham, Rodney, Shedden, Sparta, and West Lorne.¹⁰⁵ At the end of 1936, Oxford libraries also formed a county association with Woodstock as the central library. The Department of Education cautiously supported county efforts by amending legislation in 1936 to allow county associations to enter into agreements with library boards for securing library service (1 Edw. VIII, c.55, s.19). Four counties were reporting impressive circulations by 1938 even with limited stocks: Elgin 5,049; Lambton 37,554; Middlesex 18,576; and Oxford 4,672.

Although the county association idea spread rapidly in southwestern Ontario in the first half of the thirties, it developed administratively in a variety of ways. Inspector Jennings accepted invitations to speak to groups and was able to lend a hand in the formation of Middlesex and Elgin; yet, without general legislation to guide development, different forms of cooperation evolved. The Department favoured a centralized model for counties that possessed collectively administered holdings, received a county council grant, and employed (or relied on) a qualified librarian to manage daily business; however, other models emerged. At the outset of 1935, Essex County created an informal county exchange with six members. Each member kept a selection of books for two months and then forwarded these to another member. Rather than a jointly owned collection distributed from a central headquarters, members retained ownership of the books after the completion of a county circuit. An executive committee approved all purchases to avoid duplication and ensure that 75 percent of books were fiction. Windsor was not originally a participant or a resource for smaller Essex libraries because at this juncture the “Border Cities”—Windsor, Sandwich, East Windsor, and Walkerville—were undergoing critical financial difficulties that led to their amalgamation through a provincial statute in July 1935. This Act (25 Geo. V chap. 74, sec. 13) temporarily dissolved the library boards until November 1936 when additional legislation re-established control by one board (1 Edw. VIII, chap. 66, sec. 3). Essex eventually formed a recognized county association that became eligible to receive provincial support in 1940 with assistance from Anne Hume, Windsor’s chief librarian.¹⁰⁶ Hume was quite interested in cooperative activities. She later helped organized provincial meetings for county associations and small libraries during her wartime OLA presidency.

Halton followed the Elgin practice: some libraries agreed to share their own purchases with other members. The appeal of purchasing \$25 worth of books and then circulating them to other libraries (Bronte, Burlington, Milton,

and Oakville) to get \$100 value was compelling. As well, it was informal and permitted libraries to retain their purchases if they decided to discontinue their participation. Norfolk approved a similar design at a Simcoe meeting in November 1935: here, small places such as Waterford, Jarvis, and Port Dover each agreed to purchase books through an executive and to exchange books on a prearranged schedule.¹⁰⁷ Planning for cooperation among adjacent libraries in two counties, such as Peel-Dufferin or Huron-Perth in 1936, did not qualify for the \$300 provincial stimulus. Brampton and Orangeville, two mid-sized towns with Carnegie buildings connected by new Highway 10, agreed to purchase non-fiction and schedule inter-library exchanges of books. Each library retained ownership. The scheme developed by Hensall, Exeter, and Seaforth in Huron and Mitchell in Perth was informal joint purchasing for adult non-fiction. In another example, at the end of 1935, three towns in Simcoe County (Collingwood, Midland, and Orillia) decided to rotate new non-fiction valued at \$100 each year every four months. They also arranged borrowing privileges for non-fiction owned for more than a year.¹⁰⁸ These schemes did not address the issue of rural service and applied to only a few libraries.

A more nuanced, layered county plan originated in Waterloo. B. Mabel Dunham, Kitchener's chief librarian, believed in systematic countywide planning. The Waterloo libraries divided service needs into three tiers: major centres (Kitchener, Galt, and Waterloo) that required more expensive reference and scientific books; smaller communities (e.g. Hespeler, Preston, and Elmira) that could spend \$50 annually for exchanges; and association libraries that could only afford \$10. The larger libraries contributed \$50 annually and each inserted notes in their catalogues so that items could circulate to other members. Mabel Dunham and Kathleen Moyer from Galt assumed responsibility for presenting lists of books to each group that made the yearly selections. Mabel Dunham's ideas were well in advance of library planning in Ontario and outstripped contemporary library legislation and regulations. There were about 90,000 people in Waterloo (including Kitchener) and a knowledgeable librarian, such as Dunham, could reason that

Each County, or region, must face its own problem. Lambton could not be a model for Waterloo, and York and Gray [sic] are poles apart. The interesting and vital thing is that the idea is growing and gaining favour everywhere. The Department of Education has evinced an interest by special grants to County organizations and by timely amendments to the Library Act. We seem to be headed for a Province-wide County Library service.... If a County Library service is put into operation we shall be able to bring to all the people, old

as well as young, rural as well as urban, the opportunity for culture, learning and recreation, and we shall be thereby instrumental in raising the standards of the people of the Province and of the nation. That most Librarians will agree, is our high calling, and we must not shirk our duty.¹⁰⁹

The Waterloo library effort did not qualify for a legislative grant, but it did point to the need to examine county services. Dunham felt planning in her county was but a stepping-stone to sunnier days. The lost years of the Great Depression brought intellectuals, officials, and ordinary citizens together in the belief that the world they lived in could be vastly improved.

Some county cooperative deliberations fell short of expectations. In Leeds and Grenville, an initial meeting at Gananoque in June 1937 favoured the formation of a county association, but a provisional executive committee was not able to get financial commitments to proceed.¹¹⁰ This county, like other less populous ones in eastern Ontario, stretched along the shoreline of Lake Ontario with a predominately rural population except for one large town, Brockville. There were only three other major centers along this route providing significant resources for library development: Belleville, Kingston, and Cornwall. A lack of material resources and energetic leadership—ingredients that Sarnia's Dorothy Carlisle, London's Richard Crouch, St. Thomas's Florence Cameron, and Woodstock's G. Blythe Terryberry contributed to their counties in abundance—was a severe drawback in a period of economic stringency. The vexed questions of how a member could withdraw and receive reimbursement or whether identities would be submerged by conforming to county standards were significant impediments. More informal arrangements specified how each library might withdraw or how it could choose its own books, thereby retaining its individuality. Flexibility appealed to many trustees in smaller communities. For these reasons, centralized associations were a challenge to establish. The Department of Education found its policy on central township school boards, introduced in 1932 to eliminate inefficient school sections (and save money), also was difficult to promote. Not until the late 1950s would township school boards become the norm in rural areas.

At the opposite end of Lake Ontario, in Lincoln County, Jessie Warren, who eventually became St. Catharine's chief librarian in 1950, did a valuable study of this smaller area as part of her library schoolwork. Hers was the most extensive county report conducted in the 1930s.¹¹¹ Lincoln had a population base similar to Lambton but it was more urbanized. Its largest city, St. Catharines, was emerging as an industrial centre by manufacturing General Motors automotive parts. Aside from inadequate resources, Warren discovered

apathy was a formidable adversary.

In none of the libraries has cooperation been considered. Many of the libraries had never heard of it nor of what was being done in other counties. When questioned, however, they seemed to favour some system of exchange, though this may have been an unconsidered opinion. (p. 5)

After examining the existing libraries' needs and the options for planning, Warren came down on the side of a cooperative (i.e. decentralized) organization:

The centralization plan depends so much on the strength and organization of the city library and it is doubtful if the St. Catharines library could cope with such a problem. No one on its staff has had any experience in county library work not even in a city branch system, and it is unlikely that a new employee would be given the necessary authority and freedom to take charge of that part of the work. Although the library is overcrowded and the city quite large the trustees have never considered opening a branch: so perhaps they would be averse to enlarging the library's activities in any other way. The cooperative scheme does not depend on the main library in the same way and seems to be working successfully in other counties of Ontario. (p. 16)

In fact, Lincoln never established a countywide service of any type before its reorganization in the late 1960s. Indifference, an obstacle highlighted by both Inspector Jennings and Jessie Warren, often overcame planning efforts.

The methods, financing, and procedures of county organization and extension service frequently arose as focal points of discussion. The ideal—that a county service could improve access to resources and reduce inequities between rural and urban inhabitants—was submerged in debates about administrative details and alternatives to the centralized model encouraged by the province. Middlesex County's constitution and organization served as an exemplar for others. It, like other central style constitutions, was relatively straightforward and seldom required amendments:

1. NAME – This Association shall be known as the Middlesex County Library Association.
2. PURPOSE – The purpose of the Association is to further the interests of, and serve, its member libraries by the purchase, preparation and cataloguing and circulation of books and other printed matter; to promote the extension of library services within the County by the organization of libraries, deposit stations and such other distributive agencies as the Minister of Education may approve.
3. AUTHORITY – The provisions of the Regulations governing grants, and of the Public Libraries Act, shall *mutatis mutandis* apply to this

County Library Association.

4. CONTROL – (a) Control of the Association shall be vested in a Board of Management, hereinafter called the Board, which shall be composed of one delegate, or his representative, appointed annually from each member library, a delegate appointed by the County Council and such other interested persons as the Association in session shall elect to the number of five.

(b) The Board year shall co-incide with the calendar year, but no Board shall cease to function before its successor assumes office.

(c) The Board shall elect annually at its first meeting a President, Vice-President, and a Secretary-Treasurer.

(d) The Board shall hold two meetings each year, the first during the first two weeks of March and the second during the last two weeks of September, unless otherwise ordered by the Chairman, in an emergency. Special meetings may be summoned at the call of the President or four representatives. Notice of such meetings shall be sent at least one week in advance by the Secretary-Treasurer.

(e) One-third of the members shall constitute a quorum.

(f) The Board shall have power to enter into a contract with the London Public Library Board, on terms satisfactory to both parties, for such services in the purchasing, preparing, cataloguing, housing and distribution of its books as it may decide.

(g) Subject to limitations herein provided, the Board shall make rules and regulations governing the control and use of books and other matters for the better management or extension of its services.

5. FINANCES – (a) Membership fees shall be paid by each member library before a specified date, the amount to be determined by the Board.

(b) The Association may receive further grants from the County or any of its municipalities, townships, towns, villages.

(c) The Board may collect fees and fines under regulations which it may impose.

6. CONSTITUTION AMENDMENT – This Constitution may be amended at any regular or special Board meeting by a two-third vote of those present, providing notice of motion has been given at the preceding meeting.¹¹²

The example set by Middlesex influenced other county organizations into the 1940s.

It was evident some modifications were needed to improve library conditions in rural Ontario, although county library critics mostly supported the status quo. In police villages, townships, hamlets, and school sections, the immediate demand for library service was not always present. Municipal officials were loath to pledge financial resources at a time when some municipalities (e.g. Niagara Falls, Sudbury, and Collingwood) were in default.

Many communities were virtually bankrupt. The province reorganized municipal corporate life in the 1930s, reshaping the Ontario Municipal Board to oversee municipalities' accounts and establishing the Department of Municipal Affairs in 1934. The promotion of free library service or county associations was more difficult because lower educational levels and geographical distances worked against cooperation. There was a divide between general planning and local self-help. Even Angus Mowat uneasily questioned whether rural adults "do want book service, whether they know what to do with it, whether the radio and Maclean's magazine are not as much as they can assimilate?"¹¹³

In rural communities, the heritage of volunteerism continued to manifest itself in the existence of almost 300 association libraries working for the most part independently. The creation of a 700-volume circulating library at Queenston by Rover Scouts in 1938 with the assistance of librarians was particularly heartwarming.¹¹⁴ Aid from the county level was often a luxury. A college study conducted in 1943 concluded that the presence of a large free library with staff and directors interested in the promotion of county service was a primary condition for success: "Without the co-operation of the staff of a large library, it is very difficult to establish a County Library Service."¹¹⁵ In any case, no new county library organizations organized in the two years leading up to WWII because cooperative efforts turned in another direction after 1937.

School Curriculum Revision and the Public Library

Inspector F.C. Jennings and *Libraries in Canada* emphasized public library cooperation with schools. Already, a significant number of libraries were assisting in a variety of ways by book loans, class visits, and instruction (see Table 5), with Toronto leading the way. When a Liberal government under Mitchell Hepburn ended Conservative party control in the 1934 provincial election, change became possible. The new government supported a child-centred curriculum and pedagogy that included the "enterprize method," which encouraged exploration of topics by students, sometimes in small groups.¹¹⁶ In the next year, 1935, librarians formed a new OLA Section, School and Intermediate Libraries. To some extent, they relied on new Canadian tools for older students, such as Arthur Slyfield's *A Library Primer* published in 1932. Slyfield, the librarian at Oshawa's Collegiate and Vocational Institute, was a leading voice in this OLA Section. His book included the use of public libraries and bibliographic instruction, i.e. new ideas about how to locate and evaluate information. Slyfield had surveyed high-school and collegiate

libraries in 1929, concluding that “Anyone who is at all familiar with the standards which have been set up for measuring school libraries elsewhere will realize, after this Survey, that Ontario has a long way to go in the direction of school libraries.”¹¹⁷ The intervening years of the Depression did not ameliorate conditions despite efforts to improve elementary school libraries by departmental officials based in Toronto.¹¹⁸

On a province-wide basis, few libraries were prepared for the progressive curriculum reforms unleashed in elementary schools despite forewarning on the 6 April 1937 front page of the Toronto *Globe and Mail* heralding the innovations as a “new era.” Even Toronto’s fine system of branch libraries in schools and central Boys and Girls House came under pressure: Lillian Smith expressed her concern for inadequate book stocks by portraying the advent of curriculum reform as an “invasion” after enthusiastic younger readers descended on TPL’s juvenile rooms in the autumn of 1937.¹¹⁹ The root of her discontent was the exponential demand for any book discussed in the classroom. Having multiple copies in branches to meet regular popular demand was possible; stocking dozens in every branch for elementary pupils was impracticable. Sheila Egoff, a young librarian who started at Galt in 1938, preferred multiple copies of books, usually six, if possible, because they could be used with her class book talks:

I would load up a taxi with books, and off I would go for the morning because I had to be back and on duty at the library around lunchtime. Just as in Toronto, these visits proved to be very successful as they helped to get children excited about quality books. After school, the children from whatever school I had just visited would pour into the library and ask for the books that I had talked about that morning. ...The teachers were most welcoming, chiefly because in those days there were no school libraries or librarians in the Galt elementary schools.¹²⁰

Clearly, Toronto’s overburdened libraries were in good company.

The implementation of Ontario’s progressive reform was hindered by a lack of resource materials for teachers to educate and guide children. The elimination of the entire provincial grant, almost \$25,000, for rural school library books after mid-1932 exacerbated the problem. Rural trustees in charge of more than 3,000 boards, mostly one-room schools with one teacher for grades 1-8, had relied on this grant for thirty years. A few schools used the travelling library service and Inspector Jennings encouraged this trend. In city and town libraries, the sheer number of students caused alarm. Non-fiction shelves for subjects—health, social studies, English, natural science, arithmetic, art, and music—could be swept bare. Books pertaining to

traditional disciplines now needed to be augmented by works on social, emotional, and physical growth as well. The introduction of reform sparked some controversy among librarians. Kathleen Crosby, responsible for Orillia's new children's department, asked, "Can you imagine the despair of a librarian, asked for a 'book of po'ms' when there isn't even one poetry book left on the shelves? Naturally, this is discouraging to small beginners. One cannot borrow adult books for them, as for the older boys and girls."¹²¹

Generally, many children's librarians (and administrators) understood the rationale for including more practical books to improve youngsters' vocational and life skills, but they felt mushrooming demand without commensurate financing was unreasonable. William Rentoul Castell summarized the absence of library planning in the education department's scheme to implement the new program of studies:

...yet one is safe in saying that ninety per cent of the burden is at present being carried by the public libraries. This is particularly true of the medium and smaller size public libraries. School libraries, broadly speaking, are negligible in Ontario, especially when considered in relation to the present problem at hand. As a result the public libraries are taking the full brunt of this new and increased demand for books.¹²²

In his library at Fort William, Castell calculated that new juvenile memberships rose remarkably during three months, September to November, from 221 in 1935 to 540 in 1938. During the same periods, circulation increased from 13,301 (1935) to 18,743 (1938). He suggested a chapter on the public library be added to any revision of the Department of Education's *Programme of Studies for Grades I to VI*. His advice was not heeded. The department's next edition, released in 1941, remained silent on school or public libraries, instead preferring "a small library of well-chosen, attractive books" for classrooms.¹²³

At the May 1938 Ontario Library Association meeting in Toronto, the challenge of the new school revisions came under consideration at a round table session organized on children's services at Boys' and Girls' House. Overall, there was some satisfaction with what the *Globe and Mail* termed "perhaps the most valuable service a public library provides."¹²⁴ Librarians from St. Thomas, Hamilton, and Toronto explained their reactions and offered suggestions on how to deal with students.¹²⁵ Curriculum reform led many pupils to visit libraries for the first time. The enthusiasm of children and a change in attitude regarding taking books home for study was a marked advance. Incremental changes occurred across the province as libraries began to work through logistical problems of supply and demand. In some county

library associations (e.g. Lambton), schools were included in the book selection process. Service to classes was becoming a standard practice. Windsor set aside 16% of its annual book budget (\$1,600) for titles recommended with new courses and prepared bibliographies on Canadian history books, England, and Africa.¹²⁶ At Gananoque, teachers and local library trustees met to devise a cooperative plan. An approved list was compiled and the books ordered, arranged in uniform lots, and rotated monthly to six participating schools that contributed \$10 each. At the end of the year, each school kept one case of books.¹²⁷ Sometimes the new pedagogy presented a challenge, one that meant libraries might reach many more children.

For some time now it has been our practice to allow the teachers to choose a number of books suitable for their classes and these are used for the special reading required. They may change these as often as they wish and in this way keep the supply fresh and interesting to the children. The children are also brought in contact with a larger choice of books than they would be in the ordinary course of things.¹²⁸

By the end of the first year of the program, it was apparent that a generation of students would be influenced by progressive reform, a fact that the Minister of Education reinforced to libraries at a Barrie meeting.¹²⁹ On balance, most public libraries accepted the additional unfunded duty.

By the early part of 1939, across the province, library workers were accustomed to the learner-centred approach. When a Kitchener librarian inquired whether a boy liked to raise mice, he pulled three from his pockets.¹³⁰ Aimée Kennedy, Kingston's chief librarian, injected some humour into the process:

We learned the new jargon, were introduced to 'projects,' discovered the scope of 'Social Studies,' and learned that the biggest bugbear of the three R's, arithmetic, had been hypnotized and was now an adjunct to shop-keeping-buying and selling in the corner store of the school room. We were no longer stunned when Marco Polo arose from his long sleep. Marco Polo, who for centuries had rested in oblivion, and whose travels had little interest except for the well-informed reader, now emerged from obscurity to become a living personality in the minds of those almost infants of the third and fifth grade.¹³¹

"Marco Polo at the Court of Genghis Khan" was one of the topics recommended for Grade 5 social studies, but knowledgeable critics liked to point out that it was the grandson, Kublai, who received the Polos when they reached China. Nonetheless, the Kingston librarians were eager to assist city

schools: one day a week at a designated classroom for each school, they exchanged books, played phonograph records, helped children select books, and advised teachers about resources at the main library. By all measures, Kennedy believed Kingston's efforts could be judged a success.

Generally, libraries rose to the challenge of the new curriculum. Angus Mowat, who began his duties as Inspector in July 1937, summarized his provincial findings in 1939:

- 5 county associations were assisting 303 schools;
- 38 libraries (excluding Toronto) were giving organized book service to 229 rural and 84 urban schools;
- 84 libraries were giving service (not organized through co-operative efforts) to 29 rural and 31 urban schools; and
- 6 libraries were serving 15 rural and 7 urban schools.¹³²

Public libraries were coping, although overall totals were not impressive. Children's services had grown in the interwar period; moreover, work with older youth was emerging as an added responsibility. The pragmatic philosophy of education that allowed students to integrate culture and vocation usefully was at an early stage in Ontario libraries, but it had arrived.

The Libraries Recover

Angus Mowat's return to Ontario in 1937 (he left Windsor in 1932 to be chief librarian at Saskatoon) was timely. F.C. Jennings had resigned his inspectorship to become chief librarian at Ottawa in October 1936 following the retirement of William J. Sykes. His departure reveals the nature of employment practices in the 1930s. According to Dr. James J. Talman:

Jennings went because the Chairman of the Ottawa Public Library Board came to Toronto looking for a librarian. He ran into W.J. Dunlop of the U of T publicity department, and Dunlop said that he knew two librarians, Talman in the Legislative Library and Jennings, Inspector of Public Libraries and either would do. So we were checked out and we said, 'Leave it to us.' So Jennings and I had a meeting, and I said, 'The problem is, which one of us hates his job more than the other.' We both had to agree we were most unhappy but F.C. Jennings said that he was more unhappy than I was.¹³³

Therefore, Jennings went to Ottawa and Samuel Herbert resumed the role of acting inspector from October 1936 to July 1937. W.J. Sykes stayed on as librarian emeritus at Ottawa after his 24 years of service. Many missed his common-sense approach to librarianship as well as his frequent contributions

to OLA conferences, especially his advocacy for quality book selection and recreational reading.¹³⁴

F.C. Jennings' departure from the public libraries branch in Toronto happened a short time before the loss of two outstanding librarians: Mary J.L. Black's departure at Fort William came in spring 1937 due to ill health, and George Locke died unexpectedly on 28 January 1937 from heart disease.¹³⁵ Suddenly, there was a noticeable leadership void. Mary Black was not only a skilled administrator but an inspirational force. To her, the catchphrase that librarianship was about putting the right book in the hands of the right person rang true: "People! People! People! should be the first thought of all. The ideal librarian never gets away from them and their problems, and will sacrifice routine every time, if necessary, for the sake of personal contacts."¹³⁶ Locke was a distinguished library administrator, author, educator, and bookman, who served Toronto in many roles.¹³⁷ He was highly respected in American and British library circles. Fittingly, branch libraries bearing both names commemorate the contributions they made to their respective cities.

Angus Mowat, a graduate of Queen's University in Kingston, knew the Ontario library scene well and quickly assumed the mantle of leadership. He had worked as chief librarian at Trenton, his hometown, before he took up the same position at Belleville in 1927 and then at Windsor from 1930-32, following Agnes Lancefield's departure. During this time, he was active in OLA in various roles and made many friends with his personable style. Mowat had retained his contacts and seemed to be a natural fit with the more progressive, energetic stance of the education department under the new Deputy Minister of Education, Duncan McArthur, who had been at Queen's University until called to Toronto after the Liberal victory in 1934. Mowat's predecessor had the misfortune to struggle with harsh economic losses of more than thirty percent to legislative grants (See Figure 1: Ontario Libraries Legislative Grants, 1920-1940). F.C. Jennings' efforts to inject small incentive grants of \$50 for hiring qualified librarians or \$300 for the formation of county library associations did not compensate for the losses suffered by the halving of book grants in 1932. Book expenditures were only beginning to recover at the end of the 1930s after several years of penury.

When Mowat returned to Ontario, the worst effects of the Depression were subsiding. His initial inspection tour of smaller libraries in 1937-38 left him decidedly impressed with the progress at Marmora, Napanee, Coldwater, and New Toronto.¹³⁸ Despite hard times, rural electrification served about half the farm homes by the mid-1930s; however, farm families underutilized hydro because they lacked the disposable income to purchase appliances or radios. In cities and towns, free library expenditures per capita were slowly improving to

the 60-cent range where they had been during the heady days of the twenties. Libraries temporarily closed, such as the Fort Frances Carnegie building (summer 1934), were resuming operations. Community branches in Hamilton (Barton) and London (East, South, and Southeast), shut between 1933 and 1935, had reopened. Larger libraries, such as Sault Ste. Marie, were increasing their municipal appropriations. Even the association libraries were recuperating to a limited extent, although their trend line continued in decline (see Figure 2: Library Expenditure per Capita Served in Ontario, 1920–1940). Bookshelves were replenished as budgets recovered as a sense of normalcy took hold; however, the deflationary years had considerably weakened purchasing power. In terms of actual dollars and adjusted 1939 constant dollars, total annual acquisitions had marked time over a decade. Austerity had reigned for many years, but there were indications of progress. Circulation totals, the standard measure of performance, supported the idea of a revival. A ten-year summary reveals an erratic ebb and flow, including the immediate effect of the new curriculum in late 1937 (Table 7: Public Library Book Expenditures and Circulation, 1930–1939).

After a short study, in 1937, Mowat got approval for his branch to support the implementation of the new curriculum by establishing a central reference library for rural schools for 800 registered teachers, a successful service that continued into the 1960s. Mowat also revived publication of the *Canadian Periodical Index* in the departmental *Ontario Library Review* by arrangement with W. Stewart Wallace, University Librarian at Toronto. The *CPI*, initially begun by Windsor Public Library before Mowat's arrival, had been suspended for years due to financial woes. With Mowat's backing and Wallace's university librarian-indexers, its appearance became a regular feature of the *OLR* until shortly after the end of the Second World War.¹³⁹ The new inspector offered some thoughtful suggestions to alleviate financial malnutrition and to stimulate service in his annual 1937 *Report* to Duncan McArthur, ones that broke new ground for Ontario. He proposed amending grant regulations to allow a 20% contribution to an individual library based on its local expenditures, conditional on employing qualified persons and obtaining the local 50 cents per capita rate from its municipal parent. The promotion of service levels and increased grants would mean greater oversight by the Inspector's office. Mowat put forward the idea of additional professional assistance by his department: a county and regional inspector to promote rural libraries and a travelling library instructor to help with elementary training in small libraries for two- or three-week periods. Many small libraries required trained staff but could not afford to pay salaries commensurate with university qualifications.

The Library School at the University of Toronto was doing good work, but its focus was changing. Winifred Barnstead had successfully secured approval at the University of Toronto to establish a new postgraduate course in library science conferring a B.L.S. Beginning in 1937, applicants would require a bachelor's degree for admission. In the same year, the ALA formally accredited the new school. This bolstered the new academic program that was designed to meet the needs of universities, more extensive public libraries, and high schools. The original program (instituted in 1928) that gave a diploma in librarianship would continue until 1945, but its goal was to channel students to smaller public libraries and elementary schools. The new division reflected the current library supply and demand. Mowat reported in 1938 that the majority of library school graduates usually chose employment in the five largest cities; only 51 certified librarians (i.e. librarians with a diploma from the Ontario College of Education) worked in the other 23 Ontario city libraries. He felt a great deal needed to be done in other localities that had less money to afford trained staff.¹⁴⁰

Innovative thinking and psychological encouragement were part of Mowat's plans to advance library service.¹⁴¹ Before the Second World War, it was not so much a calculated program or long-term policy alternatives that he broached as it was a sense that better times loomed ahead. The library field should be ready to experiment and once again actively promote the "modern library" concept. As part of his duties, Mowat taught students library administration at the University of Toronto Library School. His course lectures featured the idea of "getting at" readers.

It is, in some respects, like the 'follow up' practice of modern merchandising; making one sale lead [sic] to another; but, in the case of the library the motive is precisely the opposite from that of the business salesman. Not to get something out of somebody, but to give him something.

It is easy enough to give lip-service to this principle but not always easy, in a busy library day, to serve it with a whole heart. It demands, time, tact, patience, knowledge and – above all else – that which can neither be simulated nor learned out of a book – interest! Interest in and sympathy with the individual as a human being.¹⁴²

It would be necessary to think beyond the traditional model of municipal free library service enshrined in the public libraries act for more than a half-century. Already, before the onset of war, Mowat was preparing a younger generation of librarians to challenge old precepts.

During the Depression, the merit of campaigns to establish free service in local plebiscites to operate on minimal per capita rates in small communities

was shaken. Many people, more than one million, lived in areas beyond the reach of a free library and did not realize its possibilities. Reaching the public was essential. Now, there were new opportunities to seize. Mowat, like other Ontario librarians, was not reluctant to use radio to promote libraries. At an early stage in his administration, 26 November 1938, he spoke on Toronto's new Canadian Broadcasting Corporation station, CBL 740, about "Co-operative Libraries" urging the formation of more county libraries in conjunction with larger urban centres. Ontario's electrification program was progressing slowly. A few Ontario librarians began speaking to audiences beyond their immediate reach, the non-users as well as the non-residents.

Radio transmission by Canadian libraries was unusual in the twenties and thirties but was used on occasions to publicize activities or entertain audiences. The first library uses of the medium stretched back to radio's commercial origins in Canada. "Bedtime Stories for Children Part of Stars' New Daily Radio" the *Toronto Daily Star* advertised on 10 April 1922 when Ruth Stone and Enid Endicott from TPL read three stories on CFCA after it signed on at 7 p.m. It was not until the early 1930s, with the formation of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission in 1932 and its successor, the CBC, in 1936, that librarians became more conscious of radio's educative influence. The editor of the *Ontario Library Review* avidly promoted public radio in February 1933:

The eminent personnel of the new Radio Commission [CRBC] is a guarantee of enlightened progress by this body. The achievements of our neighbours in better broadcasting are worthy of consideration; in many respects of emulation. Though the United States stations do inflict on us some egregious crooning and other cacophony, their National Advisory Council on Radio in Education has to its credit such excellent series as the one now in progress, "The Economic World Today."¹⁴³

OLR suggested coordinating library activities for bookmarks, booklists, and displays with educational radio programs. The editor stopped short of advocating direct broadcasts, but some larger libraries took advantage of local air time to promote library services and collections, notably TPL. Toronto's CFRB "Library Shelf" ran as a regular program after 1933 on Sunday afternoons and eventually Tuesday evenings. The show devoted time to various types of information on books and services. Charles Sanderson spoke on 5 January 1938 on local CBC about the advantages of microfilming and the unique Early English Books project founded by Eugene Powell and University Microfilms International. In the following year, TPL, the CBC, and the Community Welfare Council collaborated to promote literacy on CBL 740. Each Saturday at 5:45 for 15 minutes in February 1939, CBL aired spots

presented in dramatic form featuring interesting books for children.

Outside of Toronto, a few city stations also worked with libraries. For five years, 1935-40, CKTB St. Catharines broadcast a children's storytime featuring Reata Vansickle on Saturday mornings between 9-10 a.m. CKTB's hosts encouraged smaller libraries to "listen in" if they did not have similar space to conduct stories. At Chatham, the board chairman, chief librarian, and other representatives talked about the library's role and the value of reading on CFCO for one evening a week for five weeks in summer 1935. Windsor's CRCW arranged to broadcast library topics, with particular emphasis on book reviews, from 9:30 to 9:45 p.m. every Wednesday starting in January 1936, with Eleanor Barteaux and Anne Hume doing the presentations. Despite limited resources, public libraries encouraged listening groups, especially children, by advertising the educational features of libraries and books. Libraries used a radio shelf to circulate books broadcast on programs; provided interviews with library staff and trustees; and experimented with in-house displays to advertise materials broadcast or post-program schedules with notations. Generally, the impact may have been moderate, yet it helped adjust listeners' perceptions of the library as a strictly print-bound institution.

Emergence from the Depression's grasp made a return to the old ways of social life and political affairs unlikely. The Dominion government had assumed a greater role in regulating the national economy and providing stimulus for employment. The Bank of Canada, which became responsible for monetary policy in 1935, had helped extricate Alberta and Saskatchewan from default on their bond issues. By summer 1937, as international relations worsened, Canadians were joining the Republican Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion to combat Fascism in the Spanish Civil War. In August 1938, in Kingston, Prime Minister Mackenzie King met the American President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who stated the United States would not stand by idly if Canada were threatened. Belief in the optimality of free markets and minimal government planning at all levels—dominion, provincial, and municipal—was giving way to social-democratic ideas in a search for more effective government roles for Canadians. As early as 1932, a group of farmer, labour, progressive, and socialist politicians announced the formation of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. The Ontario CCF contested the 1934 provincial election and received seven percent of the popular vote. The CCF parties were not the only agents for change. The American Congress of Industrial Organizations and its unions, especially the United Auto Workers, began organizing industrial locals in Ontario. The controversial General Motors strike at Oshawa in April 1937 was a harbinger of the future. National, provincial, and municipal politicians of all stripes realized there could be no

turning back to the old normalcy.

The regional disparities Ontario library leaders observed between rural-urban residents, the north and the south, and inadequate governmental arrangements were evident on a national scale as well. Geographic isolation and economic imbalances were accentuated by highways, airplanes, and a mass audience fed by the press and radio. By 1937, the Liberal Prime Minister, W.L. Mackenzie King, established a Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations to investigate government structures. The Depression had not only upset the political order. It had revealed that the national government held the major sources of revenue at a time when the provinces, under the Canadian constitution, were burdened with higher expenditures for health care, education, and social welfare. While the municipal level was by no means the focus of the Rowell-Sirois Commission (named after its two chairs), it did assign studies and receive briefs from a broad range of organizations about the obligations and functions of government in general.

Under the presidency of the mayor of Wallaceburg, Edgar U. Dickenson, an influential trustee who wanted to improve library fortunes through cooperation, the OLA formed a committee of five under the chair, W.S. Wallace, to submit recommendations concerning the formation of a National Library. The idea of a national library for Canada had lingered in the shadows after the release of *Libraries in Canada* in 1933; now, the OLA (and the British Columbia Library Association) shed light on it once more.¹⁴⁴ Although the Ontario government under Premier Mitchell Hepburn played an antagonistic, uncooperative role casting a pessimistic atmosphere at the April 1938 dominion-provincial proceedings in Toronto, the OLA ventured forth against the tide.¹⁴⁵ Its brief outlined four basic functions for a national library: to act as a central repository of library information; to issue books; to compile a national union catalogue of holdings; and to liaise with existing cultural organizations, such as the National Museum, National Gallery, Public Archives, and Library of Parliament.

The Ontario Library Association would urge that the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations go on record as to the need for a National Library and request the appointment of a Committee or a Commission to investigate the matter and to present their findings to the Dominion and the Provincial governments.¹⁴⁶

Dr. Wallace's presentation received some news coverage.¹⁴⁷ But, eventually, the Commission's three-volume study on revising federal-provincial relations was destined to be shelved at a Dominion-Provincial Conference held in January of 1941 with governments in Ontario and Quebec leading the

resistance. Nevertheless, the Rowell-Sirois Report went on record supporting the national library concept as one that “could be appropriately undertaken by the Dominion Government.”¹⁴⁸

The *Brief* by OLA to the Rowell-Sirois Commission emphasized its expanded horizons about library organization by the late 1930s. The British Columbia Library Association had supported the idea of a national library at Commission hearings in Victoria and added pleas to abolish the excise tax on books and to reduce postal costs as well.¹⁴⁹ The thirties-style era of cooperation fostered by necessity led to refreshing innovations beyond parochial shibboleths. The national viewpoint often expressed in *Libraries in Canada* by Ridington, Locke, and Black was a clarion call not to be resisted. It seemed the time was not quite ripe for a national association to speak for libraries—but possibly a “skeleton organization” could be formed, a Canadian Library Council. A national body, supported by strong provincial associations and provincial funding for libraries, could improve services immeasurably. So reasoned a librarian from Alberta.¹⁵⁰ Further, many librarians, such as W.S. Wallace, were concerned with the proper distribution of the nation’s government publications. Wallace insisted that the King’s Printer should be issuing quarterly or annual checklists for bibliographic control purposes.¹⁵¹ These were important ideas that eventually would be successful after the Second World War.

Why should the influence of public libraries be restricted to their customary local clientele? As national organizations, such as the new Association of Canadian Bookmen (ACB), attempted to promote reading, libraries engaged in bolder endeavours.¹⁵² John Buchan, Lord Tweedsmuir, Canada’s new governor-general, helped launch the ACB early in 1936 and, with the assistance of the Canadian Authors Association (CAA), helped establish the prestigious Governor-General’s Literary Awards. By the end of 1936, Lady Susan Tweedsmuir began promoting a scheme to provide rural prairie communities with small rotating book collections using the Federated Women’s Institutes of Canada and Homemakers’ Clubs of Saskatchewan. Her inspirational idea grew rapidly, nourished by national (and international) enthusiasm and a \$1,500 Carnegie grant.¹⁵³ In rural areas, access to books could be challenging because there were few independent bookstores or libraries. English-language publishing, centred in Toronto, was a difficult venture, in part exacerbated by the high tariff rates and unlawful (but routine) dumping of American remaindered publications in Canada. Reductions in tariff restrictions began to ease when Canada signed reciprocal trade agreements with the U.S. and Britain from 1935-38. In these circumstances, publishers and libraries had much to gain by working together to promote

books.

TPL took on the task of organizing several theme booths for the ACB's national book fairs in 1937 and 1938, displaying new books on the slogan "Reading, the Magic Highway to Adventure." The major Canadian publishers—Macmillan of Canada, McClelland and Stewart, and Ryerson Press—were in prominence; moreover, these fairs were an opportunity for authors, such as Morley Callahan, to speak about their work and to promote Canadian literature. Because of successful publicity, other libraries agreed to hold book fairs outside Toronto in southern Ontario centres such as Pickering, St. Catharines, Guelph, and Goderich.¹⁵⁴ Later, in celebration of the quincentenary of Gutenberg's invention of moveable type in 1940, TPL helped produce the *Canadian Book of Printing* that chronicled the development of printing as well as contemporary techniques of production in Canada.

Work with the ACB was over and above library involvement with the CAA to celebrate Canadian Book Week each November. The Book Week had started in 1921 to acquaint the public with the nation's authors and, of course, publicizing new books for Christmas sales. In the second year, George Locke and W.O. Carson published a booklet listing contemporary Canadian imprints to dispel doubts raised by a 1913 German "kultur map" that showed Canada as "having no discernable culture."¹⁵⁵ The list became a TPL annual effort. In the 1930s, it was difficult to promote books, even for \$2.50, and Book Week often was launched at the Royal York, where Toronto groups could assist with organization. Its results frequently were deemed successful.¹⁵⁶ Some librarians, such as George Locke and Peterborough's Fred de la Fosse, were authors in their own right; yet, generally, libraries were not always eager "change agents." The launch of the inexpensive mass paperback format, notably Penguin Books by Allen Lane in the UK in 1936 and then Pocket Books in the US in 1939, aimed to reach more people at 25 to 35 cents. Canadian booksellers gladly sold Penguins before the onset of the Second World War; however, libraries were loathed to purchase them because of their uncertain durability, the difficulty for rebinding, and their "second-rate" appearance.

The scope for library cooperation broadened in the 1930s as more provincial library associations formed in Quebec (1932), the Maritimes (1935), and Manitoba (1936). It became possible to liaise effectively across Canada. For its 1937 conference, OLA met with other Canadian associations. At the request of Ottawa's mayor and library groups in the city, OLA, the Quebec Library Association (QLA), Library Association of Ottawa, and the Montreal Special Libraries Association held joint meetings at the Chateau Laurier on Victoria Day weekend, 24-25 May, the first inter-provincial library meeting in Canada. Dorothy Carlisle, OLA President 1936-37, and other officials hosted

almost 250 delegates. A notable speaker was Martin Burell, the Librarian of Parliament since 1920, who was known as a politician and writer as well.¹⁵⁷ A “bonne entente” was established and, subsequently, OLA accepted an invitation by QLA to Canada’s metropolitan centre, Montreal, for 1939.

In April 1939, at Montreal’s stately Windsor Hotel, a short time before the arrival of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, the QLA and OLA joined with the Maritime Library Institute and the Montreal Special Libraries Association. The Royal Visit to Newfoundland and all provinces in May and June reminded Canadians of their British ties. It was evident a European war was fast approaching. OLA’s President, Kathleen (Moyer) Elliott, from Galt, relied on a British poet to inspire her audience.

In a day when political and economic ‘isms” are prolific and bewildering, my own recommendation, and it is more practical than heroic, would be Kipling’s phrase:

‘The wisest thing we suppose, that a man
can do for his land
Is the work that lies under his nose, with
the tools that lie to his hand.’

If civilization is really slipping from us nothing is to be gained by stopping work to worry. If the values in which we believe are yet to triumph, then the very best we can do is to keep on keeping on.¹⁵⁸

Stay the course was wise guidance. The Montreal conference reprised many of the decade’s library developments. Nora Bateson, the Director of Libraries in Nova Scotia, who had worked at the Ontario Legislative Library in the 1920s, spoke on regional libraries. A.L. Normandin, head of Public Printing and Stationery at Ottawa, discussed the federal distribution of government documents. Queen’s University director, E. Cockburn Kyte, address was on “A Canadian National Library.” A meeting of several librarians led by Lillian Smith resulted in the formation of the Canadian Association of Children’s Librarians (CACL). This new national association was perhaps a response to Smith’s observation that a “sense of isolation” was a chief handicap felt by many children’s librarians.¹⁵⁹ One positive conference outcome was a successful renewed effort to achieve a Library Book Rate, a postal subsidy authorized by the Postmaster General. When it came into effect later in the year, OLA and Canadian librarians could toast a small victory.¹⁶⁰ The conference-goers realized a bigger step, of course, was a Canadian Library Association. Nevertheless, librarians and libraries would have to wait seven years longer for this achievement.

CHAPTER 2 NOTES

1. See Peter Oliver, *G. Howard Ferguson: Ontario Tory* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1977), 277-370 for Ferguson's administration.

2. Quoted in *Globe*, 11 August 1930: 4.

3. For example, G.H. Locke, "Importance of Maintaining Our Social Institutions," *ALA Bulletin* 27 (April 1933): 176-79.

4. *Globe*, 11 August 1930: 4; and Henry John Cody, "Real Measure of Progress Intellectual and Spiritual," *Proceedings of the Ontario Library Association Annual Meeting* (1930): 29-32.

5. For a library program to mark the Act's inception, see Isabel McLean, "New Canadians and War Brides," *OLR* 31, no. 1 (Feb. 1947): 38.

6. A. Raymond Mullens, "Bringing Books to Brains," *Maclean's Magazine*, 1 June 1927: 22, 81-83.

7. Letter of John Ridington to Mary J.L. Black, 5 May 1930, in file: Canadian Survey; Executive Board and Executive Director, Series 2/4/6, box 6, ALA Archives, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

8. Mary J.L. Black, "Ontario Libraries," *OLR* 15, no. 4 (May 1931): 134.

9. Following references are from John Ridington, Mary J. L. Black, and George H. Locke, *Libraries in Canada; A Study of Library Conditions and Needs* (Toronto and Chicago: Ryerson Press, ALA, 1933), 50-62. Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "1930: The Commissioner's Trail," *Feliciter* 47, no. 3 (2001): 140-41 sets out their travel and work.

10. Ontario, *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1928, 57-58.

11. See Bertha Bassam, *The Faculty of Library Science, University of Toronto and Its Predecessors, 1911-1972* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Faculty of Library Science, 1978), 8-22; Elizabeth Hanson, "Early Canadian Library Education: the McGill and Ontario Experience, 1904-1927," in Peter F. McNally, ed., *Readings in Canadian Library History* 2 (Ottawa: CLA, 1996), 57-89; and Elaine A. Boone, "'Holding the Key to the Hall of Democracy': Professional Education for Librarianship in Toronto, 1882-1936," PhD diss., Toronto, Graduate Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education, University of Toronto, 1997, 101-21.

12. All references to *Libraries in Canada*, 133-35.

13. See my *Free Books for All: The Public Library Movement in Ontario, 1850-1930* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994), 128-32.

14. Mary Black, "Ontario Libraries," *OLR* 15, no. 4 (May 1931): 138.

15. John Ridington, "Library as Insurance," *OLR* 18, no. 3 (Aug. 1934): 124; and Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "1934: CLA Redux . . . Almost," *Feliciter* 49, no. 3 (2003): 161-64.

16. Memo by S.B. Herbert to Deputy Minister of Education, 17 December 1931. File: Departmental Correspondence, 1923-1942, Public

Libraries Act Working Papers, Dept. of Education, RG 2-228, box 1, AO.

17. Ontario, *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1933, 69.

18. See. E.S. Beacock, "The County Library Comes to Ontario," *Ex Libris News* 5 (Spring 1989): 2-5 for correspondence by Dr. J.A. Lamont about Lambton's new service, 1931-32.

19. Sudbury Public Library, *A Half Century of Continuous Service, Sudbury Public Library, 1912-1962* (Sudbury: SPL, 1962), unpagged.

20. *Report of the Minister*, 1934 and 1935, forms the basis of the following references on pp. 19-21.

21. Ruth Cornish Soward, "Boys and Girls House at Toronto," *Library Journal* 59 (15 June 1934): 506-08.

22. William.J. Sykes, "Fiction in Public Libraries," *OLR* 17, no. 2 (May 1933): 56-58.

23. See Bruce, *Free Books for All*, 184-203 and tables 13-14.

24. "Perfect Library Seen as Serving Rural Parts, Cities," *Globe*, 18 April 1933: 9.

25. *Globe*, 23 April 1935: 12. For Beattie's paper see "The Library and the Small Community," *OLR* 19, no. 2 (May 1935): 58-60.

26. Margaret Fraser, "High School Libraries in Ontario," *The School [Secondary Edition]; a Magazine Devoted to Elementary and Secondary Education* 27, no. 2 (Oct. 1938): 148-51.

27. File: Draft Constitution, Ontario Library Association fonds, Ontario Regional Group of Cataloguers Files, F 1195-16, box 24, AO.

28. See Kate A. Foster, *Our Canadian Mosaic* (Toronto: YWCA, 1926), 86-87.

29. "Report of the O.L.A. Committee on Books for the Foreign Born," *OLR* 15, no. 1 (May 1931): 165-67.

30. "Ask Books in Arabic," *Windsor Daily Star*, 7 April 1939: 5; and "Foreign Languages [editorial]," *Daily Star*, 8 April 1939: 3.

31. DBS, *Survey of Libraries in Canada 1933* (Ottawa: DBS Education Branch, 1934), 11.

32. See *Free Books for All*, map 4, 282.

33. DBS, *Survey 1935*, 8-10.

34. Margaret V. Ray, "What Becomes of the University Woman?" *University of Toronto Monthly* 30 (Jan. 1930): 135-38.

35. W.O. Carson, "Canadian Considerations," in ALA, *Libraries and Adult Education* (Chicago: ALA, 1926), 92-102 [includes ALA introduction]. *Handbook of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1923), 82-83.

36. "Ontario Films," *OLR* 16, no. 3 (Aug. 1932): 91-92; and "Motion-Picture Programmes," *OLR* 16, no. 4 (Nov. 1932): 117-18.

37. See *Free Books for All*, 211-25 for this process.

38. See W.O. Carson, "The Institutes and Library Service," in Ontario Dept. of Agriculture, *Report of the Women's Institutes*, 1922, 101

39. For Canadian developments, see Lorne D. Bruce, "From Library Work to Library Science: Forming Canadian Librarianship, 1920-1960,"

Partnership: The Canadian Journal of Library and Information Practice and Research 14, no. 1 (July 2019): 1-41.

40. For example, "Library Training School for 1917," *OLR* 1, no. 4 (May 1917): 90-92.

41. Helen Murray, "The Reader's Adviser," *OLR* 20, no. 3 (Aug. 1936): 107-09 and Lillian Benor, "The Reader's Adviser," *OLR* 20, no. 3 (Aug. 1936): 109-11.

42. Lucy M. Kinloch, "The Menace of the Series Book," *OLR* 19, no. 2 (May 1935): 74-76; and Kinloch, *The Development of Children's Literature in Canada* (Cleveland, Ohio: Case Western Reserve School of Library Science, May 1931).

43. "Niagara Falls," *OLR* 12, no. 4 (May 1928): 120.

44. "The New Public Library at Agincourt," *OLR* 10, no. 2 (Nov. 1925): 34.

45. "Cobourg," *OLR* 11, no. 4 (May 1927): 122.

46. "Chapleau," *OLR* 13, no. 2 (Nov. 1928): 80.

47. "Espanola," *OLR* 16, no. 1 (Aug. 1931): 36 with statistics from Ontario, *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1930 and 1953.

48. See Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "An Historical Look at Resource Sharing," *Library Trends* 23 (April 1975): 649-64.

49. W.O. Carson in *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1926, 48-53 supplements his Canadian section in *Libraries and Adult Education*, 93-102.

50. J. Katharine Greenfield, *Hamilton Public Library 1889-1963: A Celebration of Vision and Leadership* (Hamilton: HPL, 1989), 66-67.

51. *Report of the Minister*, 1927, 54-58.

52. John Ridington, "Canada and Its Libraries, 1934," *Library Journal* 59 (15 June 1934): 494.

53. "Hespeler," *OLR* 11, no. 3 (Feb. 1927): 79.

54. "Brantford," and "Brockville," *OLR* 12, no. 2 (Nov. 1927): 48.

55. Catherine Campbell and Beatrice W. Welling, *Library Science for Canadians* (Toronto: Pitman, 1936) in three editions to 1958.

56. "The Place of Books in Our Lives," *Perth Courier*, 15 March 1935: 2 (editorial reprinted from *Cornwall Standard-Freeholder*).

57. Tom Bentley, *A History of the Hanover Public Library to 1950* (Hanover, Ont.: HPL, 1986), 34-35.

58. For example, "Editorial Comment: Duties of All Trustees," *OLR* 13, no. 4 (May 1929): 130.

59. Ontario, *Public Accounts, 1929-30*, F 47-50.

60. For their development, see Bruce, *Free Books for All*, 150-63.

61. See C.E. Freeman, "Travelling Libraries," BA thesis, Guelph, Ontario Agricultural College, 1925, for an outline of activities.

62. DBS, *Survey of Libraries*, 1935, 29.

63. Peter Oliver, *G. Howard Ferguson*, 324-25. Karl and Mary Schuessler, *School on Wheels: Reaching and Teaching the Isolated Children of the North* (Erin, Ont.: Boston Mills, 1986) discuss these railway cars.

64. See Margaret Penman, *A Century of Service: Toronto Public Library, 1883-1983* (Toronto: TPL, 1983), 19-46.
65. For example, W.O. Carson, "Public Libraries of Ontario," *Library Journal* 52 (1 May 1927): 451-56.
66. Fred Landon, "The Library and Local Material," *OLR* 1, no. 3 (Feb. 1917): 61-62.
67. For example, William J. Dunlop, "Adult Education through Organized Groups," *Proceedings of the Ontario Library Association Annual Meeting* (1925): 6-14; and "Adult Education in Canada," *OLR* 21, no. 2 (May 1937): 60-62.
68. Lurene Lyle, "Reference Work in the Depression," *OLR* 18, no. 2 (May 1934): 59-61.
69. Georgina H. Thomson, "Library Tragedies," *Canadian Forum* 12 (Aug. 1932): 425-26.
70. Paul Stuewe, *The Storms Below: The Turbulent Life and Times of Hugh Garner* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1988), 44-45. Garner worked at the Riverdale branch.
71. Alfred Holmes, "Voluntary Reading of Toronto Public School Pupils," PhD diss. for the Degree of Doctor of Pedagogy, University of Toronto, 1932, 108-11.
72. DBS, *Survey 1935*, 46.
73. See Leslie Anne McGrath, "Service to Children in the Toronto Public Library; a Case Study, 1912-1949," PhD diss., Toronto, Faculty of Information Studies and Collaborative Program in Book History and Print Culture, University of Toronto, 2005, 219-24 for TPL's liaison with school libraries.
74. Mary Ross, "Mystery Novel," *Saturday Night* 50 (12 Oct. 1935): 8.
75. "Censorship Plan Called 'Bad Law,'" *Globe*, 11 Feb. 1936: 1; "First Warning Given," *Globe*, 13 Feb. 1936: 4; "On the Banning of Books," *Canadian Bookman* 18 (10 Feb. 1936): 3; and "Censors of Library Books," *Saturday Night* 51 (15 Feb. 1936): 3.
76. "Public Libraries and Sexy Books," *Toronto Star*, 17 March 1939: 6.
77. Aimée M. Kennedy, "The Librarian and Her Relationship to Books and Readers," *OLR* 15, no. 2 (Nov. 1930): 39-43.
78. Mary E. Silverthorn, "Standards in Selecting Fiction," *Michigan Library Bulletin* 23, no. 1 (1932): 5-7.
79. Bruce, *Free Books for All*, 239-40.
80. "Education Dept. Bans War Book of E.M. Remarque," *Toronto Daily Star*, 25 Nov. 1929: 1.
81. "Speaks to OLA," *Toronto Daily Star*, 14 April 1936: 29.
82. "How Department Deals with Indecent Publications," *National Revenue Review* 12 (March 1939): 4-5.
83. "Keeping Out Flood of Indecent Publication," *National Revenue Review* 7 (Jan. 1934): 6-7; and "Stemming the Tide of Obscene Publications," *NRR* 6 (Jan. 1933): 4.
84. Inconstant Reader, "Preferences," *Canadian Forum* 9 (Aug. 1929):

386-87.

85. J. Ross McLean, "Bad Books in Canada," *Saturday Night* 50 (6 April 1935): 10; Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 12 March 1935, vol. 2, 1652-53; and Canada, *Debates*, 3 March 1936, 751-52.

86. "Censorship or Law," *Saturday Night* 50 (16 March 1935): 1.

87. Ontario Public Libraries Branch, *Reference Work and Reference Works* (Toronto: King's Printer, 1920).

88. Marion Villiers Higgins, *Canadian Government Publications: A Manual for Librarians* (Chicago: ALA, 1935), 2-6.

89. See Freda F. Waldon, "Suggested Program for Canadian Libraries," in ALA Committee on Public Documents, *Public Documents* [1934] (Chicago: ALA, 1935), 37-45; and Beatrice W. Welling, "Difficulties Arising from the Methods of Issuing Canadian Documents," in *Public Documents*, 197-202.

90. See W.J. Sykes, "Ottawa Public Library: Rideau Branch," *OLR* 18, no. 2 (May 1934): 63-65; and C.R. Sanderson, "Two Recent Branch Libraries in Toronto [Runnymede and Danforth]," *JRAIC* 8 (Dec. 1930): 430-37. All discussed in "Notes on Library Planning," *OLR* 18, no. 1 (Feb. 1934): 8-13.

91. "Fort William," *OLR* 22, no. 3 (Aug. 1938): 247-48; and Report on Fort William, October 4th 1938, Inspection Diaries, 194; Angus Mowat fonds, Western University, box 1875.

92. Allan McGillivray, *Uxbridge Library, 1859-1987* (Uxbridge, Ont.: Library Board, 1987), 14.

93. "St. Jacob's Public Library," *OLR* 18, no. 2 (May 1934): 62.

94. Frances A. Hutchinson, "Port Rowan's New Library Building," *OLR* 20, no. 4 (Nov. 1936): 143.

95. *Toronto Daily Star*, 25 May 1935: 18.

96. *Report of the Minister*, 1933, 69. For rural depopulation before 1920, see Lorne Bruce, "Local Government and Library Boards in Ontario, 1882-1945," in Peter F. McNally, ed., *Readings in Canadian Library History 2* (Ottawa: CLA, 1996), 135-43.

97. Dorothy Carlisle, "What the County Library Has Being Doing," *OLR* 20, no. 3 (Aug. 1936): 113-15.

98. For developments in the north, see John A. Wiseman, "Temples of Democracy: A History of Public Library Development in Ontario, 1880-1920," PhD diss., Loughborough University of Technology, 1989, 77-122.

99. Reports on Dryden and Ignace, October 7th-8th 1938, Inspection Diaries, 195-97, Angus Mowat fonds, Western University, box 1875.

100. "Brief Submitted by the Toronto Public Library Board to the Chairman and Members of the Metro Committee," Records of the Metropolitan Area Committee of the County of York, Dept. of Municipal Affairs, RG 19-145, box 7, AO.

101. Mary Cook, "Remembering the 30's," *OLR* 65, no. 2 (June 1981): 151-52.

102. Charles R. Sanderson, "Problems of Library Extension in Rural Parts of England," *Proceedings of the Ontario Library Association Annual*

Meeting (1930): 9-10; and "Lauds Library Work in Rural Districts," *Toronto Daily Star*, 22 April 1930: 31.

103. See "Lambton County Library Project," *ALA Bulletin* 28 (Sept. 1934): 632-33.

104. See Edmund Wark, *Middlesex County Library Co-operative: The First Twenty-Five Years, 1934-1959* (London: Hunter Printing, 1959), 1-5.

105. Florence L. Cameron, "Elgin County Organizes Library Association," *OLR* 20, no. 4 (Nov. 1936): 148-49.

106. See "Some Cooperative Library Projects," *OLR* 20, no. 1 (Feb. 1936): 5-6.

107. "Library Ass'n Is Organized," *Simcoe Reformer*, 7 Nov. 1935: 15.

108. C.H. Hale, "Co-operation in Simcoe County," *OLR* 20, no. 2 (May 1936): 65-66.

109. B. Mabel Dunham, "Co-operation in the Libraries of Waterloo County," *OLR* 21, no. 3 (Aug. 1937): 122.

110. Agnes LaQue, "A County Library Association for Leeds and Grenville," *OLR* 21, no. 3 (Aug. 1937): 136.

111. Jessie Warren, *A Plan of Cooperation Among the Libraries of Lincoln County* (Toronto: Library School, Ontario College of Education, University of Toronto, May 1938). To improve her education, Warren paid the salary of her substitute while she was on her study leave.

112. Appendix from Gordon Wragg, "Library Service in Ontario and Some Possible Improvements, Especially in Rural Library Service," BA thesis, Guelph, Ontario Agricultural College, 1943.

113. Report on Bond Head, November 3th 1938, Inspection Diaries, 209; Angus Mowat fonds, Western University, box 1875.

114. "Queenston Scouts Give Their Village Library," *Globe and Mail*, 31 Dec. 1938: 4.

115. G. Wragg, "Library Service," 31.

116. For the progressive reforms see Lynn Speer Lemisko and Kurt W. Clausen, "Connections, Contrarities, and Convolutions: Curriculum and Pedagogic Reform in Alberta and Ontario, 1930-1955," *Canadian Journal of Education* 29, no. 4 (2006): 1097-1126.

117. Arthur Slyfield, *A Survey of Collegiate, High, and Technical School Libraries in Ontario* (Oshawa: Alger Press, 1929), 27.

118. J.D. Campbell, "The Elementary School Library of Ontario," *The Canadian School Journal* 12 (April 1934): 131-34.

119. Leslie McGrath, "Service to Children in the Toronto Public Library," 157-64.

120. Sheila Egoff with Wendy K. Sutton, *Once Upon a Time: My Life with Children's Books* (Victoria: Orca Book Publishers, 2005), 30.

121. Kathleen M. Crosby, "The Library and the New Programme of Studies," *OLR* 22, no. 2 (May 1938): 92.

122. W. Rentoul Castell, "New Course of Studies Makes Heavy Demand on Fort William Public Library Shelves," *OLR* 22, no. 1 (Feb. 1938): 23.

123. Ontario Department of Education, *Programme of Studies for Grades I to VI of the Public and Separate Schools, 1941* (Toronto: Minister of Education, 1941), 36.
124. "Librarians to Compare Notes," *Globe and Mail*, 23 May 1938: 6.
125. "The Challenge of the New Course of Studies to the Children's Libraries," *OLR* 22, no. 3 (Aug. 1938): 209-11.
126. Anne I. Hume, "Public Libraries and the Schools," *OLR* 23, no. 2 (May 1939): 119-20.
127. "Gananoque," *OLR* 23, no. 4 (Nov. 1939): 393.
128. "Barrie," *OLR* 22, no. 1 (Feb. 1938): 50.
129. "Dr. L.J. Simpson is Speaker at Library Night," *OLR* 22, no. 4 (Nov. 1938): 300-01.
130. "Hauls Forth Mice in Public Library," *Toronto Star*, 20 Jan. 1939: 2.
131. Aimée M. Kennedy, "Kingston Library and the New Curriculum," *OLR* 23, no. 3 (Aug. 1939): 243.
132. Ontario, *Report of the Minister*, 1939, 91.
133. James J. Talman, "From the Ontario Archives to the UWO," *Ex Libris News* 12 (Fall 1992): 4-9.
134. Sykes' *Selected List of Fiction in English* (Ottawa: James Hope & Sons, 1914) followed by *Selected List of the Best Biographies in English from the Point of View of a Canadian Public Library* (Ottawa: Carnegie Public Library of Ottawa, 1918) were early tools promoting Canadian authors.
135. Black retired to Vancouver where she died on 4 January 1939: see Ken Morrison, "Mary J.L. Black of the Fort William Library," *Épilogue; Canadian Bulletin for the History of Books, Libraries and Archives* 9, no. 1 (1994): 13-22. For Locke, see Malcolm W. Wallace, "Dr. George Herbert Locke (1870-1937)," *OLR* 21, no. 2 (May 1937): 59-60. And E. Cockburn Kyte, "Ex Libris: for Librarians; George Herbert Locke," *Queen's Quarterly* 44 (1937): 85-89. Locke's memorial service is printed in *Toronto Public Library Fifty-third Annual Report, 1936* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1937), 33-40.
136. Mary J.L. Black, "Ideal Librarian," *OLR* 19, no. 3 (Aug. 1935): 125.
137. See Lorne Bruce, *George Herbert Locke and the Transformation of Toronto Public Library, 1908-1937* (Guelph: Libraries Today, 2020).
138. Reports on Marmora, Napanee, New Toronto, and Coldwater, Inspection Diaries, 75-77, 101-102, 115-118, and 227, Angus Mowat fonds, Western University, box 1875.
139. May L. Newton, "Indexing Canadian Periodicals," *OLR* 26, no. 4 (Nov. 1942): 395.
140. *Report of the Minister*, 1938, 83. Short two-week elementary courses were held at McMaster and the University of Western Ontario in 1938.
141. See Lorne Bruce, "An Inspector Calls: Angus Mowat and Ontario's Rural Libraries, 1937-40," *Ontario History* 106, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 77-99.
142. Angus Mowat, "Notes on Lectures in Library Administration, Ontario Library School, 1939-1940;" Angus Mowat fonds, Western University, box 1877.

143. "1933 Marches On," *OLR* 17, no. 1 (Feb. 1933): 3.

144. E.U. Dickenson, "Taking Stock of the Library Situation in Ontario," *OLR* 22, no. 3 (Aug. 1938): 190-91; and F. Dolores Donnelly, *The National Library of Canada* (Ottawa: CLA, 1973), 40-44.

145. See John T. Saywell, *'Just Call me Mitch': The Life of Mitchell F. Hepburn* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 375-84.

146. OLA, *Brief Submitted to the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations at Its Hearings in Toronto, Ontario, April 1938* (April 1938), 3.

147. "Says Relief System Has Reduced Wages," *Globe and Mail*, 30 April 1938: 1.

148. Canada. Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, *Report* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1940), vol. 2, 52.

149. British Columbia Library Association, "Summary of Brief," *Library Journal* 63 (1 May 1938): 379-80. A questionnaire by the Ontario College of Education, *Survey of the Distribution of Library Books in Canada to Borrowers Living at a Distance from Libraries* (Toronto, March 1939), showed highest parcel post costs in British Columbia and Saskatchewan.

150. Bernard A. Ower, "Whither Canadian Libraries?" *ALA Bulletin* 33 (July 1939): 499-503.

151. W.S. Wallace, "Canadian Government Documents," *OLR* 22, no. 3 (Aug. 1938): 195-96.

152. Anson Bailey Cutts, "What the A.C.B. Means to Libraries," *OLR* 19, no. 2 (May 1936): 62-63.

153. See "Lady Tweedsmuir's Prairie Libraries," *Christian Science Monitor*, 12 Feb. 1938: 2 for contemporary support as far as Europe.

154. A.B. Curtis, "A Challenge to All Librarians," *Quill & Quire* 3 (June 1937): 26-27; and Annie M. Wright, "The Book Fair—A Venture in Library Publicity," *Library Journal* 63 (15 March 1938): 215-18.

155. Toronto Public Library, *Recent Canadian Books; Canadian Book Week 1922* (Toronto: Dept. of Education, 1922).

156. M.M. Howard, "Canadian Book Week," *OLR* 18, no. 4 (Nov. 1934): 149-50. For publishing, see David Young, "The Macmillan Company of Canada in the 1930s," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 30 (Fall 1995): 117-33.

157. Martin Burrell, "Books, Readers, and Reviewers," *OLR* 21, no. 3 (Aug. 1937): 115-16.

158. Kathleen Moyer Elliott, "Presidential Address," *OLR* 23, no. 2 (May 1939): 175-76.

159. See Canadian Association of Children's Librarians, *Lillian H. Smith; A Tribute from the C.A.C.L., June 10, 1952* (Ottawa: CLA, 1952) and Smith, "The Library's Responsibility to the Child," in Emily M. Danton, ed., *The Library of Tomorrow: A Symposium* (Chicago: ALA, 1939), 124-32.

160. "Motion on Postal Rates on Books," *OLR* 23, no. 2 (May 1939): 167.



1. Mary J.L. Black, chief librarian,
Fort William Public Library, nd.



2. London Public Library volunteers pack books and
magazines for the armed forces, 1945

WAR AND THE HOME FRONT, 1939–45

Spring-summer 1939 was not entirely a prelude to war. Besides Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and Vincent Sheehan's journalistic counterfoil, *Not Peace but a Sword*, library readers could relax with Daphne du Maurier's runaway bestseller, *Rebecca*, or Margery Sharp's *Harlequin House*. "Ask the Library" was a slogan in Toronto, where reference work via telephone was reaching more than 10,000 requests each year.¹ Shortly after the joint Montreal library conference in mid-April, the New York World's Fair, "Building the World of Tomorrow," opened at Flushing Meadows. It attracted many Canadian visitors. Canada's reigning monarchs, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, briefly visited Canada's pavilion and later met with President Roosevelt before returning to Canada to continue the Royal Tour. The technologies featured in New York, particularly the airplane and the first American television broadcast by NBC, held the promise of a more fast-moving, inter-connected continent and world. Trans-Canada Airways had begun regular airmail service between Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver in March. Closer to home, in June, the visiting royals formally dedicated Ontario's first "superhighway," the Queen Elizabeth Way, connecting Toronto-Hamilton-St. Catharines-Niagara Falls and the newly commissioned Rainbow Bridge across the Niagara River.

On Parliament Hill, the new postmaster general received congratulations on May 24th for authorizing a reduction of postal rates on library books. Now Canadian libraries and patrons could exchange books at a preferential rate of five cents per pound with an additional one cent per pound.² Public libraries were also marking special occasions in 1939. Hamilton Public Library was busy celebrating its golden anniversary. Hamilton's first main library, opened in 1890, was the first building specifically erected as a city library in Canada. In London, planning was underway for a new central library, a long-anticipated project that the Depression had stalled for a decade. The city had received a considerable endowment from the estate of Elsie Perrin Williams (d.1934) and sought confirmation from the Ontario legislature to use funds for capital projects. The city purchased a site from London Life Insurance on Queens Avenue and hired an architect, Thornton C. McBride, by summer 1939.³ This new library would combine elements of modernist Art Deco architecture and the open plan that would set it apart from previous library buildings and establish new standards for Canadian libraries to emulate.

On the eve of WWII, Canadian-American library relations were warming;

steps were taken that eventually would have national consequences. On 17 May, the American Library Association's influential executive secretary, Carl Milam, met clandestinely in Niagara Falls with Charles Sanderson and Gerhard Lomer, McGill University Librarian, to discuss the formation of a national library body with ALA's support. Together, they drew up a plan of action. Agenda items included creation of a Canadian board within ALA; promotion of a national library; and publication of library bulletins, bibliographies, indexes, and monographs. They agreed not to publicize their actions until ALA's Council approval was assured.⁴ For many years, Canadian library matters had lagged; now, closer American ties held the promise of positive action. For a second time in a decade, in the mid-part of 1939, an ALA-sponsored Canadian library study was underway conducted by Jean Eileen Stewart. Fifteen Ontario libraries chose to complete a questionnaire for a detailed examination of library governance of thirty-seven major public libraries across Canada.

Stewart's report appeared in September 1939 and remains a key national political study on Canadian public libraries prior to WWII. Ontario's libraries, with their "strong board" system, fared well relative to other provinces, but Stewart's findings confirmed that voluntary county library associations required legislation because they could not be replicated systematically in all parts of the province. At a national level, regional systems, like the ones funded in the 1930s by Carnegie demonstrations in British Columbia and Prince Edward Island, held the most promise.

In the United States at present there is an organized effort to effect equalization of library service by federal or state to rural districts, or cities which are financially unable to serve local needs adequately. Equalization of service should also be a major objective in Canada. It is unlikely that any aid for public libraries will be received from the Dominion Government, but the provincial governments could assist to equalize service within provincial boundaries. Inevitably, as regional libraries develop, the provincial government will play a more important [role] in public library affairs.⁵

Stewart concluded optimistically, "there is every indication that improvement will soon take place" for Canada's libraries. But, as the report was being compiled, European events dictated another course. Following completion of the Pact of Steel between Italy and Germany in May and the Nazi-Soviet Pact between Hitler and Stalin in August, war became inevitable. After the invasion of Poland, the Canadian Parliament declared war on Germany on 10 September. Public libraries immediately became part of the "home front," a vast mobilization of the domestic population to support and wage war, a cause

in which female librarians were not eligible for enlistment. Libraries were not in a state of readiness, nor did a central national library organization exist to guide library civilian and military contributions.

The Second World War was fought on an unprecedented scale. The power of the Dominion was unquestioned: the War Measures Act allowed Ottawa to enact sweeping measures with little opposition, even in provincial jurisdictions. Canada mobilized both civilian and military forces to manufacture equipment and machines in the cause of victory. In the grand scheme, the civil populace on the home front was as valuable as the soldier, airman, and sailor fighting with the tanks, planes, and sea vessels produced in Canada's factories and shipyards. In September 1939, the federal government established the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, thereby checking wartime inflation brought on by vast government expenditures. The Board eventually introduced rationing schemes for everyday commodities such as sugar, meat, butter, oil, and gas. By early 1940, the federal Department of Munitions and Supply headed by C.D. Howe began operations to produce war armaments and plan the expansion of the industrial sector, often utilizing existing resources, for example, Victory Aircraft Limited, which built bombers and transport planes at the Malton airfield. During the war, millions of dollars in government contracts were given to corporations, such as the Defence Industries Limited, which led to the astonishing production levels Canada achieved.

A striking change during the war was the increased employment of women and the extensive use of assembly-line techniques. Women took jobs customarily allocated to men by working in steel plants, shipyards, and airplane factories. New large-scale projects dwarfed pre-war efforts. The 2,500-kilometer Alcan Military Highway (later Alaska Highway), built in 1942-43 to provide a permanent communication route for protection against a potential Japanese invasion, involved the deployment of more than 25,000 Canadians and Americans. During the war, there were many innovations: jet engines, rockets, synthetic fuel, plasma, penicillin, and nuclear fission. The Canadian-American alliance deepened after April 1941 when the two countries announced the Hyde Park Agreement. It allowed for US war purchases in Canada and for American supplies used by manufacturers in Canada designated for British purposes to be included in the US-Britain Lend-Lease arrangements, thereby more closely integrating the North American economy.

Closer to home, Ontarians witnessed firsthand the scale of change war wrought. Ajax, a small community named after a British cruiser, came into existence in 1941 to service the Defence Industries Limited munitions plant. At its peak, this factory employed 9,000 people from all over Canada. After

1945, Ajax was destined to become a planned, incorporated municipality featuring light industrial and residential growth in the expanding suburban sprawl to the east of Toronto. Sarnia became home to the Polymer Corporation, a federal crown agency established in 1942 that began producing large quantities of synthetic rubber essential for tires in the Allied war effort. A large-scale petrochemical industry was in place by the end of the war. To the northwest, at Steep Rock Lake, a huge iron-ore mining site was established. Because the ore deposits were underneath the lake, from 1942-44, the lake's river was diverted with a series of dams to drain the lake. Hydro lines and a new rail line from Port Arthur were constructed to service the iron mining operation. Camps at Borden and Trenton became main bases for Royal Canadian Air Force operations and served as training centres for the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, perhaps Canada's most important contributions to the war effort. At Chalk River, northwest of Ottawa, the National Research Council laboratories established in 1944 pursued the creation of a nuclear reactor operated with heavy water. It became the basis for Canada's nuclear development in the immediate postwar decades. The outburst of energy and vast scale of change raised the specter that technology was growing faster than people's ability to comprehend, a sobering thought.

Military Libraries and American Allies

Initial library reaction to the declaration of war followed the pattern set by the First World War. In that conflict, Ontario's public libraries dealt with concerns mostly in their community.⁶ By late October, TPL had organized a branch library for the military camp in Exhibition Place. For the duration of the war, the Canadian National Exhibition grounds would be Toronto's primary training grounds, and TPL's small library would provide its books.

Books on current events, such as Winston Churchill's 'Step by Step,' A. Hitler's 'Mein Kampf' and 'We Must be Free' by Leslie Roberts, will immediately be available to troops garrisoned at the C.N.E. grounds Toronto Public Library Board announced today.

[A] Plan to inaugurate a branch of its library service at the C.N.E. grounds was made through co-operation of the citizens' committee for troops in training, who felt recreational periods of the men would be utilized by many in keeping abreast of the times through reading.⁷

These efforts reflected Charles Sanderson's desire to provide library outlets using existing public libraries. Sanderson, who eventually reached the rank of captain in the Canadian Officers Training Corps, preferred to rely on the

resources of local libraries and use voluntary agencies for supplementary materials. Other camp libraries, on a smaller scale, opened by the end of the year. Barriefield, just outside Kingston, was set up with assistance from the I.O.D.E.; it was open two hours every evening during the week.⁸ The Ottawa Public Library processed books purchased by the Canadian Legion for the troop camp in Petawawa and lent its books to the Royal Canadian Air Force station, Uplands, just outside the city limits.⁹ At Fort William, in the first months of 1940, the entire lower floor of the Carnegie Library turned into billets for about seventy-five soldiers, a temporary measure until more suitable training quarters could be arranged at the Lakehead.¹⁰ London set up a library in nearby Queen's Park, supervised by volunteers from its staff; the library also sent books to the military hospital and naval volunteer reserve.¹¹ Windsor established a library in St. Luke's Road Barracks in January 1940 with public funds and subscription money to cover new books.¹²

By the start of 1940, several military camp libraries were in operation, and the federal Directorate of Auxiliary Services coordinated action with voluntary groups, which included libraries. For administrative purposes, Ontario was divided into four army areas: District 1 with HQ in London for southwestern counties; District 2 with HQ in Toronto for central and northeastern Ontario; and District 3 with HQ in Kingston for the east part; and District 10 with HQ in Winnipeg that included northwestern Ontario. For the air force, there were several bases for the squadrons situated in the East Air Command region organized by the RCAF's Home War Establishment.

<i>Province</i>	<i>Library Agency</i>	<i>Functions and Services</i>
PEI	Dept. of Education	none; legislation repealed 1936
NS	Public Library Commission	none; established 1938
ON	Dept. of Education	statistics, reports, grants, regulations for personnel, inspection, travelling and open shelf libraries, <i>OLR</i>
SK	Dept. of Education	grants
AB	Dept. of Education	grants
BC	Public Library Commission	statistics, reports, grants, travelling and open shelf system

For the development of libraries, the military authorities had no national library agency with which to coordinate. At the provincial level, only six provinces had agencies to oversee public libraries. The Dept. of Education's

Public Libraries Branch was considered the most developed library agency in Canada:¹³ Assistance from national organizations—the Legion, the I.O.D.E., and Y.M.C.A.—could be arranged. Travelling library services from McGill University, Acadia University, and University of Alberta were also possible sources; however, at the outset of war, libraries were hardly a priority. Mobilizing, training, equipping, and transporting troops to Britain consumed the nation's energy.

Nonetheless, for Ontario, Angus Mowat provided an initial report on the conditions of military libraries in the first months of the war. Mowat had served in WWI on the western front as a lieutenant, suffering a serious wound that permanently affected his right leg. In the interwar period, he continued in the reserve forces, reaching the rank of major. He had applied to the Minister of Education for a leave of absence before the war to pursue further officer training but did not receive his orders for active service for more than a year in June 1940. Better than most librarians, Mowat understood the complexities of military organization and was disappointed the Minister of Militia and Defence declined his offer to organize and direct library service in war camps and barracks for the Canadian Active Service Force in November 1939. However, he pressed on and worked with a temporary committee headed by Dr. Lorne Pierce, editor of the Ryerson Press, to inspect eight Ontario library facilities for military personnel. His report was mostly pessimistic: “the present lack of system and coordination is merely going to result in the deposit of certain collections of books, chosen in hope, with the various camps. This is what happened in the last war and it was no use; it was simply a waste of effort and money.”¹⁴

Mowat was most impressed by TPL's Exhibition Camp branch library in the C.N.E. music building: “I found here a demonstration of the effective principle of putting a specific job in charge of people who are qualified to do that job and have the initiative to see it through.” Eight hundred books were in circulation when he visited. A small lounge invited recruits to sit and read magazines. The second library on the C.N.E. grounds, the air force Manning Depot, was less developed; Mowat was not sure it was necessary because airmen were using the TPL facility. The same situation existed at Camp Borden: the I.O.D.E. provided most books at the Airman's Club and the Salvation Army operated a separate soldier's recreation-canteen hut (“a poor and almost totally useless collection”) for the army recruits. A dozen miles to Barrie by newly paved Highway 90, clubrooms held some books, but the Carnegie library reported little use by the military. To the east of Toronto, at Oshawa and Picton, there were small libraries run by volunteers and some use of local public libraries. In Hamilton, there were no libraries, but three were

proposed (for the army, the flying school at Mt. Hope, and a naval reserve base). The public library also had begun collecting books. At the RCAF Technical Training Camp outside St. Thomas, plans were afoot to provision a library inside an airplane hangar. Not surprisingly, Mowat recommended a more centralized operation:

1. Apply more cooperation with local public libraries in Toronto, Oshawa, St. Thomas, Hamilton, and Picton.
2. Provide money to local library boards for personnel, books, and furnishing.
3. Establish separate libraries at camps at a distance from public libraries, e.g. Camp Borden.
4. Create a single library administration for military libraries in Ontario under the direction of a chief librarian to select books, coordinate exchanges between camps, and train staff.

It was a simple scheme that could be modified according to local or regional circumstances across the country. Regrettably, in Ontario and the rest of Canada, it was not realized.

A similar plan developed after a joint spring 1940 meeting of the Library Association of Ottawa, the “Y,” and Legion. The parallel between regional library service and the national military camps was drawn: “The advantages of a national organization are fairly obvious. A unified policy, elimination of the overlapping of effort, saving in cost, adequate professional service at all points, and equal facilities for all members of the Forces regardless of the place or period of their encampment, would result.”¹⁵ A suggested scheme quickly appeared with recommendations for basic collections (pocket books, technical works, reprints, circulating deposit collections, and interloans) along with registration, circulation, reading promotion, coordination with camp commanding officers and local public libraries, and head office activities, such as purchasing and a central catalogue of holdings. Because a general symposium on wartime library services was planned for the end of March 1940 at OLA’s annual meeting in Toronto, no action was taken on these proposals.¹⁶ It was assumed consequent action could be formulated after a more inclusive discussion at OLA.

Kathleen (Moyer) Elliott was entering her second consecutive OLA presidential year. She had chosen a broad theme, “The Library and the Community,” and invited Ralph Munn, ALA President, to bring American greetings to delegates at OLA’s fortieth-anniversary banquet. In her keynote speech, she emphasized the changes libraries were undergoing. Contemporary libraries were more than collections of books: “...the emphasis has shifted. Once it was on Books, now it is on People.”¹⁷ Ralph Munn added: “We have

set as our goal a library so replete with services that it would make every resident a user of the library.”¹⁸ At the Circulating Libraries luncheon, William Deacon, the *Globe’s* literary editor, condemned censorship in the strongest terms and urged librarians to uphold freedom in its many manifestations. He did not mention the reluctance of many libraries—American and Canadian (including Toronto)—to purchase John Steinbeck’s *The Grapes of Wrath* due to objectionable language.¹⁹ Nor did he mention Catholic support to censor materials on bookshelves in public libraries that had emerged at the first Ontario Holy Name Society convention held in Toronto in June 1939.²⁰ Coming shortly after the surrender of Finland to the Soviet Union and the deployment of Canadian soldiers to Europe, Deacon sought to encourage his audience.

To me, the whole struggle is between those who believe in freedom, trusting the innate goodness of the people; and others who would enslave the race. Even they honour freedom in taking it away first, well knowing they cannot ruin men and women, who read what they like, say what they like and think what they like. Remove that keystone and the whole structure of our civilization falls.²¹

In terms of wartime planning, both Angus Mowat and Edward A. Corbett, Director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, argued for a national library plan of action. Conference-goers charged the OLA executive with developing proposals for this goal.

Shortly after the conference, the army auxiliary services inquired whether provincial travelling libraries could be used for the forces. The Public Libraries Branch loaned a few units to camps in 1940 at Newmarket, New Toronto, Camp Borden, and Angler (an internment camp on Lake Superior).²² Nevertheless, Angus Mowat opposed this substitute: he said such a poor arrangement was not practical and had proved to be a “dud” during the First World War. Shortly afterward, he returned to active duty, in June 1940, as a liaison reserve officer in Military District 3. His last library inspection occurred in Paris. Here, the librarian had recently resigned, the library maintained a limited “closed shelf service” derived from Carnegie days, and the janitorial service had left books and book stacks “very dirty.”²³ Mowat found his service duties just as challenging: he often smoothed over problems between civilians and the military, the reserve, and within the military itself. He continued to advise librarians and visited libraries in camps, recording a favourable visit to Camp Borden in the latter half of 1941. He also rescued a couple from drowning in Kingston harbour in 1942.²⁴

The Dominion government’s Auxiliary War Services branch decided in

autumn 1940 to consolidate voluntary groups assisting with the armed forces' library efforts. In October, a Canadian War Services Library Council was formed with a chairman, Dr. John E. Robbins, director of the DBS educational division and Canadian Legion's educational services, and secretary, Mrs. J.H. Chipman, from the I.O.D.E. book committee, as executive leaders. There were no library representatives on the Council. Together, the I.O.D.E., Salvation Army, YMCA, Canadian Legion, and Knights of Columbus agreed to supply reading matter, encourage local voluntary efforts, recruit trained librarians to help with libraries, coordinate the activities of all interested groups, and serve as an advisory capacity to the armed forces.²⁵ Aably led by the chair and secretary, the Council established military district library groups and centralized book collections. In Military District 2, where Lorne Pierce served as chair after 1940, about 50,000 to 100,000 donated books were sought in early 1941. The National Council of Jewish Women pledged \$2,000 for a new library at Camp Borden that opened on 18 May 1941. The district council hoped to raise \$10,000 for new book purchases as well.²⁶ The project began with high expectations with drives such as "Books for the Boys" that were infused with patriotic fervour.²⁷ However, the mobilization of troops usually outstripped the capacity to supply reading matter even with the support of libraries. During the 1941-42 OLA presidency of Freda Waldon, Hamilton's chief librarian, it became evident that the military library organization required more than second-hand books and underfunded voluntary efforts to be effective on a national scale.

The OLA's first efforts to grapple with the formation of military libraries had come in fall 1939 when the Executive approached the Y.M.C.A. and other national groups without much success. Other provincial bodies, such as the Maritime Library Institute, also found it difficult to organize effectively. By the time of the OLA 1940 conference, local efforts were leading the way. Libraries, even small ones, were assisting commensurate with their size. For example, at Gravenhurst, in June 1940, the trustees authorized use of the library basement as a clubroom for guards at the nearby internment Camp XX, which had a substantial library for its German prisoners, and Sunday hours were extended later in the year for the guards' benefit.²⁸ After the creation of the Canadian War Services Library Council, many librarians offered their services or served on organizing committees throughout the military districts. The plan of action developed at OLA's March 1940 annual meeting remained in abeyance.

A year later, at the OLA 1941 London conference, F.C. Jennings spoke on his activity with the Canadian Legion after an organizational meeting in Ottawa at the end of January 1941. In his district, the Petawawa camp

upgraded using a student from the University of Toronto Library School. Without funds from the Department of National Defence, library projects were dependent on national bodies, such as the I.O.D.E. and Canadian Legion.²⁹ Other provinces faced similar problems. In Nova Scotia, the director of regional libraries, Nora Bateson, summarized her experience with the Canadian Legion: “the book outlets are mostly in the hands of volunteers and they are open only for a limited number of hours a week.”³⁰

During summer 1941, the federal government announced the formation of the Canadian Women’s Auxiliary forces. At the behest of OLA delegates, the new President Freda Waldon studied war libraries and reported her findings at the Hamilton conference in April 1942. While she traversed this road, Waldon tried to convince military representatives that “it is a waste for trained women librarians, who are doing useful public service in their own jobs to enlist in the army, navy, or air force to do work that others could do as well.” The OLA executive advised the Auxiliary Services to classify librarians properly, i.e. to recognize university graduation rather than “senior matriculation and library experience.” Communication with Ottawa became more complicated after the Auxiliary Services formed the new Canadian War Services Library Council. Waldon concluded, “The great need is for coordination at the top and understanding from the authorities as to what organized library service is and could do for our troops.” The OLA Easter 1942 meeting adopted her report: it emphasized the appointment of a competent library director with senior rank to develop national military libraries and collect books in cooperation with the Canadian Legion, the I.O.D.E., and the newly formed Canadian Library Council (CLC).³¹ But the War Services Library Council took no immediate action.

Lack of a national voice to express plans on military libraries led to the revival of John Ridington’s efforts to establish a national library body. As part of his 1940 OLA address, ALA’s Ralph Munn had made two practical, neighbourly suggestions about coordinated national action. First, Canadian librarians should approach ALA executives to promote their national interests by forming a section within ALA. Second, seeking support from American foundations with international mandates was another way to achieve financial stability for a national organization. Both the Carnegie Corporation of New York and Rockefeller Foundation were willing to assist Canadian cultural organizations. The ALA President’s proposals were based on his private knowledge that a group of Canadian consultants was in formation after the 1939 Niagara Falls meeting. Unbeknownst to a vast number of library officials, Canadian or American, Charles Sanderson, Gerhardt Lomer (McGill University), Edgar S. Robinson (Vancouver), Alexander Calhoun (Calgary),

and Norah Bateson (Nova Scotia) had been approached by ALA to serve as Canadian representatives. ALA Council confirmed their appointments later in October 1940 but did not make them public immediately. In the meantime, when the War Services Library Council was formed in Ottawa without any library representation, there was general unease in the library community. Many librarians felt it was inappropriate but recognized the root cause was their marginal status. Margaret S. Gill, president of the Library Association of Ottawa, with membership countenance, issued a letter in November 1940 asking recipients across the nation whether they favoured the formation of a Canadian Library Association. The answer was affirmative.³²

When the existence of the ALA group, led by Charles Sanderson, was revealed in December 1940 in ALA's *Bulletin*, it seemed national efforts might be divided. Fortunately, the Canadian Legion's director, Dr. John Robbins, had planned a national meeting of librarians in Ottawa in January 1941 to discuss war efforts. He generously offered some time for the two library groups to mull things over. Many of the Legion's regional library directors were already members of the Library Association of Ottawa or the ALA's Committee of Canadian Library Consultants. At the meeting, Charles Sanderson supported the establishment of a Canadian Library Council that eventually would form a self-supporting Canadian Library Association. ALA assistance and American financing through the Carnegie Corporation and Rockefeller Foundation would be an essential part of this transition. At the end of the meeting, there was agreement to proceed with the ALA affiliation, to include Margaret Gill and Hélène Grenier (Montreal) as members, and approach ALA with a general action plan for 1941. As well, provincial library associations were asked to approve the CLC's formation and proposed activities. OLA delegates endorsed the CLC report presented in London on 10 June 1941.³³ Other provincial associations followed, and ALA Council approved the CLC revised membership and articles at its June 1941 meeting in Boston.³⁴

It was at this very moment that the Rockefeller Foundation's study of Canadian libraries, authored by Charles F. McCombs, Superintendent of the Main Reading Room of the New York Public Library, began with a visit to Toronto, Montreal, and Ottawa. Interest in Canadian libraries on the part of the Rockefeller Foundation stemmed from its international research interests led by John Marshall, the Associate Director of the RF Humanities Division. He took a personal interest in Canadian affairs in 1941 and arranged for New York Public Library to release Charles McCombs by the end of May 1941 to head up the Rockefeller study. McCombs met with Charles Sanderson on 4 June and was favourably impressed with TPL.

The Toronto Public Library, the largest library in Canada, unquestionably the best-supported library in the Dominion, will stand favorable comparison with the best public libraries in our larger American cities. The chief librarian, Charles R. Sanderson, able, sensible, likeable, has had wide experience in Toronto and in England, and is easily the most influential librarian in the Dominion.

Toronto's Reference Library (174,295 volumes at the end of 1940) is surpassed in size only by the libraries of McGill, Toronto and Queen's (the last having a stock of 197,571 volumes as of March 31, 1941). ...

The Toronto collection has been well selected and admirably organized. The reference staff is well trained and the service intelligent and efficient. ...

Toronto has an excellent building, simple and attractive, with pleasant grounds. An addition was made to the original structure some ten years ago. The children's work is carried on in the 'Boys and Girls House', a pleasant remodeled dwelling adjoining the library.³⁵

McCombs was especially attracted to TPL, a leader in microphotography and a ready source for research materials to promote Canadian collections and cultural works to Americans. During his four visits to Canada in summer-fall 1941, he concluded that Rockefeller support for the new CLC was the first step towards a successful, integrated foundation program in Canada, followed by aid for the establishment of a National Library (separate from the Parliamentary Library) and expansion of the National Research Council Library's role. With better support for these national agencies, microphotography projects, the production of guides to manuscript collections, and other research aids could proceed.

Later in the year, McCombs visited three other public libraries in Ontario. Ottawa "has an old fashioned Carnegie building, typical of the scale and plan of a generation ago, and obviously overcrowded" (p. 61). The American visitor was impressed by London's handsome memorial to its benefactress: it "is the most modern public library building in Canada" (p. 56). Hamilton was "especially strong in Canadian poetry" (p. 47), ably directed by its new chief librarian, Freda Waldon, and relatively well supported by Canadian standards: "Hamilton's per capita library expenditure is higher than Winnipeg's or Vancouver's both of which are much larger cities. The library building at Hamilton is better than those at Winnipeg or Vancouver, but leaves much to be desired as to interior plan. My chief recollection is a great deal of white marble, a central hall open to the roof, many marble columns, and no partitions. At least the rooms have plenty of light." (p. 60-61). For his Ottawa

visit, McCombs gathered information concerning a national library (“essential to the effective co-ordination of the work of Canadian libraries, and to the systematic development of Canada’s research collections,” p. 70). The capital’s libraries were an important source for him to construct a list of Canadian newspapers held by various research libraries. McCombs noted the progress of county libraries but their development was outside the parameters of his report.

By the time McCombs submitted his report to the Rockefeller Foundation on 1 December, John Marshall had already visited Canada himself and met with Charles Sanderson. TPL’s chief had attracted attention at ALA’s June 1941 Boston conference with an address emphasizing the democratic strengths and values both Canada and the United States shared. He also refuted reports in the American press that the Toronto library was intent on banning Charles Lindbergh’s books.³⁶ Marshall authorized the Foundation to grant \$900 to the CLC through ALA’s offices for an initial meeting at Ottawa on 28-29 October 1941.³⁷ Thus, the CLC came into being. Work on a draft constitution; incorporation of the CLC; and projected programs such as publications, filming Canadian newspapers, and book services to the armed forces could begin in earnest. Ties with Canadian librarians could be strengthened through ALA, which indicated, in December 1941, at its Chicago mid-winter meeting, it planned to hold its 1943 conference in Toronto after an absence of sixteen years from the Queen City.

To fund the CLC’s incipient agenda, Sanderson applied to both the Rockefeller and Carnegie agencies. Rockefeller Foundation support, \$17,500 over three years, was approved in April 1942. The bulk, \$15,000, was earmarked for filming Canadian newspapers. The Carnegie Corporation responded a bit later, in November 1942, with \$20,000 over five years to CLC for general library development following its official incorporation. By this time, provincial associations had approved the CLC’s proposed constitution at their annual meetings: OLA’s support came at its Hamilton meeting in the first week of April 1942. With Sanderson acting as both CLC chair and the provincial Association’s representative, the road seemed clear to the development of Canadian library activities on an expansive scale. At ALA’s Milwaukee meeting in June 1942, featuring the theme “Winning the War and the Peace,” the CLC could report slow progress was underway and that “within the next twelve months, however, it is definitely expected that there will be brought into being an active permanent organization.”³⁸

When the Council met next, at Montreal in February 1943, it added more members from provincial organizations and began initial work on publications such as a national directory and memoranda on a Canadian national library and

government documents. Nora Bateson had already published two articles in the January and February issues of *Food for Thought*: one on rural libraries, “Libraries for Today and Tomorrow,” and the other, “Reading Pursuits and Possibilities.”³⁹ In September 1943, the executive officers elected Margaret Gill, chief librarian of the National Research Council Library, as chair. She hoped to hasten the pace of incorporation to receive the Carnegie funding. She finally reported that CLC’s incorporation was approved in December 1943, more than two years after its revival in Ottawa. The incorporation process had taken longer than anticipated during war conditions. CLC’s lawyer, John Charles McKay MacBeth, chair of the Toronto Public Library, was a long-time trustee and library supporter who oversaw this process and eventually joined the ALA Board of Directors in June 1944.

Wartime Services and Planning

Year-end 1942 was a good point for taking stock of matters on the part of Ontario librarians. After three years of adversity, there was a sense that the military conflicts across the Atlantic and in the Pacific were turning in the Allies favour. Although the Canadian army had suffered traumatic defeats at Dieppe and Hong Kong, the mobilization of troops continued without the resort of conscription. An entire German army was surrounded at Stalingrad. In the Atlantic, the Royal Canadian Navy’s corvettes were escorting convoys and lessening the U-boat threat. In the mid-Pacific, the American occupation of Guadalcanal had halted further Japanese advances. The entrance of the U.S.A. into the war had immediately galvanized the Allied war effort. At the start of 1942, twenty-six nations signed the Declaration of the United Nations to uphold the principles of the Atlantic Charter agreed to by Roosevelt and Churchill off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941. It was a statement of fundamental beliefs for a more democratic postwar world after aggressor nations were totally disarmed.

At home, industrial production levels kept rising. Civilian war heroes were becoming notable figures. Elsie MacGill’s exploits in producing fighter planes at Fort William had earned her the epithet, “Queen of the Hurricanes.” The search for Canada’s national identity was invoked in Bruce Hutchison’s bestseller, *The Unknown Country*, an optimistic account of Canada’s potential on the world stage that became a library staple. The terms “reconstruction” and “post-war planning” were already in vogue: the federal government had formed a Dominion Advisory Committee on Post-War Reconstruction under chair Frank Cyril James, McGill University, as early as 1941. By 1943, this Committee had received a key report by Leonard Marsh, *Report on Social*

Security for Canada, that advocated a planned, comprehensive (and costly) system of benefits to maintain and raise living standards for Canadians. Reconstruction included wide-ranging ideas about planning to ensure the malaise of the Depression years did not return in the postwar era, thus influencing government reshaping of the economy and social intervention on an unprecedented scale in countries embracing capitalism.

The home front viewed from the public library's front desk posed some minor challenges. Circulation reported by Ontario's free libraries continually dropped dramatically throughout the war.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Volumes</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
1938	647,793	2,710,080	13,456,531
1939	653,071	2,781,941	13,034,104
1940	674,289	2,825,031	12,514,929
1941	669,704	2,889,073	12,432,640
1942	669,294	2,787,372	12,411,319
1943	679,903	3,008,907	12,372,739

Of course, many adults were occupied with military service. Travel, even for routine matters, was less common. Keeping a stiff upper lip became an important public duty. Until peace returned, libraries would have to mark time.

At Hamilton, Freda Waldon often issued standing orders from the chief librarians' office. Commenting about the crisis after the evacuation of Dunkerque, in June 1940, she advised staff:

Without being cheerful idiots ignoring the facts of life, we can present a calm and confident face to the world. Remember your attitude will affect dozens, perhaps hundreds of people daily. Discourage all gloomy talk of the war, discount enemy propaganda, smile at everyone who speaks to you, get plenty of sleep and restful recreation and refuse to believe that we can be defeated.⁴⁰

A month later, when children began to arrive from Britain to foster homes in Hamilton under the Children's Overseas Reception Board program, Waldon counseled:

In the instructions given to foster-parents by the Committee on British Child Guests in Canada (not to be called 'Refugees') there will be a note advising them that they may obtain books at the Hamilton Public Library which will help with their problems. Every member of the staff should be familiar with the stock in her department on child

psychology, (problem children), physical care, games, adoption, etc., and be prepared to suggest suitable titles if enquiries come to them.⁴¹

Later in the war, at the Kenilworth branch, Janet Clarkson formed a club for children who were on their own during the day because fathers were in the armed forces and mothers were working. Unsupervised children also frequented Toronto's libraries where they spent long hours during the weekdays.⁴² Some "latchkey" children held part-time jobs as well.

The war experience and patriotic interests obliged librarians and trustees to examine activities on a local, national, even international scale. Issues libraries grappled with often were common problems. There were difficulties in purchasing foreign books. There was annoyance with the 1 July 1940 federal ten percent war emergency tax applied to books from non-preferential tariff countries (i.e. favouring British books) and the prohibition on non-essential goods such as American magazines. There was decreased circulation due to blackouts, travel restrictions, and war employment. Building repairs were deferred due to shortages of materials. There were books and recycling drives for staff members to conduct. Victory bond drives were a patriotic responsibility, and volunteering at armouries was common practice. There were new reading demands for books on victory gardens and the hard-boiled detective story, popularized in films, exemplified by Dashiell Hammett's *Thin Man* and *Maltese Falcon*. Canadian superheroes, such as *Johnny Canuck* and *Nelvana of the Northern Lights*, temporarily came into vogue when wartime regulations discouraged foreign "pulp" imports.⁴³

Issues at board meetings ranged from the mundane to the meaningful. At Ottawa, the trustees decided on a manual air raid siren, not an electric one, after some discussion; they debated removing Fascist literature but leaned to inaction; and installed a "no dogs allowed" sign to protect patrons.⁴⁴ Ottawa also struggled with the city council's request to remove Charles Lindbergh's books in May-June 1941. The *Ottawa Citizen* deplored the council's position, declaring there was no need for an "imitation Nazi bonfire;" subsequently, the library filed council's motion.⁴⁵ The famous aviator was unpopular for his isolationist efforts and particularly for his charge that Britain was attempting to force the United States into the war against Germany. Guelph municipal councillors also wanted to remove Lindbergh's books from the public library and burn them. Beamsville, Grimsby, Preston, Cornwall, and Toronto council favoured incendiary action. It was a mixed record for many Ontario libraries: there were defenders of free expression, but some stifled expression often with the awkward rationale that Lindbergh's books were not read anyway.⁴⁶ In early June, Paul Martin, the Liberal Member of Parliament for Essex East

(Windsor), told OLA delegates at London that burning books was cowardly and stupid: "Let us not fall into the hysteria of burning books. You can't suppress an idea; if it is worth anything it will withstand all the winter frosts of opposition."⁴⁷

With official encouragement for women to join the war effort, many library staff members entered the service. The military service process was gradual as the three forces enlisted women in stages between July 1941 (Air Force) and July 1942 (Navy). Due to labour shortages and the need to classify jobs for wartime priorities, the National Selective Service (NSS) took effect in June 1942 to require the registration of young women and to recruit women into the industrial workforce as munitions inspectors, shipyard workers, equipment operators, and many other trades. The iconic image of Veronica Foster, the "Bren Gun Girl" who assembled Bren guns by day in a Toronto factory and female factory workers who danced the jitterbug or sang in the city's nightclubs after work, was truly inspirational. In reality, industrial military work paid priority wages (80 to 70 cents/hour), and women in civilian or military roles retained their traditional feminine roles and qualities.⁴⁸ At first, only single women registered for employment by the NSS, but by eventual extensions, married women with children also registered. The CLC adopted a positive outlook in 1943 on the library's societal worth *vis-à-vis* selective service by stating, "In our opinion libraries can play an important part in preparing our nation for the carrying out of the manpower policy."⁴⁹ These were encouraging words, but they did not address staff shortages due to wartime conditions. Older librarians, notably Frederick de la Fosse, stayed the course during the war: he retired as Peterborough's chief librarian after the war ended at the age of 86. The process of applying to the Selective Service to fill vacancies could present a lengthy delay. By early 1944, the professional section of the NSS admitted that "There's a severe shortage of trained social workers and librarians too."⁵⁰

As wartime inflation eroded library wages and full-time and part-time staff enlisted for military service, it became more difficult to fill vacancies. New graduates often took up military positions that led them in new directions. Evelyn Waddell (BLS, Toronto, 1941) became interested in writing while she served at Centralia as a meteorological observer. Under the pseudonym, Lyn Cook, she would later become an accomplished children's author.⁵¹ Throughout 1944, the Ottawa Public Library chafed at federal regulations that made it cumbersome and difficult to replace employees. A February report criticized the NSS: "The present scarcity of trained staff is not alleviated by such edicts of National Selective Service as the one rating library operations with shoe-shining, bowling alleys and fur-dressing as non-essential

occupations.”⁵² The munitions factories had priority at the NSS. By mid-year, the chief librarian openly despaired of staff shortages:

Staff members are leaving to join the Civil Service and the armed forces, said Mr. Jennings. Forty part-time workers are on a ‘patched up’ time table. Out of their salaries some are paying income tax and if another deduction is made by the Unemployment Insurance Commission, further resignations and further curtailment of library services are inevitable, the librarian predicted.⁵³

Ottawa had closed its Bronson school branch, opened with much fanfare about educational advances in the previous year, due to staff shortages. Later, in December 1944, the library board increased wages and raised part-time rates by 10 cents to 70 cents/hour to attract more staff, seemingly a “big hike” that compared favourably with textile workers. The Selective Service also allowed Ottawa to hire directly for positions after the board appealed for an exemption. But the remedy for Ottawa’s woes would not come until the end of hostilities in Europe.

Accustomed to losing staff, libraries and librarians settled into familiar wartime patterns for almost half a decade. The University of Toronto Alumni Association raised funds to supply a library at Camp Newmarket.⁵⁴ Starting in 1942, the members of the Ottawa Library Staff Association, led by its president Elizabeth Hunter, volunteered their Sunday afternoons in the fall-winter to open the library for persons to listen to music, read, or study.⁵⁵ At times, it was possible to muster some humour. Oshawa librarian Jean Fetterly’s tongue-in-cheek adoption of the title *All This and Heaven Too*, Rachel Field’s bestselling novel made into a hit movie with Bette Davis in 1940, described some of the travails of wartime life in a Carnegie library:

The morning is bright and cool. I start out on my bicycle and, passing nervous motorists, safely reach the library. It is quite a task to get a bicycle through all the heavy doors without upsetting both patrons and staff. However, there is a war on and tires are scarce.⁵⁶

Trustees, as voluntary directors, had many personal duties outside the library, but there was more emphasis on promoting efficiency and effectiveness by urging better library administration.⁵⁷ As overseas news brightened, librarians, trustees, and government officials turned to plan a better world.

Anne Hume, Windsor’s chief librarian and OLA President 1940–41, spoke about the postwar period in her 1941 presidential address.

This brings us to the subject of Post War Planning in our Ontario Libraries. Because we have been at war for twenty-one months [Sept. 1939 to June 1941] is no reason why there

should be any slackening in our efforts to provide books for all, even though our circulation statistics may show a drop due to increased working hours for practically everyone. ...Now, it would seem, is the time to make plans how that other 70 percent or 60 percent or 50 percent as the case may be, of each individual community can be reached in future.⁵⁸

A related goal was to enlarge and develop the OLA itself. By attracting more members with personal interests in active sections, the Association could draw upon expertise to form a basis for an expansion of library services in schools, universities, and public libraries. As a response to cohesive planning, Hume oversaw the organization of library constituencies within OLA at its largest-ever conference held at the London Public Library Elsie Perrin Williams Memorial Art Gallery and Museum in June 1941. The new London complex offered a splendid setting for OLA to revitalize its structure.

The newest library building in Canada was, in many respects, worthy of imitation by others across North America and understandably a source of civic pride. Costing \$285,000 and with about 40,000 sq. ft on three levels, it was quite spacious for a city of 80,000. The open interior plan revolved around the large central hall anchored by a catalogue and circulation desk. Adjacent wings held adult collections and study tables. The reference area was at the rear, away from noisy traffic. The lower level held the stacks with capacity for 100,000 volumes, a 291-seat auditorium, a children's department, and club room. The upper floor held lecture rooms, the main art gallery, and administrative offices. A sleek, modern exterior Art Deco style restrained by classic two-storey fluted pilasters finished in Queenston limestone commanded attention from street-goers. Above the doorway, a carved mask of Socrates gazed outward, a reminder of the Greek humanist quest to "know thyself." Separate entrances for the boys and girls department and the main auditorium on the lower floor facilitated traffic flow. A terraced reading area outside the children's department provided a pleasant setting for outdoor reading and presentations.⁵⁹ The new library was a modernist synthesis in pursuit of utilitarian purposes. Tours for OLA conventioners infused many with a sense of beauty and dignity at a time when war played havoc with such aesthetic concepts.

At the London conference, three new official OLA sections formed: the Trustees Section, the Ontario Regional Group of Cataloguers, and the Reference Workshop. The Trustees Section was originally very small—about 25 in number. There were thorny issues for board members to contemplate. Personnel issues such as unemployment insurance, certification, and pensions were held over from the Depression years. Now, in July, the federal

government's employment bureaus were beginning to administer an unemployment insurance system; yet, the place of library boards in the municipal structures remained uncertain. Pensions were a long-standing problem. Even though the Old Age Pensions Act had come into effect nationally in 1927, few public libraries were part of this plan, in part because it required a means test and only covered persons over the age of seventy. Adequate local funding also required trustees' attention if libraries were to progress. The Reference Workshop section was a natural outgrowth of frequent round table discussions held on college and reference libraries in the 1930s. To promote reference awareness, the *Ontario Library Review* continued to publish the *Canadian Periodical Index* every quarter. The *OLR* assigned the Workshop group a regular feature spot that soon became a reliable guide to current publications. The Regional Group of Cataloguers remained independent, but its affiliation ensured that its members would meet at OLA's annual conference. With the inclusion of these three sections with OLA's other two earlier ones—Children's Librarians (1940) and School and Intermediate Libraries (1935)—OLA's Council was better able to deal with current issues. The children's group, led by Sara Kingston (Ottawa), the chair for 1941-43, was quite active and connected with other librarians in Canada. There remained two other informal groups, Circulating Libraries and County and Small Libraries. Because the latter group was essential to rural development and the formation of county systems, Anne Hume was determined to formalize its affiliation within OLA.

Two additional county library associations had formed in 1940, Simcoe and Essex. Both counties had developed cooperative efforts in the mid-1930s. The formation of an Essex county association finally took place in the fall of 1940. It had the advantage of Windsor providing selection, processing of materials, space for book exchanges at its Willistead branch, and leadership by Anne Hume, who acted as county librarian. The larger Essex communities, such as Leamington and Amherstburg, helped solidify the basis of county work. In Simcoe, the process followed a similar vein: larger centres, Barrie, Orillia, Collingwood, and Midland, promoted the concept and the county council established a headquarters in Barrie. There were also hopes for a county association in Kent. Angus Mowat had discussed the possibility of forming a co-operative with Kent trustees during his final inspections in early 1940, discovering Thamesville, Tilbury, Romney, and Bothwell to be "extremely interested."⁶⁰ Other county associations were also making improvements; for example, Middlesex added a book trailer in fall 1940 to facilitate book exchanges.

To build on these positive developments, Anne Hume allowed time for

her assistant chief librarian, Eleanor Barteaux, head of the Windsor Carnegie Library, to convene a formal Institute for County and Small Libraries for the 1941 conference. This institute proved to be a great success and welded the informal elements of county and small library work together in a common interest. About eighty delegates attended this special London program. There were presentations from six county associations outlining their activities that included organization, schoolroom loans, and collection of local history materials. One highlight was D. Park Jamieson's address on the duties of library trustees based on his experience in Sarnia. Other sessions offered instruction on book repair, publicity, posters, and decoration. Patricia Spereman helped with information about travelling libraries. She was a long-time worker in the Public Libraries Branch who was quite knowledgeable about smaller library problems and familiar to readers of the *Ontario Library Review*. As an added benefit, the *OLR* November 1941 issue printed the proceedings of the institute separately.⁶¹ The program was a success: delegates appointed Alberta Letts, Middlesex county librarian and children's librarian in London, to organize another for OLA's next conference at Hamilton.

In the fall, September 1941, another county association was formed, Huron, an area without a large city library. Huron's success was due primarily to the efforts of the Goderich librarian, A. Rose Aitken, who did most of the selection, cataloguing, and distribution for the first few years and then worked part-time as the county librarian. By 1942, when the Institute met again at Hamilton, Middlesex had taken the lead in promoting county services. Richard E. Crouch, chief librarian at London, spoke to members on the benefits accruing from cooperation between smaller county libraries and larger central libraries using his library as an example. He called upon smaller libraries and existing county associations to pool their resources and develop more services.

County libraries are in their infancy in Canada, but I believe the libraries should broaden their horizons so that they may become the culture centres of their community, the central force for adult education, not confining their services to book circulation alone but fostering with other agencies such as reading clubs and discussion groups all activities which depend on books. Through such activities the library will come to occupy a more essential and valuable position in its community.⁶²

Crouch's vision of community service and mutual assistance was an important yardstick to measure advancement. Rural libraries too often had to "make do." Lucan, a small association library within Middlesex serving about 600 people, was an early advocate of the county service, worked with its local school, and even donated the few old magazines it possessed, such as *National*

Geographic, to Lucan High School and the nearby RCAF Services Flying Training School.⁶³ The 1941 annual report of the Minister of Education noted the success of Middlesex's schoolwork: 111 school sections out of 182 were receiving book loans. Progress continued. In May 1942, Kent County trustees justified Angus Mowat's earlier expectations by forming an association with Wallaceburg and smaller towns supported by Chatham. By the end of 1942, some names familiar to county librarians and trustees after the war were making their presence known, Betty Hardie (BLS, Toronto, 1939) in Kent and Alberta Letts (BLS, Toronto, 1939) in Middlesex.

With the publication of the Department of Education's *Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to 6* (1941) and *Programme of Studies for Grades 7 to 8* (1942) for public and separate schools, the progressive new curriculum for Ontario schools added emphasis to building national character and citizenship. In the early stages of the war, school and public library cooperation was less problematic for children's librarians. The use of juvenile books in Ontario's public libraries had significantly increased after 1937 as a DBS survey for 1940-42 demonstrated (Table 8: Juvenile Use of Public Libraries, 1940-42). Indeed, some cities reported more than 50,000 juvenile transactions: Brantford, Guelph, Kingston, Kitchener, London, Ottawa, Owen Sound, Peterborough, Port Arthur, Toronto, and Windsor. Even smaller libraries, such as Collingwood, Penetanguishene, and Preston, reported more than 300 juvenile registrations. School and public library cooperation had become standard in many communities and a regular feature of county library work. The smaller county rural libraries were without trained children's librarians, but could try to model their activities on city branch libraries, such as London:

Classes from the nearby schools come to the library and are shown how to make use of it. Any who have not cards are given applications. Stories are sometimes read to the children but most teachers like them just to browse around and read books of their own choice for half an hour or so. Some teachers also have a display of books suitable for their grade put up. School loans are given to the different classes to supplement their own libraries. These are changed three times a year but sometimes more often⁶⁴

The new curriculum emphasized reading books through the project method requiring many resources. Only a few libraries could match the work that TPL did by operating branches within schools because public libraries did not receive financial aid "to meet what are primarily school needs," but the work was "cheerfully borne" because children benefited.⁶⁵

As part of an initiative to better serve adolescents, the OLA's School and Intermediate Section offered a fall session at Brantford in November 1941 on

“Introducing Books to ‘Teen Age Readers” organized by Gladys Shepley from Windsor Public Library. Young adult services had emerged in the 1930s as an important component of library service, especially in leading American libraries such as Cleveland. Very few Ontario libraries made provision for separate areas or books for teenagers: Angus Mowat had commended Oshawa for its efforts on his 1938 visit.⁶⁶ The Brantford session provided valuable insight into Ontario’s teenage reading in the early 1940s. Windsor had prepared a survey for two collegiate institutes and received 259 replies. A synopsis by Windsor’s librarian, Doris Noy, informed OLA members about current habits in a larger urban setting. Popular magazines were *Life*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *Reader’s Digest*. Surprisingly, to librarians anyway, pupils used *Liberty* more frequently than *Time*, *Newsweek*, or the *Saturday Evening Post*. *Liberty*’s popularity was attributed to the fact that it was “cheap and peddled from door to door.” *Popular Science*, *Popular Mechanics*, adventure, and mystery books by authors like Agatha Christie were also well-liked reads. The exploits of Sherlock Holmes were well known. Poetry, plays, biography, and music books were less appreciated. Two additional presentations demonstrated practical service improvements. Jean Gorwill, a teacher at London South Collegiate Institute, analyzed magazines of interest to adolescents and offered ways to make magazine reading more appealing. Vesta Webster, from TPL’s Beaches branch, spoke on biographies to interest high school boys and girls; of course, TPL had already published a valuable guide to teenage reading in the first year of the war and established its Kipling Room for teens in 1930.⁶⁷ The OLA Section’s effort to stimulate interest in young adult services broke new ground at a time when plans for future library services were assuming more importance. OLA and Ontario librarians would soon become involved in the idea of Reconstruction, the general debate about the readjustment to a peacetime economy in Canada.

With a renewed sense of library development across the province, came the realization that war efforts were restricting civilian communication, travel, and assemblies. Administrators could not fail to notice that library staff sometimes worked by candlelight during blackouts. In Huron County, where Rose Aitken made book exchanges with her car, it was obvious by March 1943 that she would need additional gasoline coupons. She wrote,

...I am hoping that the weather is favourable so that I can make my March trip before the end of the month and so make use of my 1942 coupons. The new allowance will not allow for any extra trips. I think I shall make application for some extra coupons for this county work, but I am not counting on getting them.⁶⁸

Hers was not an isolated plight. By the early part of 1943, both OLA's and ALA's plans to hold their 1943 conferences in Toronto had to be abandoned due to wartime travel restrictions. ALA Executive and Council formally cancelled its annual conference by 1 February 1943; still, it was understood that the first summer conference after the war could be held in Toronto.⁶⁹

Despite the tire and gas rationing and railway travel restrictions, the OLA executives pressed on with an abbreviated regional program for 1943-44. The London and Hamilton conferences had been successful not only in attendance but in a revival of plans and activities that had been initially interrupted by the outbreak of war. Because it was difficult to influence the improvement of wartime libraries for troops (the majority who had already gone overseas), the province's public librarians began to focus on postwar provincial planning, a national library, and a national library association. It was a period when local efforts counted and regional linkages could be strengthened. At a provincial level, direction from the public libraries branch lagged. With Angus Mowat in the service, his stand-in, Samuel Herbert, undertook the necessities of tabulating annual reports, visiting a few libraries, speaking to groups, and producing the *Ontario Library Review*. Like other education officials, Herbert was restricted by wartime travel and the need to delay making financial requests until victory was secured.

Only a few communities achieved free library status during the war, such as Blenheim in 1941, and the only major free library plebiscite to take place occurred in Leaside, where electors voted overwhelmingly to establish a free library in December 1943 after a vigorous campaign by library trustees.⁷⁰ When the new Conservative cabinet under George Drew took office in mid-year 1943, the acting inspector offered some postwar suggestions to his superiors at an estimated cost of about \$25,000 to \$30,000 annually to improve library work in rural areas:

My suggestion is that a county librarian be appointed for each of the counties where there are a given number of libraries, and that one be appointed for two or more counties where the number of libraries is smaller. The duty of the librarian would be to visit each library in the county or counties at least three times in each year, spending possibly a day or more in each community, giving instruction in library work, and helping to raise, as far as possible, the standard of each library. The librarian could also arrange the circulation of books through distributing stations and other means from each library so that communities and schools in remote or isolated rural areas might also have library privileges. Such a county librarian would be directly

responsible to the Minister or his Inspector for instruction and guidance. County councils would be requested to pay a proportion of the maintenance cost of the county librarian in addition to any grant given where a county library association is in operation. For districts, it might be necessary for the Province to assume the whole cost of a district or regional librarian, but the need for library service in these districts is very great.⁷¹

Herbert's proposal was more thoughtful than Mowat's 1937 musing on counties. Some county trustees and librarians supported his ideas during the regional OLA meetings in summer 1944, albeit with alterations.⁷²

After almost four years, comprehensive planning for military libraries was finally underway. One agency providing books, the I.O.D.E., supported the concept of a "library system" with the appointment of Angus Mowat as a national supervisor.⁷³ Mowat, commissioned in June 1940, had continued to keep in touch with library matters as a liaison to the War Services Library Council. He visited Toronto on 14-15 February 1943 to discuss camp issues with Charles Sanderson, the I.O.D.E., Lorne Pierce, and Duncan McArthur, who was now Minister of Education.⁷⁴ National Defense Headquarters in Ottawa formed, in March 1943, a new Inter-Service Library Council with responsibility for the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Merchant Marine. But, by the time Major Mowat became head librarian, he was reaching the age of discharge and reminded the Council of this reality. He did undertake a short national survey of military libraries across Canada, reporting in December 1943. Of course, Mowat did not hesitate to repeat his convictions published in his 1940 *Ontario Library Review* camp inspection report.

Major Mowat continued to believe that the primary way to eliminate inefficiency; dreary quarters; small, read-out collections; and untrained staff were to administer the libraries as part of the armed forces. Coordination could be effected by the appointment of a library officer in each military district and similar arrangements in air and naval commands. Mowat pointed out that the Navy authorities had already adopted this idea earlier in the year but lacked expert advice. The army service libraries were a "sad business." The RCAF libraries were generally without experienced direction and appropriate books, "quite a handicap" to overcome. The Merchant Marine presented the enormous problem of constant seagoing voyages under tight security, but small deposits were warranted. Mowat cautioned: "Not one damn book bought by public funds must be placed in any library until that library has been declared bookworthy."⁷⁵ The Inter-Service Library Council members accepted his report, realizing his conclusions meant their efforts would no longer be necessary under such an arrangement.

Because the idea of voluntary, auxiliary library supply and coordination for the forces was difficult to expunge, the Navy, which partly broke from this model at the start of 1943, became the sterling example for service library activity in Canada's war effort. The *Toronto Star* portrayed two naval librarians, Margaret Hughes (Sarnia) and Patricia Walsh (Toronto), in its regular feature "Women's War Work."⁷⁶ Women enlisted in the integrated RCAF Women's Division served on bases across Canada and in Europe with the motto, "We serve that men may fly." The army belatedly reorganized on a professional basis in May 1945 after authority was given to employ librarians in all district headquarters at the commissioned rank, usually as a second lieutenant.⁷⁷ Female service librarians, such as Elizabeth Loosley, who enlisted in the RCAF as a non-combatant, and Monica Hodges, who served in the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service (WRCNS), sometimes had an opportunity to employ their civilian expertise, for instance, working in libraries or intelligence offices, but were often limited due to wartime organizational problems. Their twin accounts about work at an RCAF training station for the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan and the vicissitudes of supplying naval libraries remain the best explications of the impact of the war years for service librarians.⁷⁸

Angus Mowat's report came late in the war effort when improvements in service were continuing, as at London,⁷⁹ but at a time when thoughts were turning to reconstruction problems, such as what to do with surplus camp books once hostilities ceased. On the supply side, the I.O.D.E. continued to solicit books and raise money until the very end of the war. Its last campaign to raise \$300,000 started in January 1945 and received an editorial endorsement from the *Globe*.

Thanks to the energetic work of the I.O.D.E., libraries make the rounds of hospital wards, help to break the monotony of life in isolated spots where gallant boys must stay on guard, relieve the tension in a multitude of places, and bring the cheering thought that back home are people who care.⁸⁰

The good work of the I.O.D.E., the Royal Canadian Legion, the Canadian Red Cross, and many other groups was valued by all, especially Mowat, who returned to the provincial inspectorship of libraries at the end of April 1944, in time to take in OLA's 1944 regional meetings. The prospect of change was in the air, and Mowat was not one to ignore an opportunity to advance the cause of libraries. There was a shared belief that the suffering and sacrifices of the cruel war years had strengthened the mood that democracies, like Canada, were obligated to better serve all citizens.

The Spirit of Reconstruction

During Mowat's last year in the military, important political and social changes were taking place. The year 1943 saw a flurry of publications on reconstruction for the postwar and a critical Ontario election fought on the appropriate role of government intervention in social and economic planning. A reconstruction report by Dr. Leonard Marsh, *Social Security for Canada*, presented to the House of Commons in March, suggested that the country should establish a basic minimum income regardless of age, sex, occupation, or locality. Less erudite but more determined in tone was *Make This Your Canada*, a treatise by David Lewis and F.R. Scott, promoting national planning based on CCF policies. Lewis and Scott did not ignore cultural and educational matters: "We need a National Library at Ottawa, branch libraries in all strategic centres and travelling libraries for the rural communities. The new use of micro-film reproduction makes every book in the world available if we want to have it."⁸¹ A provincial election, scheduled for 4 August, provoked intensive debate and controversy. The Liberals, lacking Mitchell Hepburn's charisma, were in disarray. It was the CCF and Progressive Conservatives (recently renamed) under George Drew that battled for supremacy. The Conservative leader skillfully used radio to pronounce a twenty-two-point program that included health care and a half-share of local school taxes for the province, thus anticipating the public's inclination for change. Drew was partially successful—thirty-eight hard-won seats allowed him to form a minority government.

It was the beginning of an extraordinary Conservative dominance in Ontario not to be interrupted for forty-three years. For the Education Department, it ushered in an administrative structure that differentiated between George F. Rogers, deputy minister responsible for administrative matters and general supervision, and educational policy under a new chief director, the respected Dr. John G. Althouse. George Drew resumed the traditional tasks of Premier and Minister of Education. The Inspector of the Public Libraries Branch reported to either man depending on the issue. Dr. Althouse, the former Dean of Education at the Ontario College of Education, was quite familiar with some library issues and "a good friend to the [Library] School."⁸² The OLA reprinted his 1943 address in Toronto, "The Status of the Librarian," then issued it across the province. Althouse spoke about his support for certification and its importance as a stepping-stone towards "visible evidence to the public that yours is a profession based upon highly specialized knowledge and skill."⁸³ The idea of government endorsement of librarians possessing expert knowledge became yet another argument for

professional status within an emerging bureaucratic apparatus of government.

The regional OLA conferences planned for 1943 and 1944 were a modest part of the changes swirling across Ontario. The groupings reflected regional concerns with token provincial meetings in Toronto (about 150-200 members) to ratify the Association's business and move reconstruction efforts along. During 1943, the executives of the CLC and OLA, along with other provincial library associations, decided to present their arguments to federal and provincial officials. The dominion government's House of Commons Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment, chaired by James Gray Turgeon, scheduled hearings for 1944 and after its work, the Department of Reconstruction came into being under the powerful Liberal minister, C.D. Howe, who also headed Munitions and Supply. OLA established its own Reconstruction Committee on 23 June 1943. W. Stewart Wallace, Anne Hume, and Bertha Bassam, from the University of Toronto Library School, were appointed as committee members. They developed a brief to present to the new Minister of Education and Premier, George Drew, for spring 1944.

Seven regional OLA meetings took place in May and June 1943: London, Toronto, Niagara Falls, Kingston, Kitchener, Ottawa, and Windsor. In all, there were over four hundred registrations. The London meeting, held just before the national meeting of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, focused on linkages with continuation schools and agencies such as the National Film Board, the CAAE, and National Farm Forum. The Minister of Education had recently authorized Travelling Libraries' assistance for 200 continuation schools, small low-cost substitutes for high schools or collegiate institutes offering up to grade 11 in rural areas.⁸⁴ In Toronto, the Circulating Libraries Section organized a review and discussion on war and postwar issues led by Mary Silverthorn (University of Toronto Library School) and Toronto public librarians. A thought-provoking British report, Lionel McColvin's *Public Library System of Great Britain*, provided recommendations regarding central professional planning and direction by larger units of service, two trends that emphasized the primacy of systematic, national concerns rather than local ones.⁸⁵ The Kitchener meeting featured work with county and small libraries and an address by Dr. Carl Klinck, Waterloo College, on the importance of preserving valuable historical and literary documents. At Windsor, Gladys Shepley reprised her work with teenage readers.⁸⁶ At Ottawa, Squadron Leader D. Park Jamieson, a trustee from Sarnia in civilian life, spoke on cooperative efforts between county and city libraries.

By the time OLA members convened at Stratford, Chatham, Kingston, Welland, London, and Toronto in May-June 1944, OLA's most important Reconstruction contribution had already been presented on 30 March to the

Minister of Education along with Dr. Althouse. Angus Mowat also sat in at this meeting, which concluded with the positive decision to revise the Public Libraries Act and prepare estimates to expenditures to support OLA's brief six-page statement, *Library Needs of the Province of Ontario*.⁸⁷ This document was a visionary, utilitarian declaration on libraries and librarianship that charted the general course of action for the next decade and typified contemporary planning in three basic areas. It outlined the types of libraries and the needs for schools, the public, colleges and universities, and the province. It stressed the need for professional education, certification, salaries, pensions, and cooperative efforts with national, regional, and local agencies. It requested increased financial aid from the province, directly to libraries and indirectly through administrative assistance, e.g., certification. The improvement of standards was vital as evidenced by ALA's publication in 1943 of *Post-war Standards for Public Libraries* that influenced issues expressed in *Library Needs*. The Association pressed the Minister for betterment because "library service has hitherto been gravely inadequate: we have lacked any comprehensive scheme of library service for the Province as a whole." (p. 1)

The three-pronged approach in *Library Needs* provides a basis to examine many of OLA's main recommendations made to George Drew in March 1944.

1) Types of Libraries: Public

The OLA committee members pointed out that public Libraries were numerous, yet less than 20% of Ontarians were registered borrowers and rural (mostly association) libraries circulated less than one book per capita. They recommended county and regional schemes under provincial direction to reach the rural populace. Municipal free libraries should be empowered to extend services to adjacent areas and to establish a metropolitan area for a "whole district." A Provincial Library was necessary to oversee public, school, and post-secondary libraries: "The Province should have a strong Provincial library with a good reference collection which would make it the bibliographical centre for the Province. It should be equipped to give interlibrary loan service and be a borrowing agency for loans outside the Province."

2) Professional Matters

The long, unmet needs for certification occupied most of this section of the brief:

The professional standing of librarians should be defined and guaranteed by certification regulations.

Prerequisites for professional standing are:

- a) Graduation from a recognized college or university and Graduation from a library school.
- b) Graduation diploma of the Ontario Secondary Schools,

and the Ontario Grade XIII certificate, or equivalent certificate; and Graduation from a library school. (In Ontario this standing is accepted in order to meet the needs of small libraries throughout the Province.)

If the Province enforced these professional standards for librarians by means of certification regulations, the result would be a more effective personnel and better service.

With certification in place, expanded programs for library training could commence in earnest to raise standards, better salaries would ensue, and pension schemes could be regularized. Remuneration remained low for librarians. Even in Toronto, wages were less than “high school teachers, lower than public health nurses and not much better than are paid to competent clerical workers without academic training.”⁸⁸ With enhanced employment standards, librarian recruitment might be more attractive, and participation with other adult education agencies and schools could be facilitated.

3) Financial Assistance

For the provincial library branch, a substantial increase was firmly recommended. The committee members revealed that in 1941/42 the Public Libraries Branch dispersed grants of about \$41,000 to libraries and \$31,000 to non-library organizations: here was a ready source for library purposes, fully a third of the entire appropriation already available. The Provincial would need funds for staffing and book provision to make its bibliographical functions work. School libraries would need money for a supervisor. The Library School would require increases for its expanded role and enlarged quarters on the university campus. Grants for public libraries, which ranged from \$9 to \$209, were too minuscule to be effective. The committee held up Nova Scotia as an example for support of regional libraries, i.e. \$1 for every \$1 raised locally.

There was considerable interest at all 1944 regional meetings about the government’s reception for *Library Needs of the Province of Ontario*, and no less important, that of the OLA’s Committee on Certification. One of its members, trustee Alan R. Ford, *London Free Press* editor, spoke with Premier Drew about librarian certification shortly after the provincial election. Drew was holding tight the cabinet position as Minister of Education in addition to his position as Premier. Angus Mowat attended regional meetings in 1944, gathering information about certification and reconnecting with librarians, new and old. The war was bringing progressive changes. OLA President, Florence L. Cameron, chief librarian at St. Thomas, chose the theme of “Library Planning” for 1944. Dorothy Carlisle reported at Stratford that Sarnia library staff was eligible for insurance schemes: 60 cents a month would secure \$1,000 worth of group insurance, and 50-75 cents would provide twenty-one days of hospital care. She reported the most recent county library formations

(Bruce in 1943 and Peel in 1944) had raised the total to six since the start of the war. B. Mabel Dunham led a question-answer session for smaller libraries. She would retire, due to poor health, with many tributes in September 1944, after 36 years as Kitchener's chief librarian.⁸⁹ Anne Hume and Eleanor Barteaux convened sessions for smaller and county libraries at Windsor. Ernest Cockburn Kyte, Queen's University Librarian, and Eleanor Tett, also from Queen's, spoke at Kingston about the OLA Brief to George Drew and the role of the Provincial Library. At Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario, an emphasis on libraries as community centres drew attention to radio discussion groups, arts and craft groups, as well as armed forces work.

The Toronto meeting, held to ratify the business of the Association, was presided over by OLA President, W.S. Wallace. The annual meeting featured a presentation by Jean Ross MacMillan on the librarian as a professional.⁹⁰ She represented the professional segment in the reorganized Toronto Public Library Staff Association. To the question of what is a profession, she argued that it was a vocation, a possession of intellectual knowledge and training having the objective of the welfare of others. By this traditional standard, generally applied to medicine and law, librarians sought to exercise their judgement, abilities, and knowledge to seek the beneficial development of readers. Altruistic service and academic standards for rendering these services were important attributes of professionalism. MacMillan had less to say about professional self-regulation and autonomy—these factors would loom larger in the 1960s and 1970s when the model of collective action by a provincial professional librarian organization working with boards to solve employment and service issues began to give way to unionization and collective bargaining. Angus Mowat spoke about the potential for revision of the Public Libraries Act and the role libraries must undertake after the Allied victory. The end of the war in Europe appeared more certain following the D-Day landing in France that took place a few days before the Toronto conference. The 1944 theme of "Library Planning" was not entirely integrative. There were divergent views about county and regional libraries, provincial and national libraries, and certification.

Charles Sanderson's *Libraries in the Post War Period*, published in January 1944, naturally focused on Toronto's efforts but also touched on the integration of national, provincial, and local matters. His was a metropolitan theme where larger urban libraries and smaller suburban areas could co-exist and enjoy their interdependence and independence. Metropolitan area jurisdictions and regional systems could meet the library needs of many without involving "any change in local autonomy beyond a co-operative

agreement for public book provision.” A dominion-provincial scheme would see library commissions created for Canada and each province; a national library with a major lending function; provincial public lending libraries supported by regional libraries and metropolitan areas of suitable size. Some of the elements already were in place: “A dominion-provincial-regional-metropolitan plan is therefore not visionary.”⁹¹ From his perspective, the primary function of libraries was “getting books read” and providing the resources for individual adults and children, informal groups, official agencies, and different communities of interest to create and expand reading habits. Supplying aids for discussion groups, radio forums, book clubs, lectures, displays, exhibitions, fairs would further the local library’s aim in the field of adult education. TPL often created booklists built around the CBC’s *Citizens’ Forums* that started in 1943.⁹² Sanderson’s theme was grounded in local public library service ideas that most Ontario librarians could recognize and appreciate. The idea of civic art centres, community centres, libraries, auditoriums, and swimming pools serving as utilitarian war memorials was a current topic sponsored by prominent citizens like F.D.L. Smith, the former editor of the *Mail and Empire*. Some municipal leaders believed local libraries or community centres were priorities and were prepared to submit the question to ratepayers at December plebiscites.⁹³

Another vision, well-knit and fully documented from a national perspective, also appealed to library planners. *Canada Needs Libraries* contained CLC’s rationale for expanded library services and its recommendations (with appendices) for a Dominion service followed by provincial briefs from seven of nine provinces, except Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. The Council forwarded its shorter ten-page brief to Ottawa’s Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment in August 1944. The Turgeon Committee had steered into cultural affairs in June when it received the ‘Artists’ Brief’ from a coalition of cultural groups across the country advocating the formation of community art centres to foster culture on a local basis. These centres would include libraries and have national equivalents in Ottawa, namely a national library.⁹⁴

The CLC brief was a synthesis of provincial and regional concerns united by a national frame of reference, a top-down view of Canadian library development. CLC’s officers signalled the need for cooperation and coordination in the systematic utilization of libraries across Canada, a nation lacking both educational resources and a network structure to share them effectively. Printed and audio-visual resources would be vital ingredients in postwar demobilization. As well, the creation of a skilled workforce was necessary not only in industries closely related to libraries—publishing, pulp

and papermaking, office supply, and transportation—but also in agriculture, business, and professional work. The CLC advocated the formation of a federal Library Resources Board to guide provincial, local, and individual efforts. The government already had created national agencies for radio and film; thus, a national library body could function in concert with other federal agencies.

According to *Canada Needs Libraries*, the first task for the nation's Library Board, composed of informed and geographically representative members, would be a survey of existing library resources and book collections used by the armed forces and "suitable buildings at present used for wartime activities." With this information, the proposed national Library Resources Board, using federal funds under its control, could encourage the organization of regional libraries by offering grants and by devising a system of co-operative use of library resources "such as National Library Services, Library Standards, and Library Consultation Services." Much of the work of the Board could be furthered by assistance from provincial library associations and groups working in the field of adult education or teaching. The work of cooperation and coordination was a national responsibility; a national library was the lynchpin in this work. National Library services would include:

- the building up of a great storehouse of national literature and history, working in close co-operation with the Dominion Archives, National Gallery, and other national bodies;
- the assembling of a central, national reference collection;
- the assembling of a lending collection to which other libraries might turn when their resources and those of the provinces fail;
- providing microfilm, photostat, and other copying services for clients;
- compiling a union catalogue to make existing book stocks in libraries available through inter-library loan on a Dominion-wide basis;
- co-ordinating book information with audio-visual aids, working in close co-operation with the National Film Board (est. 1939), Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, etc;
- administering collections of Canadian books for exhibition abroad;
- publishing bibliographical works about Canada, e.g. Canadian Catalogue of Books, Canadian Periodical Index, etc. (p. 6)

With the creation of Canadian standards and advisory services for legislation, postal rates, architectural plans, library expansion, and energetic postwar rebuilding efforts could work together in the national interest. Library Reconstruction plans at all government levels would confer benefits for all Canada's citizens in all provinces and lead to a better, more informed society through reading, community programs, and a systematic organization of

cultural resources made accessible through libraries.

By the outset of 1945, some postwar plans were becoming political realities. In the previous year, the universal Family Allowance Act introduced a system of monthly payments from Ottawa to Canadian families with children, regardless of income, starting in July 1945. In 1944, Ontario had moved progressively to enact the 8-hour day/48-hour workweek with one-week paid vacation per year to men and women. As well, the Ontario Teachers' Federation, a statutory organization composed of five teacher federations formed to improve the quality of education and to bargain with school boards, began to raise educational standards after the passage of the *Teaching Profession Act* in April 1944. Librarians, a smaller cadre divided on an institutional basis—"type of library" groupings—were unable to secure representation or powers equivalent to this federation. But they could hope to ameliorate conditions through work with the Education Department. In March 1945, the Ontario government announced the formation of a Royal Commission on Education, chaired by John Andrew Hope. The entire governance and tax basis of Ontario's education system, from tiny schoolrooms to post-secondary institutions, would be scrutinized. Would library interests be able to effect significant changes through the Commission's work, which focused primarily on the school system? Fortunately, the Commission's composition included a noted librarian, Charles Sanderson.

More importantly, with victory in Europe secured by the surrender of Germany on 8 May 1945, the country could concentrate on two crucial federal and provincial elections slated for June. All three parties at the federal and provincial levels supported better government management, social welfare programs, and stability. The Ontario election produced a comfortable majority for George Drew's Progressive Conservatives. The Dominion election was a narrower victory for Mackenzie King's Liberals. These results were a pattern repeated many times in the next half-century. The expected labour support for the CCF did not materialize in 1945, although union membership doubled during the war as organizers in the craft Trades and Labour Congress of Canada (est. 1886) and the Canadian Congress of Labour (est. 1940) were active in Ontario. In fact, the London Public Library staff formed the first Canadian library union in December 1945 when they joined the London Trades and Labour Council, showing an early preference for collective bargaining on a craft union basis that focused on specialization.⁹⁵

After the two decisive elections came deadlock: the Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction held in August 1945 was a complete failure. The provincial premiers rejected the Mackenzie King's postwar agenda for

child support, unemployment and health insurance improvements, pension reforms, and federal transfers for some economic activities. Provincial officials feared centralized economic control after the dominion-provincial wartime revenue structure expired. Lacking a long-term financial agreement, C.D. Howe's Reconstruction officials went to work providing incentives to businesses to convert wartime production to civilian needs without endangering employment levels. Howe, a powerful minister with Mackenzie King's support, preferred common sense Industrial Reconversion and free enterprise support for business leaders rather than abstract social plans authored by Reconstruction advocates. When price and wage controls and rationing restrictions were lifted after the war, Canadians would again be able to purchase automobiles; housing starts would increase; and a whole range of consumer products, suspended or reduced for years, would re-enter the marketplace. Postwar development would proceed on an incremental basis. Expensive schemes by social planners, such as Leonard Marsh, went out of favour. Pragmatic governance was ascendant under Mackenzie King.

Peacetime Prospects

OLA met at Niagara Falls shortly after V-E Day with the theme "Community Leadership and the Library," the first full-fledged conference since 1942. The President, serving her second consecutive term, Florence L. Cameron, spoke about OLA's progress and course of action during the war. With the defeat of Hitlerism, peacetime pursuits would soon recommence as Canadian soldiers returned home. She cautioned that

It will be necessary to speed up our library planning. Large public and university libraries will need a more intensified adult education programme. Libraries not so large will need to consider seriously how best they can serve their communities through making the library the cultural centre, or at least by providing the leadership which will co-operate with other groups in the community in developing cultural and educational activities to a much greater degree than ever before attempted.⁹⁶

Two speakers on adult education reinforced her advice. David Smith (Barrie) and Mary E. Cawson (Middlesex County) reported on valuable work with study and community groups, such as the Community Life Training Institute, which Smith pioneered at Barrie and Simcoe County in the 1930s and 40s.⁹⁷

Recruitment into the profession was not ignored: Winifred Barnstead was discussing issues at the Library School in Toronto and arranging for posters

with catchphrases such as “You Like People You Like Books” (back cover). The necessity to accept university students and, to a lesser degree, demobilized men and women in the short term was recognized; however, it was vital to reach secondary school students because they were the future supply for librarianship. A preliminary plan for reaching vocational guidance counsellors, teachers, professional organizations, and officials in charge of retraining was drawn up.⁹⁸ Barnstead contacted Morgan Parmenter, who had established the Vocational Guidance Centre in Toronto with the Ontario College of Education. An informative four-page pamphlet, *Librarian: Canadian Census Classification Professional Service*, had been issued as part of his centre’s program in 1944. Notwithstanding OLA’s plans, the most important issue at the 1945 OLA conference was a long-awaited resolution supporting the CLC’s decision to create an independent Canadian Library Association. CLC had met in April in Ottawa to determine its future. It planned to draft a constitution, compile a survey of Canadian libraries, and hold an annual convention possibly in league with an ALA conference in Toronto or an American border city.⁹⁹ When ALA eventually selected Buffalo for its 1946 conference, Hamilton became a logical site for a Canadian meeting.

During this time, Angus Mowat took initial steps to prepare a revised Public Libraries Act for the legislative sitting of 1945 and to deal with the thorny issue of certification that his Department now supported. The underlying rationale for Ontario’s library legislation was an enabling one—communities were empowered to form libraries, and the province provided financial assistance through a small grants-in-aid program to promote their work. The imposition of certification standards by the province and formation of regional library boards beyond one jurisdiction could be matters of concern to many elected officials. Mowat met with trustees and librarians on his inspections in 1944-45 and carefully considered current library planning. He found the most urgent needs were to update financial arrangements, regularize county library systems, and revise the certification process for librarians. He got approval to fund a meeting with representatives of OLA’s committees on reconstruction and certification for two days at London in mid-winter 1945.¹⁰⁰

At this meeting, rural improvements and tax-supported county library service received enthusiastic support.¹⁰¹ Afterwards, he informed the department in February that he would be delaying his original goal of preparing comprehensive changes for the legislative sitting in 1945.¹⁰² At this point, political events intervened, thus incurring a lengthy delay. Following a defeat of the minority Progressive Conservative government at Queen’s Park, the Legislature dissolved in March 1945, and three parties engaged in a vigorous election campaign. Following the election of a second Drew

government, the newly appointed Royal Commission on Education presented Mowat with the difficulty of pre-empting its work. Public library service would be a consideration, albeit not a major one, to the commissioners.

To develop a submission, Richard Crouch, London, took on the leadership of OLA's Reconstruction Committee along with eight other OLA members. Working during summer-autumn 1945, they expanded their ideas from the previous year and developed a *Brief on Libraries in Ontario*, a short six-page series of recommendations. Freda Waldon presented this OLA brief to the Hope Commission on 8 January 1946.¹⁰³ In its opening summary, it harked back to some ideas from the 1930s about the apposite population base for library service that F.C. Jennings had pondered during his travels. Experience showed that a population of at least 25,000 was necessary for reasonable service. Financial support had not materially changed in a quarter-century; in fact, revenue was at starvation levels. "In general, the libraries of the province are in a deplorable state. They are starved for both moral support and financial aid. As a result, they are, in much greater numbers than we care to admit, moribund." (p. 2) The brief stressed the life-long attachment individuals and groups formed with libraries. Not just books, but lectures, discussion and study groups, film presentations, exhibitions, workshops, reading lists, advisory work, and research collections informed and educated the public on a tax-supported basis. The library was an essential part of the educational system.

The OLA Brief advanced recommendations in five areas:

I. Provincial Administration

An expanded public libraries directorate with additional inspectors to oversee certification of librarians, grants to libraries, and advisory services to local libraries was necessary. A Provincial Library with a large collection including the Legislative Library as part of its operation should be created. The appointment of a supervisor of public and secondary schools to maintain standards of service and personnel was recommended.

II. Library Organization

The continuation and expansion of public libraries in cities and towns of sufficient population would be necessary. This would include metropolitan areas where larger cities could work alongside neighbouring communities. The development of county, district, or regional library services for smaller towns and rural areas, together with encouragement for association libraries to form public libraries in these larger groupings, was necessary. Provincial support for the use of audio-visual materials, equipment, and programs was desirable.

III. Personnel

Expansion of the University of Toronto Library School to address new

needs and relocation of the school to the University grounds as an independent school [i.e. separate from the Ontario College of Education]. Certification regulations for graduates of recognized library schools should be introduced, and “regulations already approved by the Ontario members of the profession should be put in force to cover cases of those at present in service.” Salary scales with increments and regular salary increases should be established for recruitment purposes and to maintain academic and training standards with other professions. Pension schemes should be adopted as many librarians had worked at low salaries during past years.

IV. Finances

Increased legislative appropriations were necessary, but within the educational budget, these would be modest. The minimum statutory per capita rate, 50 cents, was outdated. Provincial grants should be comparable to those in schools: the current maximum, \$209 for a library, was insufficient. A new grant scheme, based on local per capita expenditures and on the maintenance of professional standards, was preferable. Special library grants should be directed to adult education activities and cultural programs, subject to approval by the Public Libraries Branch. Further special grants should be earmarked for large libraries to extend their services to surrounding regions. Funding for the public libraries directorate, the University of Toronto Library School, and the proposed inspector of school libraries should be provided as necessary. Moreover, because most libraries occupied buildings erected a generation or more ago, a government-subsidized building program should be a priority to replace outdated structures.

V. Legislation

The OLA recommended a complete revision of the public libraries act and the regulations framed under it by the Public Libraries Branch to comply with the findings of the Hope Commission. In sum, the OLA sought to make significant changes within a reasonable timeframe.

Two additional presentations on the same day buttressed OLA’s ideas. The CLC presented its own three-page brief on the same day, *The People’s Need for Book Service*, dated 20 Dec. 1945, as did the Toronto Public Library. The CLC brief called for a Provincial Library under a Commission of five persons and the organization of regional or county libraries. TPL’s brief emphasized the need for coordinated efforts in metropolitan areas.¹⁰⁴

At the close of the library presentations, Justice John Hope requested Angus Mowat to return to discuss provincial matters in more detail. Although the Hope Commission’s mandate was broad, public libraries were a lesser

concern; in fact, its main business was the provincial school system and funding for separate schools. Surprisingly, it would take the Commissioners five years to report to the Legislature in 1950. The final report would devote six pages of a 900-page tome to libraries, mostly in schools. As a result, the improvements in public library legislation that occurred after 1945 were due to the energetic direction of Angus Mowat and his small staff in the Public Libraries Branch of the Department of Education. The common basis for immediate library progress worked out in a planning environment fostered by national Reconstruction had been dashed within a year.

The OLA presentation to the Hope Commission did clear the way for Mowat to advance his own incremental proposals. For some time, the Inspector had been developing ideas for an extensive revision to the 1920 Act, which had remained virtually unchanged for a quarter-century. He opted for a thorough revision with entirely new sections to reflect the nature of change over this period. It was not enough to recognize the county library associations. More systematic county and regional library services should be developed. Finances and certification of librarians were important issues, but ones that could be dealt with through the issuance of departmental regulations. The perennial problem of ineffectual Association Libraries seemed intractable. Mowat needed the support of trustees, librarians, and municipal politicians as well as officials in his department, and ultimately the Minister of Education, George Drew, whose attention was turning to a larger stage as the national Conservative Party continued to flounder. A further problem, perhaps more complex than drafting legislative clauses and charting regulations, was convincing his departmental superiors to fund new activities. Financing for the county and regional systems, a Provincial Library, Library School improvements in Toronto, raising the per capita levy for Free Libraries, and assistance for Association Libraries as well as his branch, must have caused Mowat to ponder how he could best prioritize his budget estimates.

Mowat realized he had to augment his branch to guide and administer improvements. Two of his most reliable staff, Samuel Herbert and Patricia Spereman, who both joined the branch before the First World War, were reaching retirement age. He would have to seek suitable replacements. In the case of Herbert, Mowat needed an experienced assistant to oversee the *Ontario Library Review*, the *Canadian Periodical Index*, and annual reports. One new OLA recommended post, an inspector of school libraries, perhaps might not report to him, although on the development of school libraries remained the purview of public libraries; both counties and cities, such as Hamilton, continued to expand their services to school students.¹⁰⁵ The development of a Provincial Library to include larger research libraries was outside a revision of

the library act. There were many unknowns, for example, if the Legislative Library was to be part of such a new body, then the Department of Education, which had oversight, would have to seek approval from the sitting elected members who were the primary users. Additional space for the Library School was another lingering departmental issue. Nonetheless, Mowat did proceed with an extensive statutory revision. His ideas would fuel debate and legislative provisions for the next two decades.

One extant version of Mowat's work, "Recommendations for the Revision of the Public Libraries Act, R.S.O. 1937," represents his (and perhaps many others) ideas in the immediate postwar period. He used the existing Act, to 1944, as his basis.¹⁰⁶ There are five sections: I—free libraries; II—association libraries; III—county, regional and district libraries; IV—county, regional and district co-operatives; and V—general provisions. To the definition of "library," which had always fixed on printed materials, Mowat added, "phonograph records, motion picture films or museum collections or reproductions of art, and original paintings or other works of art" (sec.1d). Both Ottawa and London had introduced gramophone record loans, mostly classical, in the early years of the war. Collections of art or drawings were becoming standard in larger libraries. The National Film Board, under the leadership of John Grierson, had begun to loan films to libraries across Canada by 1943, and, in the case of Windsor and London, to deposit NFB films directly and to help with information on film forums. Recognition for expanded library services would partly justify new community roles.

In Part I, to deal with the issue of metropolitan service, Mowat added an entirely new section (sec.13):

- (1) Subject to the regulations and the approval of the Minister, and with the consent of the councils and boards concerned, a metropolitan library area may be formed which may comprise any city of not less than 50,000 population and may include such area or areas or school sections or school areas or municipalities as may be agreed upon.
- (2) The method of establishing a metropolitan library area shall be by agreement between the boards or between the boards and councils of municipalities in which no board has been established, and such agreement shall become effective upon receiving the approval of the Minister.

Authorization by the Minister of Education was the method that Mowat believed could facilitate the formation of metropolitan, county, regional or district libraries, especially when the service area(s) extended across the jurisdiction of multiple municipalities or where there was no adequate municipal structure to ensure a tax base. In the case of metropolitan library boards, the Minister would approve of "as many members appointed from

each of the boards concerned as may be agreed upon” (sec. 21). For free libraries, Mowat proposed to change the per capita library rate to a maximum \$2.00 and a minimum of 50 cents (sec. 42.1). This would eliminate the long-standing problems with interpreting the older clause.

In Part II, Mowat was content to resist changes. There were still a few reasonably good Association libraries; but, without tax support, their range of service was limited. In his short eleven-page pamphlet aimed at local library trustees, *The Public Library: Why You Need It, How to Start It, How to Keep it Going*, issued in 1944, Mowat stated associations were only a substitute for free library service if a community could not establish a one under Part I of the Act: “the principle is badly out of date.” However, he did try to strengthen the position of the librarian as “the chief administrative officer of the board” (sec. 64.1) and adding that he or she “shall attend all meetings of the board” (sec. 64.2). The status and activity of the librarian in small libraries had to be buttressed when certification was introduced. Another section (77) made it easier for an association to transfer its assets to a new free library when it was formed. The only Association type libraries that Mowat studied to any degree were the ten counties recognized by 1945. For these, conversion into free county or regional systems, or cooperative systems with better direction, was a more satisfactory solution to the problem of rural library service.

Part III, sections 80-108, departed from past practice. It introduced free county, regional and district libraries: “A free county library may be established in a county, or a regional library in two or more counties, or a district library in a district in unorganized territory” under proposed new procedures and conditions (sec. 81). County councils could form a county board for two or more municipalities upon receipt of a petition signed by a hundred county electors. Municipalities could remain separate from the library system or withdraw after three years (sec. 82). The warden of the county would serve on the board along with eight county appointees. Regional libraries were more intricate. Because they extended beyond traditional municipal boundaries, their formation and financing would be unusual. County boards would have to enter into an agreement for a regional library with the consent of the county councils. Further,

Such agreement shall specify the proportion of the cost of the establishment and maintenance of the regional library to be borne and paid by each of the boards or shall provide for the manner in which such proportion shall be determined, and shall further provide for the manner in which the assets of the regional library shall be divided or disposed of in case of a dissolution of the regional library or the withdrawal of one or more boards from the agreement. (sec. 88.2)

The composition and size of regional boards provided several options. To form a district library, the councils of two or more municipalities could apply to the Minister of Education and, subject to approval, form a library board of municipal officials and representatives from all participating municipalities (sec. 89). Free county, regional, and district libraries could enter into agreements with cities and towns for service. The county library rate reflected lower rural assessments: it could range from 20 cents to \$1.00 per capita of county residents (sec. 105). County libraries would continue to exist within regions and receive estimates from regional libraries based on their operating agreement. Districts would submit budget estimates to a commission of three persons appointed by the Minister. They would approve requests and apportion the amounts to municipalities and the Minister according to varying per capita rates (sec. 104). Part III, a complicated but realistic administrative plan, was twenty years ahead of its time.

Part IV guided county, regional or district library co-operatives (sec. 110-129). These informal entities could include clubs or institutes, as well as municipalities and schools. Former county library associations, established prior to 1946, automatically became co-operatives. Co-operatives could be formed by a county council bylaw that approved a petition signed by officers from five library boards or officers from at least fifty percent of the county boards where there were more than ten libraries. The Minister performed the same function for districts and regional co-operatives that needed the consent of two or more county councils. Co-operative county boards included the warden and six other representatives. Regional co-operative boards varied in size because the wardens of each county served as *ex officio* members. District boards numbered seven trustees: four appointed by its members and three by the Minister. The boards had considerable power:

...the board of a county, regional or district library Co-operative may establish and maintain a central library and such branch libraries, deposit stations, school libraries, travelling libraries, bookmobiles or other means as may be necessary for the extension of library services within its jurisdiction, and may fix fees as may be required from members libraries, deposit stations or other participating organizations. (sec. 120)

County councils, or municipalities within districts, were authorized to make special grants they deemed proper to co-operatives, i.e. they were not bound by any specific per capita tax rates. Regional co-operatives submitted estimates to their respective county co-operatives according to the agreed proportion. Every co-operative had to appoint a chief librarian, certified by the Minister's regulations (sec. 122).

In sum, Angus Mowat's "Recommendations" often raised more questions than it answered. That was the nature of the task Mowat undertook. He had to elaborate and legitimize many contentious issues. Some general ideas, such as a Library Commission for Ontario, seemed less attractive after consideration. Some Canadian librarians, Nora Bateson, for example, felt that education departments were school-oriented and "that libraries then are in danger of receiving only secondary consideration."¹⁰⁷ Mowat believed his Department favoured the expansion of Ontario's educational system, and his friend, Dr. Althouse, was inclined to spend more attention on libraries. There were various factors to consider. Ontario's support for public libraries was in advance of most North American jurisdictions. Regional planning was in its youthful stage in Canada: only recently had Ontario formed a Department of Planning and Development to coordinate economic activity.

Public libraries had borne their share of hardship as a civic responsibility by enduring shortages during the Depression. Librarians and trustees had raised the library's profile by promoting democratic rights and international ideals, such as freedom and the equality of persons or nations, during wartime as a patriotic duty.¹⁰⁸ For many years, libraries had marked time with smallish budgets and worked on intermittent plans pertaining to national or provincial matters. Librarians had increased their sense of national purpose and were on the verge of forming a nationwide association at a meeting arranged for McMaster University, Hamilton, in June 1946. Mowat's *The Public Library* emphasized the library's constructive societal position: "Public library service is a grave social responsibility. It is necessary to all education. It is a strong sinew in community life and thought. It is absolutely essential to every man, woman and child who is still capable of learning."¹⁰⁹ With the war in the Pacific ended in August 1945 by astonishing atomic blasts, it seemed an occasion to end the extended delay that had checked library service for a decade and a half. It was time for action—Mowat forged ahead, dealing first with the issues that departmental regulations could encourage on a provincial basis. His postwar legislative agenda would be guided by support from the library sector, his revamped departmental staffing, and the deliberations of the Hope Commission.

CHAPTER 3 NOTES

1. William A. Deacon, "Ask the Library," *Globe and Mail*, 1 June 1939: 7; and Jean Ross MacMillan, "Calling Reference," *OLR* 26, no. 1 (Feb. 1942): 48-56.
2. Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 24 May 1939, vol. 4, 4501-02.
3. Jean Irene Gorwill, "A History of London (Ontario) Public Library," MLS thesis, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1958, 16-20; and *An Act Respecting the Elsie P. Williams Estate*, 2 Geo. VI, chap. 75, sec. 10.
4. Basil Stuart-Stubbs, "1934-46: the Long Last Lap," *Feliciter* 50, no. 3 (2004): 112-15.
5. Jean Eileen Stewart, *The Public Library in Canada in Relation to the Government* (Chicago: American Library Association and Graduate Library School, University of Chicago, 1939), 97, typescript.
6. See John A. Wiseman, "A Genteel Patriotism; Ontario's Public-Library Movement and the First World War," in Peter F. McNally, ed., *Readings in Canadian Library History* (Ottawa: CLA, 1986), 181-90.
7. *Toronto Daily Star*, 23 October 1939: 9.
8. "Kingston," *OLR* 24, no. 1 (Feb. 1940): 59.
9. "Ottawa," *OLR* 24, no. 4 (Nov. 1940): 450.
10. "Fort William," *OLR* 24, no. 3 (Aug. 1940): 320.
11. Jean Gorwill, *London Public Library*, 22.
12. Anne Hume, *A History of the Windsor Public Libraries, 1937-1944* (Windsor: WPL, 1945), 7, typescript.
13. Table from Jean E. Stewart, *The Public Library in Canada*, 32.
14. Subsequent references are from Angus Mowat, "Report on Inspection of Certain Military Camp Libraries," *OLR* 24, no. 1 (Feb. 1940): 3-7.
15. Ruth M. Jacobs, "Army Camp Libraries," *OLR* 14, no. 2 (May 1940): 115.
16. See Trevor B. Richards, "Books for the Troops: The Role of Volunteer Organizations in the Provision of Library Services for the Canadian Military during the World Wars," *Épilogue* 13/14 (1992): 11-17 for WWII services.
17. Kathleen (Moyer) Elliott, "The Library and the Community," *OLR* 24, no. 2 (May 1940): 128.
18. Ralph Munn, "Address," *OLR* 24, no. 2 (May 1940): 131.
19. "Not in the Library," *Toronto Daily Star*, 15 July 1939: 5; and "Not Able to Buy Grapes of Wrath," *Toronto Daily Star*, 12 February 1940: 30. A strong defence of the novel was issued by Alexander Calhoun, "Calgary Librarian's Case for the Joads," *Calgary Herald*, 16 April 1940: 30.
20. "Library Book Censorship 'As Necessary as in Films'," *Toronto Daily Star*, 24 June 1939: 31.
21. William Arthur Deacon, *Sh-h-h Here Comes the Censor! An*

Address to the Ontario Library Association March 26, 1940 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1940), 13-14.

22. Ontario, *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1940, 84.

23. Report on Paris, June 16th 1940, Inspection Diaries, 406-07; Angus Mowat fonds, Western University, box 1875.

24. Stephen F. Cummings, "Angus McGill Mowat and the Development of Ontario Public Libraries, 1920-1960," PhD diss., 1986, 238-52 studies Mowat's WWII period; and A. Mowat, "Soldiers Can Read," *OLR* 26, no. 1 (1942): 9-10.

25. *Globe and Mail*, 11 October 1940: 21; and *Toronto Daily Star*, 24 October 1940: 5.

26. "Supply of 50,000 Books for M.D. 2 Forces Sought," *Globe and Mail*, 11 March 1941: 20; and "Books Needed," *Toronto Daily Star*, 13 February 1941: 6.

27. Lorne Pierce, "'Books for the Boys' Campaign," *OLR* 25, no. 3 (Aug. 1941): 275-76.

28. Robena Kirkton, *Gravenhurst Public Library* (Gravenhurst: GPL, 1985), 5, typescript. For the camp library, see Cecil J. Porter, *The Gilded Cage: Gravenhurst German Prisoner-of-War Camp 20, 1940-1946*, 2nd ed. (Gravenhurst: Gravenhurst Book Committee, 2003), 64-65.

29. F.C. Jennings, "Legion Libraries for the Forces," *OLR* 25, no. 3 (Aug. 1941): 242-45

30. Nora Bateson, "A Library for Our Fighting Forces," *Public Affairs: A Maritime Quarterly for Discussion of Public Affairs* 6 (Spring 1942): 131-33.

31. Freda F. Waldon, "War Libraries," *OLR* 26, no. 2 (May 1942): 171-74.

32. Margaret S. Gill, "C.L.C. to C.L.A.," in Bruce Braden Peel, ed., *Librarianship in Canada, 1946-1967; Essays in Honour of Elizabeth Homer Morton* (Victoria: Canadian Library Association, 1968), 11-19.

33. "Proposed Canadian Library Council," *OLR* 25, no. 3 (Aug. 1941): 228-30; also, File: Council - proposed Canadian Library Council, Ontario Library Association fonds, OLA Council and Executive Committee correspondence and reports, F 1195-2-2, box 37, AO.

34. The intricacies of CLC's gestation are set out by B. Stuart-Stubbs, "1934-46: The Long Last Lap," *Feliciter* 50, no. 3 (2004): 112-15.

35. "Report on Canadian Libraries," 56-57. The entire report, along with extensive recommendations and background, reprinted in William J. Buxton and Charles R. Acland, *American Philanthropy and Canadian Libraries: The Politics of Knowledge and Information* (Montreal: Graduate School of Library and Information Studies and The Centre for Research on Canadian Cultural Industries and Institutions, McGill University, 1998).

36. Charles R. Sanderson, "World Democratic Relations," *ALA Bulletin* 35 (July 1941): 414-21.

37. See Buxton and Acland, *American Philanthropy and Canadian Libraries*, 10-18 for Rockefeller support and Marshall's activities.

38. "Canadian Library Council," *ALA Bulletin* 36 (August 1942): 523.
39. "Canadian Library Council," *ALA Bulletin* 37 (June 1943): 207.
40. "Order of the Day," 15 June 15, 1940, Hamilton Public Library fonds, I-c-2g.
41. "Order of the Day," 16 July 16, 1940, Hamilton Public Library fonds, I-c-2g.
42. "Janet Clarkson," *OLR* 47, no. 4 (Nov. 1963): 162; and L. McGrath, "Service to Children in the Toronto Public Library," 290-91.
43. Caroline Strange and Tina Loo, "Canadian Pulp Magazines and the Second World War Regulations," in Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, eds., *History of the Book in Canada* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 2007), vol. 3, 255-58.
44. Phil Jenkins, *The Library Book: An Overdue History of the Ottawa Public Library, 1960-2001* (Ottawa: OPL, 2002), 37-40.
45. "Hysterics over Lindbergh," *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 17 May 1941: 32; and "Anti-Lindbergh Request Filed by Library Board," *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 18 June 1941: 14.
46. "Lindbergh's Writings 'Trash,' Four Libraries Ban Books," *Globe and Mail*, 9 May 1941: 5; "No Lindbergh Books for Cornwall Library," *Ottawa Citizen*, 14 May 1941: 16; and "Merely Officious," *Globe*, 26 May 1941: 6.
47. Paul Martin, "Address [The War and Libraries]," *OLR* 25, no. 3 (Aug. 1941): 237.
48. See Ruth Roach Pierson, *"They're Still Women After All": The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986).
49. "Canadian Libraries and the War," *ALA Bulletin* 37 (Jan. 1943): 3.
50. "Employment Expert Finds Right Job for Right Girl," *Toronto Daily Star*, 22 May 1944: 19.
51. Ruth Maydan, "Lyn Cook," *In Review: Canadian Books for Children* 1 (Spring 1967): 5-7.
52. "A.G. McHugh is Head Library Board," *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 9 Feb. 1944: 16.
53. "Reports Library is Losing Staff," *Citizen*, 14 June 1944: 10; and "Library Board Gives Salary Increase to Permanent and Temporary Workers," *Citizen*, 13 Dec. 1944: 8.
54. Phyllis Foreman, "The Newmarket Camp," *OLR* 26, no. 1 (Feb. 1942): 73.
55. "Library Will Open on Sunday for War Staffs," *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 9 Dec. 1942: 17.
56. Jean Fetterly, "All This—and Heaven Too," *OLR* 26, no. 4 (Nov. 1942): 401-03.
57. D. Park Jamieson, "Duties of a Library Trustee," *OLR* 25, no. 4 (Nov. 1941): 369-72.
58. Anne I. Hume, "Presidential Address," *OLR* 25, no. 3 (Aug. 1941):

234.

59. "The Elsie Perrin Williams Memorial London Public Library and Art Museum, London, Ontario," *JRAIC* 19 (June 1942): 134-36; Richard Crouch, "The New London Public Library," *OLR* 24, no. 3 (Aug. 1940): 260-61; and "London Gets Its Beautiful New Public Library," *OLR* 24, no. 4 (Nov. 1940): 398-401. Also, Joseph L. Wheeler, "Planning for Postwar Library Building," *ALA Bulletin* 36 (March 1942): 180-82.

60. Report on Blenheim, April 9th 1940, Mowat letter to D.J. Baird, Secretary; Inspection Diaries, 4 pages inserted between p. 391-92; Angus Mowat fonds, Western University, box 1875.

61. "Proceedings of the County and Small Libraries Institute June 10, 1941—London Public Library," *OLR* 25, no. 4 (Nov. 1941): 365-78.

62. Richard Crouch, "Cooperation between the County Library and the Central Public Library of the County," *OLR* 26, no. 2 (May 1942): 203-04.

63. Charles P. Corbett, *A History of the Library in Lucan* (Arva, Ont.: Middlesex County Library, 1997), 17-21.

64. Ella Ferguson, "The Children's Department of the East Branch Public Library, London, Ont.," *OLR* 27, no. 4 (Nov. 1943): 471-72.

65. "Libraries Assist the Schools," *Globe and Mail*, 14 Nov. 1945: 6.

66. Report on Oshawa, March 3rd 1938; Inspection Diaries, 136, Angus Mowat fonds, Western University, box 1875.

67. "Introducing Books to 'Teen Age Readers,'" *OLR* 26, no. 1 (Feb. 1942): 33-37. Anne M. Wright, et al., *Books for Youth: A Guide for Teen-age Readers* (Toronto: TPL, 1940) followed by editions in 1956 and 1966; and "Youth and its Reading," *Globe*, 15 April 1930: 4. Jean Gorwill earned her MLS at the University of North Carolina in 1958 and continued at London South until her retirement in 1969.

68. Quoted in Mary-Theresa Sloan and Nisa Howe, *Huron County Library History: 50 Years of Service* (Goderich, Ont.: Huron County Library, 1991), 5.

69. "Executive Secretary's [Carl Milam] Report," *ALA Bulletin* 37 (Oct. 1943): 320.

70. Douglas Cooper, "A Community Library and How It Grew," *Quill & Quire* 10 (Dec. 1944): 37-39.

71. Ontario, *Report of the Minister*, 1943, 75-76.

72. Dorothy Carlisle, "County and Regional Libraries in Ontario," *OLR* 28, no. 3 (Aug. 1944): 285-86.

73. Dorothy M. Bizzey, "National I.O.D.E. Camps Library," *OLR* 27, no. 3 (Aug. 1943): 315-18.

74. "Diary Journal, 13 Feb. 1943-17 April 1943," Angus Mowat fonds, Western University, box 1876, item 835.

75. Angus Mowat, "Libraries for the Services in Canada Report and Recommendations, December 29, 1943" reprinted in Stephen Cummings, "Angus McGill Mowat and the Development of Ontario Public Libraries, 1920-1960," PhD diss., 1986, 381-94.

76. "Navy, Afloat and Ashore, Needs Wrens in Libraries," *Toronto Daily Star*, 20 March 1944: 29; and Eric F. Gaskell, "Library Service in the Royal Canadian Navy," *OLR* 29, no. 3 (Aug. 1945): 288-89.

77. "Library Services Within the Canadian Army in Canada," *Canadian Library Council Bulletin* 2 (Oct. 1945): 31.

78. Elizabeth Loosley, "Libraries—R.C.A.F.," *OLR* 29, no. 2 (May 1945): 165-71; Monica Hodges, "Books, Bombs, and Blackouts," *OLR* 30, no. 2 (May 1946): 117-22.

79. John V. Greenblatt, "Biggest Service Library in District Opens with 75,000 Volumes," *OLR* 28, no. 2 (May 1944): 139-49.

80. "Books for the Forces," *Globe and Mail*, 19 January 1945: 6.

81. David Lewis and F.R. Scott, *Make This Your Canada* (Toronto: Central Canada Pub. Co., 1943), 176.

82. Bertha Bassam, *The Faculty of Library Science*, 27.

83. J.G. Althouse, "The Status of the Librarian," *OLR* 27, no. 3 (Aug. 1943): 310-12.

84. G.L. Gray, "Books for Ontario's Continuation Schools," *OLR* 27, no. 3 (Aug. 1943): 305-06.

85. "Circulating Libraries," *OLR* 27, no. 3 (Aug. 1943): 322-30.

86. Gladys Shepley, "Books for Teen-Age Readers," *OLR* 27, no. 3 (Aug. 1943): 341-43.

87. Ontario Library Association Reconstruction Committee, *Library Needs of the Province of Ontario: A Brief Submitted to the Minister of Education, Province of Ontario, March 30, 1944* (Toronto: OLA, 1944), typescript; reprinted in *OLR* 38, no. 2 (May 1944): 165-68.

88. "Librarians' Salaries," *Toronto Daily Star*, 6 April 1940: 6.

89. "Retires After 36 Years of Library Work," *OLR* 28, no. 3 (Aug. 1944): 313.

90. Jean R. MacMillan, "Librarianship as a Profession," *OLR* 28, no. 3 (Aug. 1944): 282-85.

91. Charles R. Sanderson, *Libraries in the Post War Period; Being the Report of the Chief Librarian to the Toronto Public Library Board, January, 1944* (Toronto: TPL Board, 1944), 2-3.

92. Annie M. Wright, "The Citizens' Forum and the Public Library," *Quill & Quire* 10 (July 1944): 23.

93. See F.D.L. Smith, "Civic Art Centres as War Memorials," *Globe and Mail*, 5 May 1944: 6; F.D.L. Smith, "More About Community Centres as War Memorials," *Globe*, 29 May 1944: 6; and "Useful War Memorials," *Globe*, 15 Dec. 1944: 6.

94. Canadian Library Council, Inc., *Canada Needs Libraries* (Ottawa: CLC, 1944); CLC, *Library Service for Canada: A Brief Prepared by the Canadian Library Council, as Forwarded August 2, 1944 to the House of Commons, Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment* (Ottawa: CLC, 1944); and "Group Asks \$10 Million for Cultural Centres," *Globe and Mail*, 22 June 1944: 11.

95. Elizabeth Spicer, *Our Odyssey - Thirty Years, a History of the London Library Employees' Union, Local 217 (Canadian Union of Public Employees), November 1945-1975* (London: London Library Employees' Union, 1976).

96. Florence L. Cameron, "Presidential Address," *OLR* 29 no. 3 (Aug. 1945): 277-78.

97. David Smith, "Education for Community," *OLR* 29, no. 3 (Aug. 1945): 304.

98. "Recruitment for Librarianship," *Canadian Library Council Bulletin* 1 (April 1945): 37.

99. "Proposed Canadian Library Association," *Canadian Library Council Bulletin* 1 (June 1945): 51.

100. Angus Mowat to Chief Director of Education [J.G. Althouse], 15 Jan. 1944 [sic]. File: Legislation, Correspondence Files of the Director of Provincial Library Service Branch 1939-69, Dept. of Education, RG 2-229, box 1, AO.

101. "Urge Rural Library Supported by Taxes," *Toronto Daily Star*, 8 Feb. 1945: 5; and "Library Committee, Inspector Confer," *London Free Press*, 7 Feb. 1945: 13.

102. Angus Mowat memo to Deputy Minister, 13 Feb. 1945. File: Legislation, Correspondence Files 1939-69, Dept. of Education, RG 2-229, box 1, AO; and Angus Mowat, "Revision of the Public Libraries Act," *OLR* 29, no. 3 (Aug. 1945): 294-95.

103. OLA, *Brief on Libraries in Ontario Presented to the Royal Commission on Education* (Toronto: OLA, 1945); also printed in *OLR* 30, no. 1 (Feb. 1946): 7-10.

104. For these briefs, see Records of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1945-1950, RG 18-131, AO: no. 7 (OLA), no. 95 (TPL), no. 141 (CLC).

105. Freda Waldon, "The School Comes to the Library," *The School: A Magazine Devoted to Elementary and Secondary Education* [Secondary ed.] 33, no. 5 (Jan. 1945): 387-91.

106. See Public Libraries Act Working Papers, Dept. of Education, RG 2-228, box 1, AO.

107. For Mowat's view, see Stephen Cummings, "Angus McGill Mowat," 256-57; and Nora Bateson, *Rural Canada Needs Libraries* (Ottawa: CLC, 1944), [9].

108. See the ALA Buffalo conference address by John Grierson, "The Library in an International World," *ALA Bulletin* 40 (Oct. 1946): 293-303. He stressed the library's educational mission.

109. Angus Mowat, *The Public Library, Why You Need It, How to Start It, How to Keep It Going* (Toronto: T. E. Bowman, 1944), 11.



3. Charles Sanderson reads to children at East York branch, c. 1945



4. Freda Farrell Waldon, chief librarian
Hamilton Public Library (1940-63), n.d.

POSTWAR RENEWAL, 1945–55

At the end of the Second World War, leaders in the library community expected the Public Libraries Branch to reassume its leadership role disrupted by the Depression and war years. The OLA had mustered support for change and twice presented the government with ideas about developing a better public system through legislation and regulations in 1944 and 1946. With confirmation from biannual DBS surveys that about one-third of the provincial population was without library service, it was difficult not to agree with the substance of briefs urging improvement, such as *Library Needs of the Province of Ontario*. It was, in part, a matter of building support beyond the immediate confines of the OLA, major library boards, and the departmental offices in the Legislature. Angus Mowat addressed the difficulties he had found during inspections in his 1945 annual report to the Department of Education:

The truth is that our libraries as a whole are too weak to carry the burden imposed on them. Almost all are in too depressed a state, financially, to provide sufficient book stocks or to organize and distribute their material to the best advantage. Too few professionally qualified librarians are employed and, these are, for the most part, paid salaries which are absurdly low in comparison with those received by teachers with equal qualifications. Nearly all the buildings in which public libraries are housed—some city buildings excepted—are relics of a bygone age, ill-lighted, ill-ventilated, unsanitary.¹

Mowat may have overstated the condition of libraries in a rhetorical fashion, but his report created the rationale for an expanded, active provincial role in library service.

To help with the promotion of services, Mowat reissued his popular pamphlet, *The Public Library*, in the second half of 1946. To the question “Why Have a Library?” the Inspector responded enthusiastically about its functions:

- to supply selected and attractive books for the use of children either directly from the library or through classroom loans. These were not reference books but works selected to stimulating a child’s taste for good reading: a “good public library will stand up and fight the spread of the mental drug-habits as fostered by Hollywood and the comics;”
- to provide training for children and youth using books and libraries;

- to make its presence known in its community as a chief resource for adult education programs, e.g. farm forum discussions, citizens' forums, organized courses, or "simply a matter of individual reading of an interesting and enlightening nature." (p. 4)

In his mind, the latter task was a primary focus, the one that made the "public library an essential sinew in the body of the community life." He admitted that not all libraries were successful in fulfilling their educational or recreational roles. He did insist that library boards employing qualified staff could put their resources to society's benefit. Canadians were readers. The DBS had recorded a steady increase in personal expenditure on books, newspapers, and magazines throughout the Depression and WWII: from \$32 million in 1930 to \$50 million in 1940 to \$76 million in 1945.² To the question of whether librarianship required training, knowledge, or energy, Mowat enthused about its essential feminine personality qualities: "She must have knowledge of books. She must like books and like people and must be the kind of person who takes pleasure in bringing books and people together." (p.12)

Although the reading public had not flocked to libraries during the war, the membership base of libraries had remained steady and grown slightly. Based on her knowledge of typical library usage and a regional study, Nora Bateson, the Director for Libraries in Nova Scotia, had summarized some ideas on Canadians' reading habits. The most common form of reading was the magazine and newspaper. In rural areas, farm magazines, such as the *Family Herald*, were popular, but subscriptions to general American ones, such as *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Reader's Digest*, or *Red Book*, were popular across the social spectrum. Pocket books were trendy and inexpensive (usually 25¢ and up). Of course, the war formed a demand for technical works and contemporary issues: books such as *Berlin Diary* and *Victory Through Air Power* were good reads. Generally, "For about 50% of Canada's population easily accessible reading material is in the main limited to magazines and newspapers with a little infiltration of books through bookstores and small circulating libraries."³ In reference to Alvin Johnson's prewar *The Public Library: A People's University* (1938), which prioritized adult education over light recreational fiction, Bateson held that proper guidance for adult readers was important and that the public library could be a reliable source for assistance as a centre of adult education in its community.

An emerging area of readership concern was the young adult. A Canadian Youth Commission, formed in 1943 to study the problems of youth between ages 15–24, took a national sample of 1,600 and found worthwhile information on their use of libraries and book predilections. To the question, "What sort of books do you read most?" they responded:

Books	<i>All</i>						
	<i>Youth</i> %	<i>English</i> %	<i>French</i> %	<i>Male</i> %	<i>Female</i> %	<i>Farm</i> %	<i>City</i> %
Adventure	47	48	38	54	40	60	45
Novel	36	38	21	22	48	32	36
Mystery	32	34	18	39	25	29	31
History	23	18	47	29	17	20	26
Biography	18	15	32	17	18	16	24
Travel	16	14	27	24	21	17	28
Technical	4	3	6	5	2	4	5
Poetry	1	1	2	1	2	2	1

Just over half of the selected sample of youth reported that they used a public library; twenty-seven percent reported they had no library service.⁴ The report did not reference any activities by OLA's School and Intermediate Section or mention secondary school library collections.

The purposeful work of providing reading often meant that library collections, especially fiction, were not particularly offensive. Timmins' chief librarian, Helen Clifton, said as much during a local radio war broadcast: "Grapes of Wrath, by John Steinbeck, is a book that is found in very few public libraries because the language of the characters shocks so many people."⁵ But contentious subjects could also intrude on the selection process. The *Globe and Mail* was unhappy with TPL's treatment of Lillian Smith's *Strange Fruit*, which depicted racial relations between a man and a woman, and Edwin Guillet's *This Man Hanged Himself!*, a history of a Toronto man who murdered his wife in 1940.⁶ TPL's popular reading lists did include the 1944–45 bestselling *Earth and High Heaven* by Gwethalyn Graham, a novel that broached anti-Semitism in romantic relationships. Naturally, winning a Governor-General's award helped smooth Graham's book onto library shelves. "Run-of-the-mill" fiction was another category to be deprecated. Angus Mowat explained: "Thoughtful or informative novels for the library, yes; but the merely commercial, quick-grab kind of thing, shoveled out by the million and lapped up by the thoughtless, no! If you once start providing this kind of drug you are simply stuck with it and cannot get out from under."⁷

Generally, many Ontario libraries adhered to higher standards—a highbrow culture of exclusion—by shying away from controversial topics or disturbing, vulgar language. This was a typical acquiescent self-censorship stance. During the war, patriotism and democracy were ideals libraries could advance along with their community role of providing information, recreational reading, and educative materials for personal development. The

free public library could not claim it was essential or a bastion of intellectual freedom. Librarians did not challenge Canada Customs rulings in 1946 to prohibit entry of politically sensitive books such as James T. Farrell's *Bernard Clare*, the story of a politically astute working-class author.⁸ The public philosophy expounded by library advocates allowed them to defend the library's tax-supported status as an agency with a range of 'conventional' literature available free of charge to all residents in its service area. But in most of Ontario, the broader promise of the 'modern public library' promoted before 1939 remained unfilled in terms of adult education and community interaction.

The Library in the Community

The idea of the modern public library as an active influence promoting its services to the entire community remained alive after WWII through social Reconstruction ideas, especially in London. But it would take a different approach to encourage libraries because Reconstruction was in the hands of C.D. Howe, not social planners. The postwar national government encouraged private business investment and rebuilding of the capital goods sector at the expense of the expansion of consumer goods. Canadian growth was evolving within an international structure crafted outside its borders, not by extensive social planning in Mackenzie King's government. At Bretton Woods (1944) and later at Geneva, where the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was negotiated in 1947, Canada worked with other nations to reduce financial instability and to eliminate barriers to world trade. The economy, not social reform, was a priority on the national stage, especially a close relationship with the United States, the dominant global economic power.

Many librarians comprehended this reality, knowing that public library service was very much a local concern but could also fulfill societal needs. Libraries and librarians buttressed their positions as local sources for culture through radio broadcasts and by introducing film and record collections. As well, cooperative projects with the CBC, the NFB, and regional film councils invigorated the library's expanding claims. Library radio programming on a local and national basis was commonplace by the end of the war. Information could be easily broadcast for public benefit, as Stuart Griffiths, a CBC Montreal director, explained to librarians, "air is knowledge as well as life."⁹ Radio storytimes were popular. Two skilled Toronto librarian storytellers, Sheila Egoff and Frances Trotter, undertook a fall 1944 "Junior Story" folktales series on Tuesdays at 2-2:15 p.m. on the CBC Ontario-Quebec network, as part of the School Radio Broadcasts. These shows eventually led to the postwar CBC series "Cuckoo Clock House" and "Stories for You" that

entertained children on weekends for a decade into the mid-fifties until television captured younger audiences.¹⁰ The airwaves could be utilized for library recruitment and promotion of a friendlier image of librarianship. Elizabeth Dafoe, chief librarian at the University of Manitoba, went on CBC on 4 September 1945 to encourage people to become librarians:

Nowadays, no young woman can make much of a career for herself in the library field without special training in library methods, and the librarian needs to have good health, poise, and a genuine liking for people. Of course, it isn't essential to love the whole of the human race, but if you just don't like people and are shy about meeting them, don't choose librarianship as your career.¹¹

Ontario librarians were learning to use radio programming in concert with Canadian librarians in other provinces, such as Dorothy Cullen (Prince Edward Island), who regularly reviewed books via radio to entice listeners to become readers.¹²

In the immediate postwar, the library's function as a community centre was frequently invoked. In his 1944 report on postwar conditions, Charles Sanderson spoke about the good work at the Beaches branch, which had pioneered many community projects as early as the mid-1920s under the leadership of Jessie E. Rorke. A popular community library drama league, "booklover's evenings," art exhibits, and musical concerts were normal parts of its work. During the war, the musician-teacher, Marcus Adeney, wrote about the musical programs at Beaches and his hopes for future community development.¹³ At Windsor, Anne Hume integrated books, records, films, art exhibitions, music, and lectures at the Willistead branch. It included an art gallery, which opened in 1943 and held a projector room equipped with sound reproduction outfitted for audio-visual programming. The Windsor Art Association, formed in 1936, became a helpful partner with the library during the war.¹⁴ However, the acknowledged Ontario leader in community programming was London's new facilities for an art gallery, library, and auditorium for musical and literary events. Richard Crouch came into prominence in the community role because of his advocacy of broader adult education programming. Two of his articles, published in *Canadian Art* and the *ALA Bulletin*, drew attention to the artistic and audio-visual capabilities at the Elsie Perrin Williams Memorial Library. By 1947, London and Windsor had joined to coordinate exhibitions with two other galleries, Hamilton and Hart House, by forming the Southern Ontario Galleries Group.

Not every city was fortunate enough to have London's main library, one that surrounding county residents could draw upon as well because Crouch

worked closely with the Middlesex libraries and groups.

Both the county and city librarians are active in its executive meetings, annual conferences, and special group meetings, which are held in our building. As a consequence, farm organizations feel free to use our library, and we are specially pleased to have the Junior Farmers and institute members as regular visitors for their meetings and for program assistance. This spring the Junior Farmers held their first musical festival with us. We feel that this interest in music developed, at least partially, from our own program.¹⁵

Crouch had an opportunity to advocate his ideas and review the state of Canadian libraries in May-June 1945 during a western trip sponsored by the CLC with a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. From Sudbury to Victoria, he met with librarians, trustees, interested cultural groups, and the public to strengthen his opinion that libraries desired to be active “cultural art and adult educational centres” linked with associated groups.¹⁶ This trip reinforced his concept of library work. He believed librarians performed two central functions—the assemblage of materials of all types into organized collections and the stimulation and promotion of their use for lifelong learning.¹⁷ This work was primarily accomplished at the local level, a participatory view that accorded with other leading advocates of local community centres, namely the artist Lawren Harris and sociologist Murray G. Ross, who later became York University’s first president.¹⁸

The vision of the library as part of the community’s core was not merely aesthetic. There were theoretical and technical considerations to consider. The August 1945 issue of *Atlantic Monthly* featured an article by Vannevar Bush, “As We May Think,” predicting the automatic storage and retrieval of information from books, records, and communications in a memex device, a microfilm technology with a screen and keyboard controls. His library of the future was one propelled by technology in pursuit of information that got a few librarians in Canada thinking about newer formats as well as the technical and pragmatic side of service. Charles Dean Kent, who joined the London Public Library in 1948, expanded on Bush’s ideas in a 1946 article printed in the *Ontario Library Review*:

. . . many libraries in the future will photograph complete books in the back of an ordinary 5” x 3” catalogue card. The face of the card will hold the normal and usual amount of information written as we have it today, but the reverse side will reveal the secrets of a complete book to us through the medium of a reading machine, similar to the microfilm reading machine . . .¹⁹

Of course, such talk was visionary: Kent's "Library of the Future" was a prospect, not a contemporary reality. But there was a role for libraries in emerging computer-communication systems. In 1950, a prominent scientist, Norbert Wiener, wrote *The Human Use of Human Beings* that applied insights gained in computer technology to the study of human communication systems. At this early stage of the computer era, he emphasized that the proliferation of information reinforced existing relationships by placing a greater burden on society to disseminate and store information.

The needs and the complexity of modern life make greater demands on this process of information than ever before, and our press, our museums, our scientific laboratories, our universities, our libraries and textbooks, are obliged to meet the needs of this process or fail in their purpose. To live effectively is to live with adequate information.²⁰

The fact that Wiener specifically mentioned libraries in the same sentence with kindred educational and research institutions indicated that he recognized their crucial importance in the next stage of the information revolution.

Library administrators realized non-book formats would require specialized staff to deal with more complex processing and charging systems. Experience with audio collections had led to separate sections with equipment and facilities for listening. Music collections, especially in London and Ottawa, had rapidly proved to be successful after 1940 and become regular services in major libraries.²¹ Film collections with local groups, deposits of National Film Board documentaries, and collaboration with local film councils grew so much that the Department of Education sponsored a film institute in London in October 1946 to coordinate film library distribution.²² Some large libraries were members of the National Film Society (est. 1935), which provided them with small deposit collections, previews, discounts on purchases, and a catalogue of more than 2,000 films for loans.²³ After the war, vigorous growth of local film councils took place in eastern Ontario. By October 1947, ten local councils were meeting annually at Queen's University with a central organization, the Federation of Film Councils of Eastern Ontario.²⁴ It was an opportunity not to be missed. Work with films became a frequent library workshop topic. By May 1947, at OLA's annual conference held in Guelph at the Ontario Agricultural College, a well-attended general program was devoted to the use and promotion of films. The Trustees Section learned about Windsor's experience at its own separate session.²⁵ It was undeniable that films were in demand: the Thunder Bay Film Council screened 250 films 150 times to 1,800 people in the first year of its operation, 1946-47. It seemed the public appetite for film resources would surely increase at a time

when libraries were expanding their collections.

Revised Regulations and Legislation

The spring 1946 session of the Ontario Legislature saw the government prepare for the resumption of the Dominion-Provincial Conference that had adjourned with some acrimony the previous August. George Drew opposed the federal centralization of services and collection of taxes, insisting that provinces required more tax revenue and control. The Premier wanted to finance an expanded postwar provincial role in social policy. Although many matters absorbed Drew, the department's ideas on library grants and certification were published in the *Ontario Gazette*, 22 June 1946 (Regulation 67/46). Angus Mowat issued to all libraries a short memorandum appended by the new regulations in July 1946. The new rules revamped provincial grant assistance and aimed to improve educational qualifications for library personnel. The difficult struggle for official regulatory status and recognition of educational standards by the Department begun by OLA in the mid-1930s had succeeded.

The 1946 regulations provided for certification of qualified librarians along with the payment of a grant to library boards based on the number of certified librarians employed. There were five classes of certificates awarded:

- A—awarded for either a bachelor's degree and a master's degree in library science or a master's degree and a bachelor's degree or diploma in library science;
- B—awarded for a bachelor's degree from a university and a bachelor's degree or diploma in library science;
- C—a diploma granted before 31 Dec. 1946 by the Library School of The Ontario College of Education in Toronto;
- D—a course at the OCE Library School of at least two summer six-week sessions, i.e. 12 weeks after 31 Dec. 1946; and
- E—a course in librarianship operated under the authority of the Act of at least four weeks length.

The Inspector had a degree of latitude to determine grades. The library science degree or diploma had to be from a library school approved by the Inspector. A class could be assigned to a person whom the Inspector recommended as having made an outstanding contribution to library service or a person who completed a course in librarianship under the authority of the Minister prior to 1 January 1928 (the Ontario Library School held with Toronto Public Library). Class D certificates were for libraries in places of 4,000 to 2,000 population; Class E certificates for places less than 2,000. Grants were \$600 for Class A,

\$500 for Class B, \$300 for Class C, \$150 for Class D, and \$100 for Class E. Minimum salaries for librarians by size of community were prescribed ranging from \$800 in places of less than 3,000 people; \$1,200 for places 3,000 to 5,000 population; and \$1,400 for towns and cities over 5,000.

Mowat wanted to replace small conditional grants for books with more money by employing trained staff on an earned basis. The University of Toronto Library School offered regular programs for A, B, and C certificates. Training for staff in smaller libraries, the shorter courses leading to D and E class service certificates, presented problems. Initially, the Inspector arranged a short course for E certificate candidates at London Public Library in October and at Uxbridge in November 1947.²⁶ The University of Toronto helped organize these courses until 1954 when it withdrew in favour of graduate and baccalaureate degrees.²⁷ After this time, the Department continued its summer courses for the E certificate, but the D certificate was discontinued for a decade. The D class certificate course always proved more difficult to arrange because of its lengthy period. Only a dozen D certificates were issued before 1960, compared to more than two hundred E certificates. There was no reference to Ontario's second, smaller library school—unaccredited by ALA—established at the University of Ottawa in 1938. Under the direction of Father Auguste-Marie Morisset, the director of the university's libraries from 1934 to 1958, a BLS could be obtained at Ottawa through part-time evening sessions twice a week for four years. Entrance qualifications were graduation from university, language proficiency in French and English, or two years of college plus library experience. Undergraduates could earn a certificate. Ottawa's first degree was granted in 1942 and the program primarily attracted personnel in federal departmental libraries.²⁸

Certification by the Inspector's office for many library school graduates outside Ontario was another possibility: American ones such as Columbia or Chicago and Canadian ones at McGill; Mount Saint Vincent College, Halifax; Acadia in Wolfville N.S.; and the Université de Montréal. Librarians from the United Kingdom normally held the F.L.A., Fellow of the Library Association, either with or without degree(s). Flexibility was important because Mowat knew an "acute" shortage of librarians had developed during 1946, partly because of previous wartime conditions. As well, an insufficient number of students were entering the profession after the war due to salary considerations.²⁹ His rationale about salaries was partly borne out by the DBS; it reported salaries in 1944-46 for all libraries in Ontario and gave the cost of living index as well—101.2 for 1937 compared to 119.5 for 1945, an 18.1 percent increase:³⁰

- Median annual salaries for men: \$2,250 (1937) — \$3,500 (1945)

[55.5% increase]

- Median annual salaries for women: \$1,470 (1937) — \$1,781 (1945)

[21.2% increase]

It was men, mostly administrators, who enjoyed increases beyond wartime inflation. The department knew that the OLA's special salary committee had reported at the 1945 conference that actual public library salaries corresponded with the department's minimums. OLA had tabulated results for about 100 persons working in libraries from 5,000-40,000 population. The range for trained chief librarians was \$1,200-\$2,400; \$935-\$1,600 for library assistants; \$1,290-\$1,562 for department heads. The committee, chaired by Freda Waldon, suggested using \$1,200 as a minimum starting salary based on comparable figures that elementary school teachers were requesting through the recently formed Ontario Teachers' Federation.³¹

With the issuance of the 1946 regulations, the Department of Education planned to stimulate libraries, especially smaller free libraries, by encouraging them to earn larger conditional grants. These were incentive grants with an element of equalization for smaller places beset by lower tax assessments. Grants based on book expenditures, a hallmark of the 1920 Act, were minimized. Instead, grants ranging from \$100 to \$600 for a full-time certified librarian became major incentives. For books, a grant equal to 50% of the library's book expenditures, to a maximum of \$100, remained. For a reading room, \$5 to \$10 was available. Smaller boards with less than \$500 total receipts could earn \$5 to \$20. Finally, a scaled grant based on the annual local tax appropriation was introduced, a complex (and confusing) chart based on the concept that the more a council contributed, the larger the grant, e.g. a 70% grant when local support rose above 80 cents per capita. The formula developed continued to favour smaller libraries because larger cities received a lower scale percentage. The immediate impact of the new regulations was to allow the maximum grant that the largest board, Toronto, could receive soar to \$50,000 from a paltry \$2,800 in 1945.

Association Libraries, which seldom employed certified staff, could receive a grant equal to 50% of the library's book expenditure to a maximum \$100; the reading room grant; the \$5 to \$20 grant for receipts less than \$500; and a grant equal to membership fees collection to a maximum \$200. They could also receive a 50% grant based on contributions from municipal councils to a maximum of \$100. However, to qualify for any grants a membership base of 30 (rural areas) or 50 (larger places) had to be maintained. County associations continued to be eligible for "dollar for dollar" grants on county council contributions up to \$1,000 but were not included in the revised regulations because legislation on county co-operatives was scheduled for

1947.

The Department was quite conscious that higher educational qualifications for librarians were not acceptable in many quarters, so it proceeded with its customary caution. The typical negative attitude to advanced standing surfaced in Ontario's Legislature in April 1947 when George Drew defended his department's rationale for certification grants based on non-degree courses for staff in rural libraries (the C, D, and E class certificates):

Mr. Drew: ...There are two grades of librarians who require university standing, the A and B grades. There are five altogether, A, B, C, D, and E. The last three do not require university standing. The actual division is based upon the qualifications required to meet the standards of the library. ...

Mr. Oliver [Liberal leader]: I am sure the Minister (Mr. Drew) appreciates the difficulties that would arise in rural centres if you insisted on Bachelor of Arts or university education.

Mr. Drew: That was exactly the point. The rural libraries will not require A and B certificates.³²

Rural Ontario remained the realm of one-room schools situated on gravel concession roads, inexpensive continuation schools for extending elementary education, voluntary association libraries, and fierce local autonomy.

The advancement of libraries could not outpace the quality of school teaching in rural areas. Elementary teachers who graduated from recognizable Normal Schools (e.g. Stratford, Ottawa, Toronto, London, Peterborough, North Bay, and Hamilton) without university degrees then frequently returned to their home areas after a short period of study. Librarians with extended university training were a luxury that rural politicians might have reservations about. One of Mowat's immediate tasks was to establish the short training courses in Toronto or convenient regional centres so that smaller libraries could qualify for the D and E certificate grants. As well, with regulations issued midway during the year came the realization that the legislative allocation to the public libraries branch would be insufficient. Thus, until tabulations for 500 library boards were complete, pro-rata reductions and delays would be necessary for 1946 grants. This practice became a persistent problem for the Libraries Branch. Ottawa threatened to protest the scaling back of its earned grant directly to Premier Drew as early as 1947.³³

At this time, Mowat strengthened his branch by taking on experienced librarians. He recruited Margaret Hughes (BLS, Toronto, 1938), who had worked at Sarnia Public Library, McMaster University, and the University of Western Ontario before serving as a Navy lieutenant from 1943-46. She

replaced the retiring Samuel Herbert, who had given many years of good service, especially as acting inspector. Hughes' main duties would be to serve as an administrative assistant to Mowat and edit the *Ontario Library Review*. After Patricia Spereman died in August 1946, Mowat hired Margaret Creelman, who had enlisted in the Navy and worked overseas at ship and shore libraries in the UK. She would be responsible for the Travelling Libraries section and possibly have time to assist smaller libraries, just as Spereman had for more than three decades.³⁴ In 1947, Beatrice Evans (BLS, McGill 1947), another naval petty officer-librarian, joined the branch to supervise the Travelling Libraries section. She had worked at Winnipeg Public Library for a short time. All three had been service personnel in the war, something the Premier likely expected.³⁵

As the 1947 Legislative sitting approached, expectations for libraries were reasonably optimistic. The problem of raising sufficient monies to pay 100% of the legislative grants due to a lag between reporting, submitting provincial estimates and receiving legislative authorization continued, but the actual grant amounts continued to increase steadily. And the Hope Commission was still at work with the potential that positive recommendations might ensue. Royal Assent for long-awaited legislation in April 1947 formalized a transformation of county library associations into co-operatives. Cooperatives in territorial districts were also included in this modest legislative "restyle" (11 George VI, chap. 86). Mowat had met with the Institute of County Librarians at Goderich before approval of new county regulations—indeed, they would not be published in the *Ontario Gazette* until 13 December (Ontario Regulation 256/47) because grants would not take effect until the following year. The *Public Libraries Amendment Act, 1947* bore scant resemblance to Mowat's original long draft on free service for counties, districts, or regions. It continued the enabling and informal concept that had been the cornerstone of cooperative activities since 1932, what George Drew likened as "a little along the lines of the Book-of-the-Month Club idea" when he spoke in the Legislature about the cooperative concept.³⁶ Free service for counties directing all types of public programming was quietly put aside.

An entirely new section for the Act, Part IIA, for county and district library co-operatives, stipulated their purpose simply as purchasers and distributors of books for circulation to members that had negligible means to purchase on their own. All county associations continued as co-operatives, but county councils had to pass a bylaw authorizing their existence and appoint officers for boards commencing in 1948. County boards were now entirely appointed by county councils, with the warden as *ex officio* member along with six other members, three of whom must be county councillors. The

northern district co-operatives had seven members: four appointed by the membership and three by the Minister of Education. To form a new co-operative, at least 50 percent of the total number of library boards in a county had to petition county council; for districts, a petition signed by officers of at least five library boards required Ministerial approval. By amended regulations, county co-operatives were now included in the new grant formulas for certification and were also eligible for a grant equal to the amount of the annual grant by county council not to exceed \$4,000. District co-operatives could receive this grant subject to the Inspector's recommendation. Much would depend on the activity of boards, as Mowat explained:

. . . the board will be in the position of a managing directorate responsible to a general membership composed of (I would suggest) a certain number of official delegates from each library, deposit station, school board or other organization in the co-op. It is in order to leave perfect freedom for discussion and the forming of policy by the membership that the powers and duties of the board have not been specifically stated in the Act as they are in the case of the board of an individual library.³⁷

The amendments (sec. 2-4) also allowed for the formation of township school area boards, another organizational problem the department wrestled with as it tried to eliminate thousands of school sections. After the war, a few township libraries appeared, e.g. in Whitney Twp. (near Porcupine). The potential for others around Toronto, e.g. Etobicoke Twp., was evident.

In 1947, there were eleven library co-operatives after Welland formed in February 1946. This new co-operative, administered by John Snell, was headquartered in the basement of the Niagara Falls library. Counties under the direction of certified librarians posed a definite advance: the co-operatives held 56,039 books and circulated 297,523 books for the year 1947. Yet, their operational expenditures were not equal to their task: \$52,524 for eleven counties with a population over 400,000.³⁸ Without legislation for free county, district, or regional libraries, most of the co-operatives were disadvantaged compared to larger urban systems. Provincial grants of \$4,000 were not likely to induce county councils to form county systems, in fact, with smaller libraries earning higher percentages according to new schedules, sometimes there was no incentive to create larger units of service. Betty Hardie, chief librarian at Essex County, wrote to Mowat asking,

Another financial angle concerns grants — With the present provincial budget (and the possibility of future budgets being on a similar scale) it seems unlikely that county grants can be raised without a loud and concerted

outcry on the part of public libraries. In any event how big could we expect dollar for dollar grants to go — not too much higher I expect. If we have free county libraries what kind of provincial grants can we expect then?³⁹

She suggested that the provincial Travelling Libraries were duplicating the service that co-operatives were striving to achieve and that they might best be reserved for use in unserved areas. At any rate, she stoically claimed to be accustomed “to operating on a shoe string.”

Nonetheless, rural service was improving. The image of the Huron County bookmobile “Miss Huron” in the 1948 16mm film documentary, *The Books Drive On*, had a powerful appeal. The film celebrated a routine day starting with the selection of books, loading the truck, driving through small communities, stopping to exchange books, and meeting borrowers. The Inspector rode in Miss Huron himself in September 1947. He thoroughly enjoyed Huron’s farm fields and close-knit communities: “The librarian didn’t sing, but I did . . .”⁴⁰ The 1947 county legislative amendment did encourage another large co-operative, Wentworth, to form in September 1948 in the townships and localities surrounding Hamilton. Wentworth’s inception was unusual because the county council took the lead in its creation. But Wentworth was not a harbinger of future successful county campaigns. It was the last co-operative formed in the 1940s. To the north, where Mowat arranged a two-day institute at Fort William in February 1947 featuring a broad community theme, the Inspector suggested co-operatives might “grow like a snowball” if the entire district contributed.⁴¹ It was not to be—not for six years would a district co-operative appear in the Thunder Bay area. Northern library expansion remained problematic under the existing 1947 legislation and regulations.

The theme of metropolitanism, developed by Charles Sanderson in his 1944 annual report and included in Mowat’s original proposals to update library legislation, also remained unaddressed. In Toronto’s “inner suburban” ring of villages, towns, and townships, there was a gradual awakening. Prior to WWII, four centres—Mimico, New Toronto, Swansea, and Weston—had created free libraries along Toronto’s borders. During the war, Leaside electors formed a free library in December 1943, and by the end of 1945, the trustees had selected a new chief librarian just returned from war service, Elizabeth Loosley, and a children’s librarian. Then the board began plans to build a new library to eliminate cramped quarters.⁴² Long Branch, a smaller village, passed its bylaw to create a free library board in December 1945 that came into operation with a rental building in the following year. In 1945-46, two free library boards in populous townships were created. York Township formed a

new board for all its residents in a New Year's Day plebiscite, 1945. The new board acquired a small building at Mount Dennis, which had operated on a free school section basis since the early 1920s at Eglinton Ave. and Weston Rd. It hired a chief librarian, Evelyn Gregory, and made plans to open additional branches and service township residents with a new bookmobile. "Curb service" on the township's streets came into vogue for a few years after February 1948.⁴³ In East York Township, the Board of Education took the initiative to pay TPL to administer three school libraries beginning in 1944. Dorothy Rogers, a TPL librarian from Boys' and Girls' House, had oversight for these school classroom libraries during the early stages. Rogers was amazed that 4,700 children had library cards from a total of 5,865 registered students in 1945.⁴⁴ East York created its free library board in January 1946 by a vote of 4,548 for 542 against; it continued to rely on TPL's staff expertise and book processing services to operate its small branch. Its central building did not open until April 1950.⁴⁵

The development of these four free libraries immediately after the war, along with previous free systems, were initial steps that would see an unprecedented build-up of library resources surrounding the city of Toronto in the next two decades. The exertions of these autonomous boards to build service levels for rapidly expanding populations ruled out area-wide centralized coordination by TPL or a separate library agency analogous to a county association. In the Toronto area, contractual agreements, not cooperative or centralized metropolitan plans, would continue as a hallmark of the Public Libraries Act for two more decades, Sanderson's and Mowat's suggestions about legislative provisions notwithstanding.

Postwar Progress and the Massey Commission

There was little discussion about the 1946 Ontario regulations and amended 1947 legislation at the annual postwar conventions of OLA. There was some satisfaction because the expected legislative grant would likely double from 1945 then double again in 1947. Instead, national issues were moving to the fore. The Canadian Library Association-Association Canadienne des Bibliothèques, an ambitious dream for many years, finally met at McMaster University, Hamilton, in mid-June 1946 with three hundred registrants. Margaret Gill, CLC's chairperson, had steered a steadfast course, and now Freda Waldon became CLA-ACB's first president. Thematic discussions on the Association's publication, *Libraries in the Life of the Canadian Nation*, included Angus Mowat's unassuming update on Ontario's proposed

legislation: “I assume our new Act will be a pretty bulky thing (the more rules I see the more unhappy I become)...”⁴⁶ Much of the inaugural meeting was taken up with drafting a constitution and organizing committees. Broadly, CLA-ACB had three purposeful areas of interest: 1) the promotion of education, science, and culture by national library service; 2) the development of standards for libraries and librarianship and library legislation; and 3) cooperation with other library associations and organizations on a local, provincial, national, and international basis. The central office in Ottawa, headed by the secretary, Elizabeth Homer Morton, who left TPL in May 1944, operated first on Stanley Ave. (1946) then at “enlarged” quarters on Elgin Street (1947). Now, national undertakings, such as the indexing of Canadian periodicals and films in the *Canadian Index* (in 1948) or the long-delayed Rockefeller Foundation project (central microfilming and preservation of newspapers), finally could become a reality after CLA-ACB officially incorporated in November 1947 and took over the CLC’s assets.⁴⁷

The new national President put her efforts into collaboration with scholars and educational groups to present another brief to the government, perhaps even the Prime Minister. By the time “A National Library of Canada” was formally presented in January 1947, Freda Waldon had garnered broad support from national groups such as the Canadian Historical Society, Canadian Political Science Association, Social Science Research Council of Canada, and the Royal Society of Canada. The brief proposed a service approach without a new building and vast collection being immediate requirements.⁴⁸ A national bibliography, coordination of existing library services, and technical assistance to libraries could operate in existing Ottawa locations. The formation of a committee (possibly responsible to a federal cabinet minister or committee of ministers) to follow through on its suggestions was a step to ensure progress. The force of the argument combined with appended resolutions of support from groups such as the Canadian Federation of University Women, the Canadian Congress of Labour, and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was difficult to resist.

Throughout 1947-48, the CLA-ACB executive promoted the bibliographic and informational service concept by successfully enlisting influential supporters, such as Vincent Massey, and continuing to lobby the federal government. In Vancouver, in 1947, at CLA-ACB’s second annual convention, the outgoing president warned:

We must make it clear that the longer action is delayed, the more difficult the whole problem of bringing together the various elements which should make up the National Library will be. The National Library is so obvious a need that it will

surely be established soon and by the only agency which should establish it, the Government of Canada.⁴⁹

When Mackenzie King made it known he would retire as prime minister in November 1948, a national Liberal convention selected Louis St. Laurent as leader in August 1949. The potential for discontinuity in cabinet reassignments and alteration in priorities by a newly formed government worried CLA-ACB.

Freda Waldon's successor, Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, shepherded the project through the parliamentary process until finally, in June 1948, just before CLA-ACB's third annual meeting at Ottawa, the government announced it was creating a Bibliographical Centre in Ottawa as a first step toward building a National Library. In September, Prime Minister Mackenzie King announced Dr. Lamb's appointment as Dominion Archivist with the added responsibility of establishing a National Library.⁵⁰ Then the government established a Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences under the leadership of Vincent Massey in April 1949. One of its charges was to make recommendations on a National Library. However, unlike eastern and western provincial library associations, OLA executives decided to make no presentation to the Massey Commission. The Department of Education did submit a brief, as did a few smaller library groups and individuals. It was a missed opportunity for OLA to highlight the need for federal funding for public libraries, to reiterate support for national projects such as the *Canadian Index*, and underline the valuable role of public libraries. When the Commission handed down its final report, it made many far-reaching recommendations on education, culture, and the mass media that were to influence Canadian life, such as the creation of a Canada Council grant system to encourage artists, writers, and national culture.

CLA-ACB submitted a brief to the Massey Commission in August 1949 focusing on the National Library's collections, a building site, architecture, and services. Ultimately, "the National Library should make its resources available to all government services, scholars, teachers, students, businessmen, workers, in short, to all the people of Canada."⁵¹ The brief urged amendment of the Copyright Act to establish the practice of legal deposit of publications in the National Library. CLA-ACB's submission reinforced its previous efforts and supported funding for the Canadian Bibliographic Centre, the first component of national library service, which was allocated by the end of 1949. The Centre came into being in May 1950 with Martha Shepard, who left TPL, as director. One of its first successes was the publication of the bilingual *Canadiana* in 1951, the successor to the *Canadian Catalogue of Books* that TPL had published for almost thirty years. At the same time, the Centre expanded its national union catalogue to leading libraries in the nation's

capital and the holdings of two universities, Toronto and New Brunswick, as well as Montreal's St. Sulpice Library and the Bibliothèque municipale.

In June 1951, the Massey Commission's report appeared with numerous suggestions about the significance of a National Library. Its four commissioners also delved into local libraries at some length, citing their cultural and educational importance based on "nearly a hundred groups and individuals." There were only a few references to Ontario: London's work in reviving the spirit of the mechanics' institutes, Toronto's bibliographical work, and the fact that "Forty per cent of all municipal library appropriations in Canada is expended by six city libraries, four of them in Ontario."⁵² The Report observed there was some urgency to support libraries outside Ottawa but drew back from advocating federal funding. Libraries were community-based organizations that could complement the work of educational and cultural agencies across Canada. The Commission's most lasting library proposal was to find a site near the Archives of Canada and the Library of Parliament for a new National Library.

The Massey Report influenced general cultural priorities at the federal level through the 1950s. For a national library service, it recommended:

- that a National Library be established without delay and a librarian be appointed with authority to direct the Bibliographic Centre;
- that the Bibliographic Centre continue with work on the union catalogue;
- that resources be made available for publication of a national bibliography to include all periodicals, books, and government publications, published in Canada;
- that the national copyright act be amended to require deposit in the Library of two copies of every book and other works published in Canada whether printed in Canada or imported;
- that the Library acquire a complete collection of all works published in Canada; of all works on any subject by Canadians; of all works by any author on a Canadian theme; of any other works considered appropriate; and of microfilm copies of rare works;
- that the Library collect Canadian music, in printed or manuscript form, and records, films and photographs to supplement the printed collection of books, pamphlets and newspapers; and that manuscripts primarily of literary rather than of historical interest be acquired;
- that the Library establish a list of exchange libraries in Canada and overseas to guide the King's Printer in the distribution of free publications;
- that a microfilm service be established to make available to Canadian libraries and others all the resources of the Library, and to Canadian libraries all collections of Canadiana;
- that the Library maintain an information department on library

practice in Canada to answer requests for information in Canada or abroad.⁵³

To carry out most of the recommendations made by the Massey Commission, in spring 1952, the government introduced legislation, the National Library Act, to take effect 1 January 1953.

Although national events captured a central place in library affairs, local Ontario libraries faced their own challenges. Soldiers, sailors, and airmen confined to military hospitals for treatment needed reading materials. The Department of Veterans Affairs worked with TPL after the war to create a branch library at Sunnybrook Hospital, located outside Toronto's city limits, in September 1948. Toronto's Gyro Club promised annual \$500 grants for twenty-five years. The Gyro members raised money beginning in 1946 with tag days and events at Maple Leaf Gardens to create shelving for 4,000 books and adjoining reading space in the small branch.

'It's the best library I've seen,' said George Wales, 57, a patient who served in the Canadian infantry in the first great war. 'There's a class studying art, a class in hobbies, others in woodwork and metalwork—and they all use these books.' He pointed to the well-filled shelves. 'There are reference books of all kinds,' he said.⁵⁴

Another hospital library on Christie St. had come under TPL's control in 1946 as a project with Veterans' Affairs, the Red Cross, and I.O.D.E. Patients could browse about 3,000 books in a reading lounge with wheelchair access. They had access to all TPL's books through an agreement for library staff to help supervise with Red Cross volunteers at the hospital.⁵⁵

In the wake of European wartime destruction, Canadian libraries assisted in rebuilding collections. When a London suburb library, Bethnal Green, reported British children lacked books due to war losses and postwar shortages of paper, Charles Sanderson took up the cause on CBC radio in early 1947 to offer TPL's help to overseas children. Toronto librarians checked, packed, and shipped about 1,500 books received from all over Canada to a grateful Bethnal Green before the year was out.⁵⁶ In Windsor, the children's department raised money to send 85 new books—"Books Across the Sea"—to the Windsor Public Library (England) in 1948. In the same year, the CLA-ACB helped organize the "March of Books" or "En avant les Livres" with the Canadian Council for Reconstruction to solicit books across Canada and distribute them through UNESCO to ravaged libraries around the globe. By mid-1949, the nascent Canadian Book Centre in Halifax had received about 90,000 books and 100,000 issues of periodicals to select and process for shipping overseas, a remarkable feat given the short period, twenty-two months (1948-50), allotted

for the campaign.⁵⁷

After the war, the challenging matter of facilities for library service came under scrutiny because new buildings, extensions, and renovations had come to a halt for the most part in the 1930s and 1940s. This fact added weight to the argument for libraries serving as war memorials or inclusion in community centres. Without proper accommodation, services could not operate effectively. The crowded situation in Oakville was typical. More staff, more books, and more space were a necessity. The local council agreed to put the issue to a vote in December 1946 because municipal money bylaws required approval by taxpayers.⁵⁸ Building extensions required adequate property: Mowat advised North Bay to sell its old Carnegie and put up a new one to permit future expansion.⁵⁹ Although a few Ontario central Carnegie libraries—Ottawa (1906), Hamilton (1913), and Toronto (1908)—were in need of update, these cities focused on new branches to serve swelling populations. Other places, such as Sudbury, were moving to larger spaces. Sudbury had taken over 3,000 sq. ft. on the second floor of a grocery store in August 1942. The trustees hoped to erect a new building on a downtown site when peace resumed. In the meantime, their experience had “already proved to our satisfaction the validity of the theory that libraries should sacrifice lawns and flower beds for a location in the shopping district.”⁶⁰

Inspector Mowat often railed against older Carnegie structures, for example, at Guelph in April 1951: “This building is wholly inadequate to house an efficient, modern library service suitable to serve a city of 27,000. If this had been a school, hospital, or fire-hall presumably it would have been replaced or enlarged years ago, altered in response to the needs of a growing community.”⁶¹ Naturally, architects, infused with modernist ideas, were interested in library design and new commissions. The “bible” on library design was Joseph Wheeler and Alfred Githens *The American Public Library Building* published in 1941. Another influential voice familiar to Canadian librarians was that of Angus Snead Macdonald, President of Snead and Company manufacturers of shelving. He supported modular planning, open stacks, and his own company’s modular style, lightweight, adjustable shelving at CLA’s third annual meeting at Ottawa.⁶²

Canadian architects and librarians were offering some of their ideas about the principles of form and function in libraries. The February 1947 issue of the *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* featured several articles on library planning and proposed new branches, notably Toronto’s George H. Locke Memorial Branch, Hamilton’s Mountain Branch, and Leaside’s proposed community centre library. The issue proved to be so popular that CLA-ACB reprinted it as *Library Buildings for Canada* and distributed it for

75 cents. It contained valuable advice from several notable contributors. Arthur H. Eadie (1897-1956) addressed the need of smaller libraries—an open concept without multiple partitions—that could be utilized in many instances.

The ideal scheme is to accommodate all the publicly used facilities on the ground floor. Where this is impossible, the boys and girls department is usually placed on the upper floor. Generally, speaking, basement departments are not to be recommended unless the site happens to be on the side of a steep hill where good lighting is available.⁶³

He counselled geometric design, a single storey, and restrained ornamentation, concepts that he later put to good use in designing Toronto's Locke Memorial Library (1949), Deer Park (1951), and Parliament Street (1956) branches in Toronto, and notably in the central Oshawa Public Library (1954).

Librarians made valuable observations in the RAIC journal issue as well. R.D. Hilton Smith, who had come from England in 1946 to be Charles Sanderson's Deputy Chief Librarian and published his *Public Library Lighting* (1937-38) in the UK, spoke to the issue of principles. Cooperation between the librarian and architect on a building plan was essential. Selection of a proper site—one that was central to its area, accessible, and allowed for traffic and parking—along with functional design for efficient staff use and patron convenience were crucial elements. Smith was clear about style: a library should not look like “a collection of books that has arrived by mistake in a Greek temple or a Renaissance palace or a church or a gymnasium.”⁶⁴ “Functionality” had become a keyword in Canadian library architecture. In smaller places, economic, combined facilities in community centres were becoming popular. Anne Hume, who accentuated the need for good positioning, illustrated this tendency:

If such a library is projected for a community centre it should be carefully placed, away from the ‘noisy’ part of the building such as basket-ball courts, bowling alleys, craft workshops or Little Theatre activities. It should have its own separate entrance if in a combined building, but should have connection with other parts of the building to make it readily accessible.⁶⁵

Finally, Lillian Smith offered sound advice concerning the design of children's libraries. She advocated a separate area with attention to space for story hours, lower shelving for children, display areas, and a location that would ensure quietude within integrated designs.⁶⁶

The three libraries featured in the issue of RAIC *Journal* offered planners, trustees, and librarians some new ideas about modernist architectural trends,

notably the use of simple shapes and negligible decoration. Of course, this issue did not address renovations, extensions, or actual construction. The first postwar opening in Ontario took place in Kingston, where the term “new library wing” came into fashion. An October 1948 extension to the older two-storey main library on Brock and Bagot streets, first built in 1925, relocated the reading, reference, and high school section (the Frontenac Room accessible by a separate entrance) on the ground level and two rooms for the library and multiple uses on the second floor—a combined music, story hour, and board room.⁶⁷ Librarians might fret about the fireplace and lounge, but these gave a comfortable touch to an otherwise institutional setting. The major opening followed in January 1949 when the George H. Locke Memorial Branch at the corner of Lawrence and Yonge, designed by the firm of Beck and Eadie, opened in the presence of the new Minister of Education, Dana Porter, with a tribute to the renowned librarian who had guided TPL for three decades. The Locke branch, which cost \$200,000, was functional and fitted with 15,000 books for a neighbourhood of about 40,000 in Toronto’s north end. From its central foyer, the library divided into separate adult and children’s wings with recessed shelving interspersed by large ceiling to floor bay windows.⁶⁸

Over the next year, there were three more major openings. Hamilton’s Mountain branch followed in February 1949. Planning had begun in 1944-45 for a small 5-6,000 sq. ft. Mountain branch suited for a book stock of 15,000. Plans slowly unfolded because economy intruded when the issue of debentures arose with the board of control, but the main architect, Lester Husband, was able to specify a functional plan at a reasonable cost of \$60,000 based on guidelines drawn from Wheeler and Githens that included a book stack to the rear.⁶⁹ Mountain proved to be so popular it was overcrowded by the mid-1950s. Three months later, Niagara Falls opened its downtown Drummond branch. Lord Alexander, the Governor General, dedicated it during an official visit on 30 May 1949. Popular terrazzo tiles on columns flanked the branch entrance with a prominent sweeping bow window to one side above attractive street-side landscaping. In addition to main floor reading-shelving-reference areas, the lower level provided an auditorium for meetings.⁷⁰ Leaside’s new \$100,000 library, which developed separately from the original concept of housing it in a community centre after building costs escalated, formally opened on 8 March 1950 in Millwood Park (now Trace Manes Park). Designed by Gordon S. Adamson, the library was like the Locke branch, with a central hall flanked by adult and children’s rooms.⁷¹

The flourish of buildings at the end of the decade was the first phase of local activity delayed for many years. Other communities, such as Sudbury, were in the planning stage and securing sites for new libraries.⁷² Generally,

there was no coordination, programming or funding on a provincial basis. The OLA and the Public Libraries Branch seldom made claims for capital grants for building. Library openings were a faint echo compared to school construction that followed increased elementary and secondary school enrollments. Between 1945 and 1950, the Department of Education approved more than 900 new schools at an estimated cost of \$80 million and boosted per-pupil revenue to \$154 for public schools and \$286 for secondary schools.⁷³ Provincial overviews, especially the Royal Commission on Education, did not address library building issues. Effective accommodation remained the local preserve of municipal officials and trustees. Their personal contacts were often the crucial link to strengthened library budgets and debentures for capital projects.

Officials and politicians in the Department of Education marked time as they anticipated the conclusion of the Hope Commission's interminable deliberations. The province was breaking some new ground in educational work that potentially might draw on public library services to some degree. Special vocational schools to prepare learners for occupations in trade, industry, and technology opened in Haileybury (1945) for mining, Hamilton (1947) for textiles, and Lakehead (1946) for forestry, mining, and agriculture. A junior college polytechnical school, the Ryerson Institute of Technology (1948), was established on the site of Egerton Ryerson's original Toronto Normal School to accommodate new students registered in a war veterans' retraining program. In the field of adult education, the Department established the Ontario Adult Education Board (1945) to help educate New Canadians and returning soldiers in the area of citizenship and language. This latter enterprise merged with the Community Programmes Branch, which dispensed \$140,000 to municipalities for night school classes, courses for community leaders, and recreation during 1948-49.⁷⁴

However, all these initiatives in adult education, vocational training, and recreation had no formal linkages with public libraries other than students and learners requesting information or using resources on an *ad hoc* basis at local libraries. The few libraries that pursued established programs, such as the erudite University of Chicago's Great Books Program at Parry Sound in the mid-1950s, were typically localized efforts by interested librarians and community discussion groups in pursuit of personal values, knowledge of the "western canon," and critical reading.⁷⁵ The impact of this type of purposeful activity was not possible to measure beyond the individual level. It was easier to claim that libraries contributed to society's store of knowledge than to state they were improving minds on an all-embracing basis.

Intellectual Freedom and the Right to Read

The troublesome issue of offensive literature and more explicit sexual descriptions burgeoned after the war. Publishers were willing to issue novels that were franker, such as Malcolm Lowry's *Under the Volcano*. Popular magazines devoted to romance, horror, and crime—the pulps—were finding a ready place in newsstands and small stores. Further, the growth of the comic book industry aimed at younger children was contentious because the “corruptibility of youth” was an issue that aroused wide-ranging ire. Juvenile delinquency was a problem to be resolved because the youth of today were the 3parents and leaders of tomorrow. Comics and trashy paperback novels might pose a threat to conventional mores and social development.⁷⁶ Controlling the circulation of foreign publications was an obvious remedy. Canada's Parliament did so in an amendment to the Criminal Code, initially introduced by the Conservative E. Davie Fulton in December 1949. A Gallup poll confirmed that 71% of respondents thought that publications were being sold that had a “bad influence on younger people;” moreover, 54% who felt so agreed there should be a law forbidding publication or importation of these books into Canada.⁷⁷ The *Toronto Star*, in its 8 December 1949 editorial “Good Libraries Versus Crime Comics,” called for improved regional and national library service to fight undesirable literature. Not everyone agreed about the decline in moral standards or what constituted questionable reading habits. Norman Mailer's 1948 war novel, *The Naked and the Dead*, banned at the Canadian border, provoked different public responses. Irvine Shulman's *Amboy Dukes* (1947), depicting a street gang of Brooklyn youths in the war, was judged “not obscene” after a short trial at a Brantford courthouse in November 1949. Erskine Caldwell's *Tragic Ground* (1944) was accorded the same fate by jurors after a short trial.⁷⁸

Librarians, of course, were not in the business of selecting comics. Batman and Superman were undeniably popular, but it was preferable to guide younger readers to R.L. Stevenson's *Kidnapped* or Johanna Spyri's *Heidi*. There was a range of library opinions on adult fiction, for example, Kathleen Winsor's 1944 bestseller, *Forever Amber*, found a spot on library shelves and sold well in Ontario bookstores despite its sexual references. Angus Mowat reported Kirkland Lake held *Forever Amber* but *Lady Chatterley* was absent in its “uninhibited” fiction section.⁷⁹ Even *Ulysses*, banned from Canada since 1923 by customs agents, got a reprieve in the autumn of 1949 when the journalist, Blair Fraser, prodded a federal deputy minister about its status. By most standards, it was a literary masterpiece; however, Fraser revealed he did

not get much assistance soliciting information from libraries. One librarian wrote back, "So far as I am aware we in Canada are fortunate in that censorship is at a minimum. I am loath to start agitation or to criticize the Government for its policy, if it has one."⁸⁰ Canadian librarians and libraries continued to follow public opinion, not influence it, by embracing a neutral stance that allowed citizens to choose alternatives. However, a modest change was in the offing. Public agitation in Parliament to legislate a Canadian Bill of Rights to protect fundamental freedoms, led by the prairie Conservative, John Diefenbaker, with backing from civil libertarians, writers, broadcasters, and churches, peaked in February 1949 with a petition to Parliament containing more than 600,000 signatures that supported a statutory Bill of Rights.

In the summer of 1948, the OLA, at the request of the American Library Association, formed a one-member Intellectual Freedom Committee and sent its chair, Lachlan F. MacRae (Fort William), to ALA's Atlantic City conference. By now, Canadians well understood the terms Iron Curtain, Cold War, and Berlin Airlift. These factors would be prime reasons for Canada to join NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in April 1949. NATO was designed to defend freedom and democratic rights. In the United States, Communists were under fire and loyalty oaths at all levels of government were commonplace. These problems became vital issues at Atlantic City, where the "Library Bill of Rights," first adopted by ALA in 1939, was amended to call upon librarians to oppose censorship of books by individuals or groups and to enlist the cooperation of allied groups in defence of free expression and access to ideas. First, librarians and libraries should represent all points of view on problems and issues and not remove books due to partisan positions. Second, librarians should select books without regard to race, nationality, religion, or political views of the author. Third, libraries should allow the use of meeting rooms on equal terms to all groups regardless of beliefs and affiliations. Atlantic City gave the library profession a clear (but unenforceable) statement of policy in terms of rights advocacy.⁸¹ L.F. MacRae reported back to OLA that these issues, and consequent ALA actions, were not of immediate concern to Canadian librarians. He was more determined to oppose the potential extension of Ontario's Motion Picture Censorship Branch authority over educational 16mm films.⁸² The stance of "watch and ward" seemed to him and OLA executives to be sufficient non-partisan vigilance at this point.

Not so the *Toronto Daily Star*! It ran an editorial about the "A Charter for Librarians" on 10 July 1948 highlighting the essence of ALA's Library Bill of Rights: "The 'bill of rights' for librarians declares that in a democratic society the public library has the duty to provide 'material representing all points of view concerning the problems of our times.' Reading matter of sound factual

authority should not be proscribed or removed from library shelves because of controversial or doctrinal disapproval.” The *Star*, under the editorial direction of Joseph E. Atkinson, was a vigorous promoter of civil and natural rights in the immediate postwar period. Increasingly, rights advocates were furthering the cause of human rights, which all persons possessed without restrictions by the government. Further, at the end of 1948, on 10 December, the United Nations proclaimed its Universal Declaration of Human Rights that included article 19: “Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.” The UN affirmation of freedom of communication and access was an important statement of principle, one that the CCF party leader, Edward Jolliffe, quoted in the Ontario legislature in 1949 when he opposed a government bill that he claimed would affect the newspaper industry.⁸³

The United Nations Declaration, along with the revised ALA “Library Bill of Rights,” unveiled new possibilities in matters of intellectual freedom for Canada’s libraries and librarians. OLA’s Reference Workshop sought to publicize the issue of human rights when the Declaration’s text appeared in the November 1949 issue of the *Ontario Library Review*, but there was no statement about Ontario’s libraries or librarians endorsing these principles. The universalism of human rights led some to caution the inclusion and sanction of this concept in Canadian law. Contemporaries were comfortable with the expansion of existing legal protective civil rights and traditional natural rights, such as equality and liberty. Nonetheless, the impact of the United Nations Declaration would be lasting. Human rights arguments would influence Canadian legislation throughout the latter part of the century as rights were extended to women, aboriginals, children, and a host of economic, social, political, and cultural conditions.

At mid-century, many librarians reasoned they were selecting books, not prohibiting access or advocating freedom. They worked within a social environment where Canadian law did not ensure civil rights and liberties. Following the shocking revelations of Igor Gouzenko in 1945, spy trials were held under the authority of the War Measures Act, which could be invoked in peacetime resulting in arbitrary arrest. Strident challenges to reading or outbreaks of virtue could arise from sundry sources. Robertson Davies ridiculed an attempt by a long-serving Toronto controller (David Balfour, 1889-1956) to censor books, such as Dante’s *The Decameron*, in the city’s commercial lending libraries in spring 1947 by professing surprise that an alderman had read such a book.⁸⁴ In truth, government had the power to seize or restrict books and wary publishers were known to expurgate passages or

words. Libraries followed a similar pattern. William C. Riggs, a former MPP in Ontario's Legislature from Windsor, told the press at OLA's 1951 annual meeting in Toronto that "we know librarians sometimes hide books containing strong language under the counters, and often refuse to give out literature on specialized subjects to groups requesting it."⁸⁵ Very few librarians provided a rationale for their selections; however, one, Robert Porter, chief librarian at Port Arthur, recognized the changing nature of publishing and did explain why he rejected four novels. Porter's rationale is an important contemporary source for views consistent with typical selection "standards" that existed in Ontario's libraries at mid-century.

Selecting novels from hundreds of publications, of course, was not an easy task. Robert Porter reviewed four and reasoned the most notable one, Truman Capote's *Other Voices, Other Rooms* (a successful first novel), was not appropriate in subject matter and style. Capote wrote about a young gay boy, Joel, who searches for his father in rural Alabama where a girl befriends him and an effeminate cousin, Randolph, who dresses in drag, helps him accept his homosexuality. A second book he rejected, Stanley Ellin's *Dreadful Summit*, detailed a father-son relationship in which a 16-year-old boy acquires a gun and decides to avenge his father's beating and humiliation on the streets of New York. Along the way, he realizes that violence, manipulative relationships, and guilt can be part of life. Two novels were on the "raw side:" Martin Dibner's *Bachelor Seals*, a grim account about a cohort of collegians graduating in the 1930s and surviving during WWII; and Charles Jackson's violent *Outer Edges* with its grisly details about the rape and murder of two girls by a mentally ill teenager. Porter defended his four rejections as a reasonable compromise with societal standards and the taxpayers who funded libraries.⁸⁶ He stood as a selector for the community rather than the author. His was not censorship, i.e. the prohibition of legally published books, but a judgement on public taste. Intellectual freedom and "freedom to read" would be later arrivals on the Canadian library scene despite OLA's 1951 resolution proposing that CLA-ACB formulate a "Library Bill of Rights for Canada" in support of the right of free access to ideas.⁸⁷ The national association formed a committee to produce a statement but referred it back for more work at the 1952 conference at Banff. Nothing substantial was accomplished at this time.

The Minister of Revenue, James McCann, had succinctly explained the pervading rationale for customs seizures of foreign published books in 1949: "I have looked at a number of these books, and without reading them very far I could see that they were not the type of literature that should be let loose in this country where everybody can read it."⁸⁸ Inside Canada, distributors often were subject to prosecution. When an Ottawa court judged Tereska Torres'

Women's Barracks, two Erskine Caldwell novels, and Mae West's *Diamond Lil* obscene in 1952, the Supreme Court of Canada upheld the ruling.⁸⁹ When Parliament struck a select Senate committee on salacious and indecent literature in 1952 and called for briefs and witnesses, there was little mention of libraries or Canadian materials, mostly because libraries did not buy "disgusting" paperbacks from Pocket Books or Bantam Books that raised the ire of moralists. Charles Sanderson's judgement was typical: "They include some serious literature, indeed there are some titles which are 'required reading' in school and colleges. But the output is mainly trash, in lurid form."⁹⁰ The few paperback collections existing in Canadian public libraries usually focused on quality reading, i.e. established authors. As Jack McClelland explained to librarians just before he launched the New Canadian Library in late 1957, it was difficult for Canadian publishers-agents to profit from small runs of paperbound books, even out-of-print items, especially when libraries purchased from British or American wholesalers.⁹¹ Harlequin Books, based in Winnipeg, featuring "nice" romances, was the only Canadian company specializing in paperbacks in the 1950s.⁹² The overall Canadian book market was minuscule in comparison to its American and British counterparts. Only about ten percent of English-language books sold in Canada were manufactured in Canada.⁹³ At the Senate hearings, there were calls for tighter controls on sales, but few remedies.

Generally, the result of the Senate committee's work was a predictable recommendation to expand customs control. There were few opposing presentations advocating loosening restrictions at the hearings. CLA's brief stated censorship was ultimately more harmful than good.⁹⁴ The Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations did recommend improved library services to bring librarians and children together through federal grants for recruiting and training children's librarians, scholarships for children's work in library schools, and grants for library extension.⁹⁵ Notably, a *Quill & Quire* editorial opposed censorship efforts by citing a valuable publisher-library declaration, the "Freedom to Read" statement jointly issued in May of 1953 at Westchester, Connecticut, by the ALA and the American Book Publishers Council. At the height of Cold War anti-Communist purges, it demonstrated "the real strength, intelligence and common sense of the best that makes America" and was a "courageous and historic booklet."⁹⁶ "Freedom to Read" presented a definitive proclamation for librarians and publishers to make available the widest diversity of views and expressions, but it had minimal influence on the Canadian libraries in the fifties. Library trustees and librarians, indeed most citizens, were conservative in their literary tastes and reluctant to alter existing conditions in the sphere of intellectual freedom. In

many ways, they preferred consensus based on “community standards;” they seldom rose to the defence of controversial books or authors.

The Hope Commission Report, 1950

Following the introduction of regulations and legislation in 1946-47, the Department of Education acknowledged the energetic work of the Public Libraries Branch and the leadership role Angus Mowat had assumed by informally designating his position as “Director of Public Library Service” by 1948.⁹⁷ In the next year, 1949, a statutory provision set the minimum local public library rate at 50 cents per capita, and by majority vote, councils could appropriate sums beyond the minimum without limitation (13 George VI, chap. 95, sec. 11). Unfortunately, the original amendment was worded incorrectly and the government found itself pressured by councils, such as London and Orillia, to clarify its intention. When questioned about “sloppily drafted legislation,” it was the Treasurer, Leslie Frost, who would shortly become the new Premier in May 1949, who calmly replied, “When we make mistakes we make them and rectify them speedily.”⁹⁸ There was recurrent annoyance with the new departmental grant process. The Windsor board chair, Vivien Kerr, wrote to the Minister, Dana Porter, in March 1949, complaining that the legislature votes were not sufficient to dispense 100% of the earned grant based on previous year’s operations. This query prompted a reply drafted by Mowat agreeing with the assessment but indicating it was common knowledge that the legislative appropriation would not be sufficient to pay 100%; further, boards had previously been informed of this fact.⁹⁹ When the question came up in the Legislature, the Minister said the libraries “had never got anything like 100 per cent, it was never intended that they should....”¹⁰⁰

Needless to say, when some boards demanded better support from local councils by citing the revised grant structure, their credibility was undercut when less than 100 percent was received. Hamilton wrote to the Minister in April 1949 reiterating, “It is impossible for Boards in the position of Hamilton, whose Estimates have to be passed before the Budget is announced, to make a ‘firm’ estimate of probable receipts.”¹⁰¹ In the spring, the OLA formed a Provincial Grants Committee at its Kingston conference. The members met with the Minister and Dr. Althouse in October 1949. Both officials were sympathetic. A compromise recommendation by the department was reached: a “fixed grant” calculated in advance to be implemented on a short-term basis. Delegates at the 1950 OLA Windsor conference accepted this course because it allowed for better budgeting, although the 100 percent issue was not

resolved.¹⁰² For 1950, the grants totalled approximately \$425,000, a significant increase in five years by Canadian standards.

There were some other concerns as well. County co-operatives were not entirely satisfied with their small \$5,000 grants for general operations that were supposed to be an inducement to their establishment. Again, Mowat agreed in a memo to the Minister: "...we hesitate to promote their establishment because our support of them, \$60,000 at present, is secured only by deducting that amount from the grants payable [in each county] to individual libraries—most of which are still in a deplorable state financially."¹⁰³ More importantly, before the end of 1949, departmental patience with the Hope Commission's sluggish progress ended, a sign of potential internal dissension as new issues emerged after 1945. Dana Porter announced a comprehensive reorganization of the school system without reference to any ongoing studies. Henceforth, there would be four divisions, primary grades 1-3, junior 4-6, intermediate 7-10, and senior 11-13, the "Porter Plan." In March 1950, the Minister accepted a short Brief from OLA's School and Intermediate Libraries Section, led by Mary Mustard from Brantford Collegiate Institute, specifically requesting library training, a school library supervisor, and certification of school librarians.¹⁰⁴ When the Hope Commission's *Report* belatedly appeared in December 1950, there were diminished expectations about its prospects. The Commission was destined to have little impact on provincial policy because it did not provide a suitable solution to public financing for Catholic schools, one of the key issues Leslie Frost's Conservative government wished to resolve.¹⁰⁵ However, from the library perspective, there was some optimism because many Hope Report recommendations stemmed from the 1945 OLA brief, *Library Needs of the Province of Ontario*.

Predictably, most reporters, critics, and officials ignored the Hope Report's public library segment. Recommendations that children should be in school full-time from the age of six to sixteen; the abolition of grade 13; the extension of health services to students; or consolidation of rural school sections into larger administrative units naturally drew the attention of the press, the public, and school officials. The report's six-page section on classroom, school, and public libraries was succinct and perhaps easy to overlook.¹⁰⁶ For school-public library collaboration, the report recommended young people's reading be recognized as a function of the public library that should administer elementary school libraries distinct from classroom libraries. High school libraries could assume most responsibility for fulfilling student curriculum projects, and public libraries could concentrate on developing catholic reading tastes in young people's sections. With the development of

larger county and metropolitan library systems and increased provincial grants to approximately 50% of total local board expenditures, the public library would be better able to undertake its educational role. An expanded public libraries branch with field officers and a specialist in “boys and girls and young people” work could better monitor progress.

As for the concept of a Provincial Library, the report harked back to *Libraries in Canada*, which had drawn upon the 1920s British library experience with regional bibliographic offices. It would involve:

...the lending of plays, music scores, and probably films. It would also provide a province-wide reference service by mail and establish and maintain a ‘union catalogue’ of the books in the ‘reading libraries’ within the province. This would enable scholars, research workers, and other readers with specialized needs to find what is available in their particular field, and would be a guide to small libraries their ‘borrowings’. (p.154)

An expensive new building would not be necessary: the Toronto Public Library could serve as a centre for the Provincial Library’s functions. Toronto had outstanding reference and research resources in Canadiana and other fields; for example, in 1949, Edgar Osborne, a British librarian who had visited Toronto in 1934, donated his antiquarian children’s books to TPL in memory of his wife, Mabel, who had suggested this course to him. The collection was first displayed at Eaton’s College St. store in mid-November 1949 as part of the annual “Young Canada’s Book Week.” Its predecessor, “Children’s Book Week,” stretched back to American roots after WWI; it was revived in Canada after the war with promotional events centred in Toronto at the Santa Claus parade and a Trans-Canada Air Lines flight over Niagara Falls.¹⁰⁷

The OLA brief of 1945 provided the basis for most of the Hope Commission’s recommendations, although Charles Sanderson’s influence and acknowledgment of Toronto’s preeminent position was evident. Nonetheless, there were a few differences between the two documents—the report did not refer to the Legislative Library as part of the Provincial Library; there was no mention of library education programs; special grants for adult education had disappeared; and library legislation passed over. The Hope Report obviously required thoughtful departmental study concerning its main recommendations (p. 154-55).

- that a provincial library be established for libraries and individuals to borrow from and use for reference purposes;
- that the provincial library be based on an existing library with a large

- book stock, microfilm and photostat facilities;
- that county councils be encouraged to form public library services and that metropolitan areas for library service be provided;
- that classroom libraries in elementary schools be encouraged; and that public library promote boys' and girls' departments and establish or administer school libraries distinct from classroom libraries where warranted;
- that school libraries with certified teachers and librarians be required for "post-elementary schools" and that standards for their operation be set by the "Director of Public Library Service" and that public libraries establish young people's departments;
- that legislative grants be increased to about 50% of the total expenditure of public libraries by including services for children and young people;
- that the public libraries branch add personnel to include a field officer for general inspection and guidance work; and that a trained librarian be added to deal with the recommendations on elementary and secondary schools.

The fact that the recommendations focused on school and classroom libraries highlighted the need for improvement, especially at the elementary level. Disappointingly, the Hope Report made slight mention of contemporary efforts to rectify these conditions. The school library activity of OLA continued to expand. Mary Mustard (BLS, Western Reserve, Cleveland) had recently published *Library A B C's* in 1948 as a manual for secondary school students and was garnering support for better supervision and standards. The Hope recommendation on school library training and standards did not recognize that the University of Toronto Library School had ended courses for teacher training in 1948. The school announced it would be establishing Master's degree courses in March 1950 as part of its support for the 1946 regulations for Class A certificates because it believed more specialization was necessary.¹⁰⁸

No immediate formal studies or steps took place to develop the Hope Report's ideas partly because the Progressive-Conservative Premier, Leslie Frost, announced on 31 May 1951 that the government was forming a Provincial-Municipal Relations Committee to examine health, education, transportation, law, and social services. The hallmark of Leslie Frost's three decisive electoral victories of November 1951, June 1955, and June 1959 was sound management of a growing economy, improved cooperation with the federal government on tax sharing arrangements, and regulated transfers to local governments for infrastructure projects, especially roads. The Department of Highways accounted for the highest percentage of annual expenditures during the fifties. The Premier was content to appoint trusted

ministers to the education portfolio, men such as Dana Porter or W.J. Dunlop, and manage his cabinet with the added responsibility as Treasurer. Financing schools and post-secondary education, not policy direction, was his *métier*.¹⁰⁹ Ensuring federal-provincial transfers and maintaining a more harmonious federal relationship while preserving Ontario's right to protest encroachments was the right balance in the Premier's mind.

The same common-sense approach applied to local government, which was administered by the Department of Municipal Affairs. The OLA immediately struck a special provincial-municipal committee of its own to forge a brief with updated financial statistics to urge implementation of the Hope Report. The Association also formed two other committees in 1951 that had overlapping mandates regarding the Hope Report: a Provincial Library Committee and a General Hope Commission Report Committee. The political nature of these committees dictated the need for prominent trustees. Ontario's library trustees, such as Charles S. Evans from Chatham, Vivien Kerr from Windsor, and Agnes (Lancefield) Montagu Leeds from Barrie, were active agents developing trustee practices. They also promoted OLA and CLA-ACB work. Trustees were representatives of their communities in a semi-political role; it was axiomatic that they formed a vital link between the community and the operation of their libraries.¹¹⁰ Angus Mowat continued to revise his handbook, *The Public Library*, by focusing on the division between policy and administration. Mowat described the essential features of the policy-administration practice in his 1957 revision: "The board decides upon policies; and, since the members have other matters to attend to, they employ a manager and where necessary a staff to see that their policies are carried out. The manager in this case is the librarian, who is responsible to the board and who, naturally, attends the board meetings."¹¹¹ The trustees in CLA-ACB had formed a section immediately after 1946 and begun promoting more effective trustee development and publicity for libraries.¹¹² The role of trustees on book selection committees and direction of operations was also evolving from 'hands-on' to the establishment of policies, financial development, general administrative oversight, and liaison with the community.

In 1952, CLA-ACB published a short guide to aid trustees in their work.¹¹³ OLA's Trustee Section had already published useful guidelines in the November 1950 issue of *OLR*, "So You're a Library Trustee!!!" It emphasized that trustees and librarians worked together in the best interests of the community. George Hamilton, a popular trustee from Niagara Falls, accentuated the partnership by telling OLA delegates at Windsor "That the trustee leans heavily on members of the library staff for advice and guidance is only natural."¹¹⁴ Good library service was a sensible process with vital

ingredients: teamwork, buildings, collections, money, and staffing.¹¹⁵ The establishment of 'best practices' for trustees was an underlying element in the development of Canadian public libraries during the 1950s. The inclusion of trustees on OLA committees became a regular feature because the Trustees Section grew to be the Association's largest group.

During 1951-52, OLA's three new groups were hard at work. The brief by OLA's three-person Provincial-Municipal Committee provided a statistical review and comparison of school and library grants for 1951. It reported that libraries accounted for just under 1% of the departmental education expenditures and about 1.3% of municipal spending. Based on this information, the committee offered several recommendations in October 1952.¹¹⁶ After reviewing the overall grant structure, it insisted that all earned grants should be paid one hundred percent. Special grants, such as the funding schools were already receiving for adult education purposes and cultural programs, were necessary to keep pace with the growth of community services. It posed the question about shared revenue, "why should not funds for libraries become a joint responsibility, federal, provincial and municipal, but the local municipality keeping the clear control of administration?" After all, a main point in the 1940 Rowell-Sirois Report had been federal transfers to provinces. A province-wide pension scheme for librarians was raised again, as it had been many times since the 1930s. The Hope Commission's recommendations on expanding the Public Libraries Branch were sound. A Provincial Library could offer books to unserved areas of the province and assist municipal libraries. The committee concluded that its statistical summary showing an average municipal per capita expenditure of 58 cents was "very startling to say the least."

Leslie Frost's Provincial-Municipal Relations Committee was not primarily interested in library services levels. It did raise the issue of conditional vs. unconditional grants, mentioning that educational services were funded conditionally, i.e. a grant the province channeled toward certain services based on minimum levels of service or other criteria.¹¹⁷ The contentious issue of conditional payments to municipalities in the context of library funding would repeatedly resurface in the decades after 1953. From the perspective of provincial-municipal relations, it is evident that intergovernmental issues were eclipsing some of the concepts expounded in OLA's 1944 and 1945 briefs. The formation of a two-tier system of government by the *Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act* in 1953 that joined the city of Toronto with four towns, three villages, and five urbanized townships was a case in point. Under this special legislation, library service, like social welfare or fire protection, remained local concerns; metropolitan

area concerns such as justice and physical infrastructure were turned over to Metro Council.¹¹⁸ Contractual regional library arrangements were possible, but the two-tier metro system favoured a legislated special-purpose agency rather than reliance on specific sections of the Public Libraries Act or agreements for service between boards. An informal group, the Library Trustees Council of Toronto and District, organized during 1954 in recognition of the changing political environment.

OLA's two other committees provided advice for approaching the Department of Education and for moving library development forward. The General Committee on the Hope Commission Report emphasized lobbying the Minister of Education to adopt the specific Hope recommendations rather than overlay these with additional demands.¹¹⁹ To deal with the issue of school libraries and leisure reading for youth, the committee members, who were not entirely in accord with the Hope Report's statement, suggested further study. When the committee's report came to the OLA conference at London in May 1952, it was sent back for additional work on details about accepting all the Hope Report recommendations. The President, trustee Vivien Kerr, requested the committee work with OLA executives after the annual meeting. As it turned out, the OLA executive favoured emphasizing the development of a Provincial Library rather than following through on all the Royal Commission points, mostly because the Association was already making progress on grants and legislation.

The "Provincial Library" was an ambiguous concept that was difficult to define. It required much work to overcome skepticism or oversight among elected officials at different levels of government. Even knowledgeable trustees, librarians, and education officials held a range of ideas about how it might be structured, how it could be financed, and how it might function. In its 1948-50 *Survey of Libraries*, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics applied an inclusive definition: "Provincial Legislative Libraries, Provincial Archives and Museums, the Provincial Research Foundations of Ontario and Nova Scotia and various departmental libraries of Education, Health and Public Welfare, Agriculture and Mines." By mid-century, there were two major recognized components of a model "Provincial Library" in Canadian provinces: the Legislative Library and government library extension activities. The work of travelling libraries and support for regional structures were critical, although provincial conditions and needs differed.¹²⁰ Defining the Provincial Library and mobilizing supporters was similar in scope to the campaign for establishing the National Library—a daunting task by any standard that would need friends at the Legislature and on municipal councils.

Freda Waldon accepted the position of chair for the OLA's Provincial

Library Committee. Her experience with issues similar to the National Library submissions soon became evident. In fall 1951, the Committee met in Toronto to visit the Legislative Library, the Travelling Library service, the Toronto Public Library, and the University of Toronto Library. Then it reported to the OLA executive on 1 February 1952.¹²¹ In the light of the National Library's proposed functions and mandate, Waldon's committee offered the clearest explanation for the services a Provincial Library might fulfill in Ontario, namely:

- reference service for libraries across the province;
- an open-shelf service for individuals in areas without library service;
- an inter-library loan system facilitated by cooperation with the Canadian Bibliographic Centre's national union catalogue in Ottawa;
- travelling libraries to supplement rural schools and communities without libraries;
- a clearinghouse for the exchange of duplicates;
- a repository for low-demand books;
- creation of lists of provincial documents and distribution of government publications;
- co-ordination of research facilities.

The organization to head the Library was less easy to identify. TPL was an obvious choice, but a few extension functions were lodged in Angus Mowat's branch; hence, the committee advised the government to appoint a Provincial Librarian to survey Ontario's resources, examine provincial schemes in operation in B.C. and N.S. and state library services along the American border, such as Michigan and New York.

The proposed OLA study would help determine whether a network resource plan of many large, regional, and university libraries headed by the Provincial Library with its own facilities and collections was preferable to a centralized plan with as many services as possible located in Toronto.

After such studies, the Provincial Librarian would then be in a position to make recommendations to the Government as to the best way of organizing the Provincial Library to make the fullest use of existing resources without duplication and to extend library services in fields not now covered by any existing library.¹²²

It was a procedure reminiscent of CLC's first efforts to establish a national library in Ottawa. However, the OLA conference in 1952 at London had a crowded agenda: immediate priorities for many delegates were the celebration of OLA's 50th annual meeting and the state of pensions. The *Public Libraries Amendment Act, 1952* had recently come into effect; it allowed boards to

establish pension plans by authorization of the Minister of Education. Accordingly, executive meetings mostly dealt with broader provincial issues and strategic considerations. This course of action resulted in the Provincial-Municipal brief going forward first in October 1952. OLA delayed the Provincial Library Committee report before forwarding it to the deputy minister and minister for informal consideration.

The OLA's approach to library planning was cautious. Its executive skirted issues such as including the Legislative Library in a Provincial Library or promoting larger, better-financed regional systems. Thus, no strong alternative library schemes came forward to kindle change. In his notes and summary for 1952 prepared for Dr. Althouse, Angus Mowat simply said, "I am not looking for any startling developments in public library service generally." The next several years would continue to be part of a "long climb we are making out of darkness."¹²³ Lack of knowledge about Canadian provincial library jurisdictions or American federal and state library activities was not the reason for inactivity. The long-standing Ontario tradition of local autonomy, combined with reserved leadership in the Department of Education, created a barrier to centralized service, plans for surveys, demonstrations, goal setting, program implementation, or evaluation. The provincial government was relatively small, less than 20,000 civil servants (many war veterans), and Legislature sessions were usually short-lived. The Minister in charge of the Department of Education from 1951 to 1959, William J. Dunlop, was quite conservative in his outlook, and progressive school ideas or more intensive library work in the expanding field of adult education were given a rest in provincial educational plans for most of the 1950s.¹²⁴

There was broad intellectual support for conservative positions in Canadian educational and cultural life. The Massey Commission had been wary of mass culture. One of its commissioners, Hilda Neatby, produced an influential book in 1953, *So Little for the Mind*, a critique of progressive school reforms that supported a return to the fundamentals of grammar, composition, and arithmetic in primary education and less emphasis on individual social adjustment. It was an unusually popular academic work: Angus Mowat found an Ottawa branch with fifteen reserve requests for it in early 1954.¹²⁵ In the mid-1950s, educational changes in Ontario included lowering the compulsory school age for children to six in 1954 and promoting rural busing to district high schools, larger township schools, and phasing out continuation schools. For public libraries, the Minister seemed satisfied that conditional transfer grants played the primary role in place of standards, direct provincial assistance for specific programs, revised legislation, or systematic policy analysis. As a result, increased provincial funding based on regulations,

encouragement of free public library or county co-operative boards (instead of association boards) continued as the basis for expanding services throughout Ontario until John P. Robarts became the Minister of Education in 1959.

Because the Massey Report on national library service served as a guide for National Library activities, the OLA's concept of a Provincial Library would have to be mostly complementary at the provincial level. OLA's proposals revolved around the postwar idea of a national-provincial hierarchy described in library wartime CLC Reconstruction briefs. At the national level, there would be a responsible agency for tasks related to a union catalogue, national bibliography, building Canadian and special collections, federal legal deposit, lists for government documents as well as their distribution, and clearinghouse on librarianship. Indexing and bibliography projects linked closely with libraries in the early 1950s. The Bibliographical Society of Canada (est. 1946) was promoting academic recognition of bibliographic work, and scholars such as former TPL librarian, Marie Tremaine, were doing outstanding work in conjunction with educational publishers, such as her 1952 *A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints, 1751-1800*.¹²⁶ The provincial level would concentrate on providing reference service for libraries, open-shelf book service and travelling libraries, an inter-library loan system facilitated by cooperation with Ottawa, a clearinghouse for duplicate exchanges, a storage repository for low-demand books, and coordination of Ontario's research resources. There were potential areas of overlap, such as the creation of lists of government documents, but these problems could be tidied up. At its heart, the OLA proposal for a Provincial Library pulsated with many legitimate ideas. But it ran counter to the Department of Education's general guiding principle in the 1950s to centralize financial, administrative, and policy decisions and to avoid creating separate provincial agencies. In this scenario, infrastructure work and service components became the responsibility of local authorities.

New Media and Services

As the conformity of the late forties and early fifties dissipated, public library staff were discovering new dimensions of service. The demand for new popular literary genres, such as science fiction, and specific age categories, especially young adult readers, exerted pressure on book allocations and public services. Sometimes interests would fortuitously coincide; yet, there were not many books, such as Robert A. Heinlein's *Space Cadet* (1948), to serve both purposes. Recognition for the older juvenile reader by the Canadian Association of Children's Librarians came with its first book award in 1947 for Roderick Haig-Brown's *Starbuck Valley Winter*, a coming-of-age story

about two young teenage boys. In 1948, a “Brief on the Library Services to Canadian Youth” issued by the Canadian Welfare Council reiterated some of the points made by the Canadian Youth Commission a few years earlier, namely, “Young people must be assisted and guided in the development of the ‘library habit.’ This should begin during the school years through co-operative planning between librarians and teachers. The same close relationship must exist between libraries and community youth leaders.”¹²⁷ The Commission reported that a quarter of their respondents read as many as five books each year. In the same year, the ALA recognized the need to improve services for ages 12-18 by publishing a handbook, *The Public Library Plans for the Teen Age*, as part of its postwar Planning for Libraries series.

Of course, the issue of child and adolescent reading was not the preserve of librarians. A 1946 national study indicated relatively low correlations between school children’s book choices and book rankings by teachers and librarians.¹²⁸ OLA’s School and Intermediate Section spent many sessions mulling over teen reading tastes. Arnold Edinborough told Section members that 60% of the science freshmen at Queen’s University reported they were library users and another 16% stated they would join a library. He cautioned the Trustees Section: “between *Coral Island* [by R.M. Ballantyne] and Kafka, a great many adolescents lose their way in the library.”¹²⁹ The development of library high-school sections and printed lists was useful practice. By the early 1950s, young adult work was an expanding component of library service, as books such as *Catcher in the Rye*, by J.D. Salinger, began to achieve an enduring appeal to a new generation of readers. Science fiction was finding room on library shelves as advocates for the new genre made a case for its inclusion alongside the ever-popular sections on mysteries and romance. “‘Good’ science-fiction is effective and meritorious escape literature, giving expression to the functions of the imagination, and at the same time offering select criticisms of the value of the scientific approach, perhaps preparing and presaging the ‘way to the stars’.”¹³⁰ The lingering doubt about sci-fi’s relation to the pulp magazines of the 1930s took time to dispel. Like hard-boiled detective stories, sci-fi had to earn respectability. Nonetheless, ingrained library prejudice slowly evaporated in the face of Hollywood’s preoccupation with sentient or violent alien life forms, an emergent cadre of critical writers—Issac Asimov, Ray Bradbury, or James Blish—and repeated newspaper reports that UFO’s were sweeping the skies. These trends generated book requests that could not be resisted.

Many demands impinged on collection budgets. After discovering embarrassing inadequacies in its local history collection, Welland doggedly determined “Something would be done about it” and set out on an enterprising

project to rectify its holdings without resort to costly purchases.¹³¹ Following the increase in non-English speaking immigration to Ontario after 1945 due to the easing of federal restrictions, language collections and books on citizenship for New Canadians assumed more importance. The issue was not new; OLA had tried to address it in the early 1930s with qualified results. Foreign language collections, books on citizenship, and introductions to Canadian life were difficult or expensive to procure because readers or groups had specific needs. Studies on library language materials were infrequent. One of the earliest by Dorothy Ashbridge, *Interests and Reading Facilities of the Czechoslovak, Finnish, and Ukrainian Groups Residing in Toronto, with Recommended Lists of Books in Their Languages*, was a BLS thesis completed at the Library School in 1940. By the author's estimate, just less than 25,000 people from the three groups lived in Toronto. She anticipated increased library language services in future years by TPL. Toronto, Kitchener, Ottawa, Cornwall, Windsor, Fort William, and Sudbury held significant non-English materials, primarily French, but these libraries were the exception rather than the rule.

Not many libraries were in the position of London, which appointed a librarian in May 1949 to assist New Canadians. One task London undertook was to contact groups in the city to organize a "Welcoming Party" that introduced 150 attendees to the library's services. Acquisitions from specific publishers—Stechert-Hafner, Todd Publishing, the Linguaphone Institute, and Longman's—helped build London's collection for New Canadians.¹³² Windsor developed its collections and programming starting in July 1951; it included informal classes for conversational English and reading. Joan Magee, a librarian at the Willistead branch, explained:

Almost every day there would be a New Canadian in the library asking for help in filling out a government form, or in writing a business letter. Others wanted help in finding a teacher to give private instruction in English, since the regular Board of Education night school classes in English for New Canadians had closed for the term. ... The local Red Cross Corps cooperated with the library in this project by providing volunteer teachers to assist the librarians, and by permitting the group to use the Corps' rooms as a meeting place during the summer months. In the fall the classes moved to Willistead Library ...¹³³

Immigrants, now arriving in Canada in numbers ranging from 50,000-200,000 annually, found library assistance of varying degrees of usefulness. However, the general improvement of larger multilingual collections outside of Toronto, which flagged language books as a necessary collection element in early 1953,

would not take place until the 1970s.¹³⁴

Even before 1950, film councils and community groups eager for 16mm resources were testing storage, budgetary, and personnel expenditures in medium and larger libraries, such as Sault Ste. Marie, under the leadership of Jean Smith, and Ottawa.¹³⁵ The development of film collections proceeded swiftly after WWII: DBS reported that 31 Ontario public libraries accounted for 713 films owned and 1,904 on deposit with resultant 17,096 showings to an audience of 1,045,675 for the year 1947, impressive totals considering some organizations did not record data from loans.¹³⁶ Film council deposits and close cooperation generally worked to the benefit of both the library and council. Lachlan MacRae, at Fort William, was positive: "Our experience has been that we can count on the various committees of the film council to handle many specific and vital jobs in connection with service, thereby relieving the library staff to a large extent."¹³⁷ The councils themselves formed a provincial coordinating body in April 1948, the Ontario Association of Film Councils, to further their activities. Both OLA and CLA-ACB formed audio-visual committees to sponsor film work and to improve local handling of collections. OLA's film committee organized an institute at Kitchener in November 1947 for fourteen libraries that served as a model for subsequent meetings.¹³⁸ Regional film preview meetings became efficient mechanisms for sharing resources and developing local policies for school loans, statistical tabulations, cataloging, charges, and a host of related film library techniques. These meetings also helped allied organizations, such as the National Film Board and the National Film Society, to collaborate more effectively.

Audio-visual services had matured before the Canadian Broadcasting Company introduced television broadcasting in 1952. Within a few years, there were CBC stations or affiliates in Toronto, Sudbury, Windsor, London, and Ottawa. The Sarnia library, with its proximity to American stations in Detroit, arranged a viewing area with television as early as 1950 when there were only four sets in the entire city. At the time, the new medium's promise for teaching or learning was untested. Nonetheless, Sarnia's viewing room was packed on occasions such as the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II broadcast on the CBC, which had film flown across the Atlantic by jet so Canadians could watch on the same evening.¹³⁹ The OLA's Audio-Visual Committee did review the new medium in 1952 with the observation that "From our past experience with other media we can be reasonably sure that libraries should correlate television with all the other materials in the library—books, periodicals, pictures, films, records, etc. Libraries might install sets if suitable rooms were available and encourage the viewing of the better programmes."¹⁴⁰ When more privately owned stations began appearing, some libraries took up

the offer of a weekly spot. London worked with CFPL-TV (channel 10) over thirteen weeks in summer 1954 on a variety of topics with interviewer-producer Paul Soles.¹⁴¹ Middlesex County went on air the same summer in July on its evening “Farm Page” show. Although there were concerns that TV might divert people from using libraries, it offered opportunities for developing publicity, attracting new users, and working with broadcasters to promote literacy. Television, like radio three decades before, possessed its own educational and informational potential that required exploration by libraries.

By 1950, many city or county libraries were accustomed to working with local or CBC radio broadcasting. Hamilton bravely promoted its cataloguing system on CHML (900 AM) in early 1948 to dispel fears that the card catalogue was “something just for the staff to use, which readers should never touch.”¹⁴² Wentworth County’s Roberta Wilson promoted books for foster children in a series for the Children’s Aid Society.¹⁴³ For Young Canada’s Book Week in November 1949, Charles Sanderson spoke on CBL (740 AM) about parents and children enjoying books and “Keeping Young.” The next year Freda Waldon spoke to adults about the importance of learning “the solid core of children’s books to which each new generation of children is introduced.”¹⁴⁴ Young Canada’s Book Week was an excellent event to program on the radio: organizers were quick to develop imaginative spot announcements for adult and child use across the country.

Boys! Have you ever wondered what life on Mars or on the Moon would be like? Do you know that modern writers, such as Robert Heinlein, have written good stories on its subject for older boys? If you enjoy science fiction, read ‘Rocket Ship Galileo’ or ‘The Angry Planet’ or ‘Twenty-one Balloons’. Book stores and public libraries throughout the country are showing these and other good stories for YOUNG CANADA BOOK WEEK, November 11th-18th. Visit your library or book store this week.¹⁴⁵

School visits during Book Week also were an excellent promotional tool, especially with bookmobile service.

Children’s programming was always a popular activity. The remarkable success in the 1940s and 1950s of CBC’s weekly half-hour “Cuckoo Clock House” for ages 8 to 12 was partly due to assistance from Boys and Girls House in Toronto and promotion by libraries across the country.¹⁴⁶ The Canadian Association of Broadcasters launched its own long-running “Teen-Age Book Parade” for adolescents in November 1952 under the direction of Charles Clay, Secretary of the Canadian Authors Association. Rather than dramatize stories, this broadcast often reviewed books for teens to encourage reading on topics as diverse as ‘Wartime Spying,’ ‘Joseph Conrad,’ or

'Careers.'¹⁴⁷ These radio shows gave libraries a chance to attract new readers, promote information about collections, and respond to different community interests. Could this pattern be repeated on television?

A successful children's television show was created beginning in 1954, hosted by Beth Gillanders on the CBC, first in Toronto's studios (CBLT) and then later in Vancouver (CBUT). The daily *Hidden Pages* encouraged its young audience to read books by Canadian writers and to use their local libraries on a nationwide basis. The actress-hostess, who also worked at Vancouver Public library in public relations, would introduce a book and follow with a dramatization to enliven the program and appeal to imaginations. She often finished by explaining how to get a book from libraries and made suggestions about further reading on the topic of the day. *Hidden Pages* thrived until its cancellation in 1959. Of course, television, like motion pictures and radio, was intended mostly for adults and, after a few years, fears that it would monopolize leisure time and that people would shun books dissipated. Programs such as the CBC's *Fighting Words*, hosted by Nathan Cohen, spanned eleven years from 1953-62 with an eye to Canada's highbrow viewers. Followers would submit a controversial quotation which Cohen's panelists, who might include outspoken critics such as Irving Layton or Robertson Davies, would identify the authors and discuss the significance or meaning. Often, after the program, the audience would seek further information from books at libraries. At the 1956 CLA-ACB annual meeting held at Niagara Falls, Elizabeth Morton reported, "Television is giving impetus to the reading of books. From the standpoint of stimulating interest in books, television is our friend."¹⁴⁸

Hidden Pages was one of the programs praised by CLA-ACB when it presented its brief to the federal Royal Commission on Broadcasting in June 1956 at Toronto. CLA-ACB affirmed the need for the "highest possible standards" in children's programming:

4. Broadcasting is important to us also in our own efforts to promote library use. Some public libraries are given free broadcasting time for their story-hours, book-talks, and other library-centred programmes; many private local stations are generous in this regard. Our Association has received radio and television publicity, locally and on a national scale, for one of its national-wide projects, Young Canada's Book Week. Naturally we should like this sort of co-operation with our own projects to continue and increase.¹⁴⁹

The OLA Children's Librarians Section also submitted a brief, presented by Jean Thomson, who had succeeded Lillian Smith at TPL, emphasizing the

constructive role programming could play in children's lives by introducing new programs and rebroadcasting serial versions of BBC productions, such as *Wind in the Willows* and *Winnie-the-Pooh*. The library association submissions to the Broadcasting Commission, headed by Robert Fowler, supported public control of broadcasting.¹⁵⁰ While the Fowler Commission was interested in the quality of programs, its primary concern was the regulation of content and domestic ownership. Eventually, the Commission proposed the extension of minimum Canadian content standards to private broadcasters as well as the CBC and the establishment of a regulatory agency to supervise radio and television broadcasting. These recommendations eventually came into effect under the new federal Progressive Conservative leader, John Diefenbaker, who swept aside the long era of Liberal federal governments with a startling election victory in 1958 that presaged more turbulent times.¹⁵¹

Setting Provincial Priorities

Within the government of Leslie Frost, comprehensive provincial planning was slowly emerging. Some ministers were beginning to promote a province-wide program of regional development associations to reduce regional disparities. County library co-operatives partly fit this pattern within their respective smaller geographic areas. The Director of Public Library Service spent considerable time promoting co-ops after the 1947 legislation, but it remained a hard sell. There was growth from 1947-52, to be sure.¹⁵² The increases were partly attributable to the formation of two new counties in Wentworth and Victoria that came into full operation in 1948 and 1951. As well, bookmobile service to schoolchildren was expanding rapidly.¹⁵³

<i>Year</i>	<i>Volumes</i>	<i>Circulation</i>	<i>Legislative Grant \$</i>	<i>County Grant \$</i>	<i>Book Expense \$</i>	<i>Total Expense \$</i>
1947	56,039	297,523	28,956	27,950	21,864	52,524
1948	76,932	432,034	38,138	39,500	34,518	85,045
1949	95,955	657,968	49,688	41,500	nr	109,832
1950	122,556	951,101	50,700	48,700	43,738	116,211
1951	145,934	1,267,104	53,800	nr	47,955	134,474
1952	163,192	1,454,339	60,500	60,550	47,318	142,335
	191 %	389 %	109 %	117 %	116 %	171 %
		<i>Percent</i>	<i>Increases</i>	<i>from</i>	<i>1947-52</i>	

Wentworth, headed by L. Roberta Wilson, covered an expanding population base around Hamilton that included 4 libraries, 27 deposit stations, and 83

schools by 1952.¹⁵⁴ Victoria, on the other hand, was centred by a small town, Lindsay, in a primarily rural area. Like Wentworth, the county council formed Victoria's library after it reviewed a committee study. Victoria established its headquarters at the county courthouse under Ethel Dewar and began its first year of operation with a budget of just under \$8,000.¹⁵⁵

Mowat visited potential new county libraries and encouraged the older ones. His Huron County correspondence with Jean Eckmier, the county librarian, highlights the nature of his work between 1945 and 1960. These letters deal with substantive matters such as the results of his periodic inspections, information about grants, queries about upcoming events, advice on administrative matters, visits to Goderich, notices of library meetings, certification issues, news about publications, queries about costs and advantages of bookmobiles, information on other counties, centralized book purchasing, offers of assistance, and the preparation of county institutes.¹⁵⁶

The promotion of county co-operatives was a delicate process. Mowat needed to advocate a coordinating agency without losing the support of potential members. Local autonomy remained strong. Failures, such as the campaign in Wellington County in March-April 1950, were not uncommon.¹⁵⁷ County councillors often had limited knowledge of libraries and were inclined to economize in the affairs of culture. Mowat explained his experience gleaned from many encounters in a 1956 issue of *Library Trends*:

It is a ticklish business that is likely to come to grief, and often did come to grief, until three fundamental truths were memorized. First, it is unwise to appear before a county council unless formally invited. That can be wangled. Second, the library boards are not much help. They have little influence. Third, a council's interest is best gained through the support of the county school inspectors, the Federation of Agriculture, and the Women's Institute. Above all, it is the influence of the latter that counts.¹⁵⁸

Mowat firmly believed in the domino effect—a chain reaction of improvement in library services cascading from one place to the next. The counties of western Ontario were an example before 1950. Other regions, such as eastern Ontario, were less populous with fewer larger libraries (Ottawa, Kingston, Cornwall, and Brockville) to provide support or demonstrate better service levels. Stimulating library growth in these areas was a time-consuming business for the Director's small branch.

Mowat, of course, knew that well-planned meetings could be effective, witness the two successful library institutes for trustees and librarians in 1952 and 1953 that led to the formation of the Thunder Bay District Library Co-

operative, Ontario's first district library system. It started with no books and no quarters in January 1953, but it had seven enthusiastic board members elected by its membership. Thunder Bay differed from the southern co-operatives because its enormous area (52,000 square miles) placed heavy demands on a mobile service. There were fewer schools, and its vast area necessitated mail service to isolated residents. Thunder Bay's funding was not based on an earned district grant; it depended on a generous provincial grant from the Department of Education. Based on the Director's recommendation, this amount usually was two to three times a typical southern county grant of \$5,000. As a result, within a short time, the new co-operative was able to hire a librarian; to purchase a bookmobile in 1955 to reach isolated schools and Indian Reserves; and to build up its book stock. In its first year of operation, it circulated 7,752 items, excluding school loans.¹⁵⁹

The most tangible evidence of library expansion was the building of new libraries, additions, or modernized interiors, especially in the Toronto area. Toronto's metropolitan population was expanding rapidly. In North America, only Los Angeles had outpaced it in the thirty years preceding 1950.¹⁶⁰ A few suburban library boards were coping: York Township officially opened three libraries, one in each ward, during 1951. All were designed by Albert E. Vine and ranged in cost from \$60,000 to \$130,000. The new 1 ½ storey main library opened on 21 March on Eglinton Ave. West. This attractive exterior clad redbrick building held 55,000 books and hosted central administrative and technical services, storage, and a bookmobile garage. Branches at Mount Dennis (opened June) and Jane Street (opened November) were smaller versions designed to hold 10,000 volumes with meeting space in the basements.¹⁶¹ When its population reached 100,000 in the 1951 census, York Township's branches would soon prove to be crowded facilities. New Toronto added a \$43,000 wing to its library along the Toronto lakeshore in May 1954.¹⁶² Its western neighbour, Long Branch, opened a similar building a year later. At the ceremonial launch, Angus Mowat welcomed the improved children's services that he noted were often lacking in other parts of the province.¹⁶³ Etobicoke Township, which voted for a free library in 1949, built a small branch at Humber Bay that opened on 6 January 1951. It was designed on one floor to serve about 4,000 people at a modest cost of \$15,000. Etobicoke was a rapidly expanding suburb with a board anxious not to build branches at the outset but to begin with a bookmobile service as York Township had in 1948.¹⁶⁴ The board eventually opened a central branch, designed by Arthur Eadie, in summer 1955 at a cost of \$185,000 to hold 77,000 books on two floors.¹⁶⁵ Bookmobiles would soon become a common sight in Toronto's outer suburbs. North York, which formed an association

library in 1951, boasted the largest bookmobile in Canada by July 1954; it operated from the township's branch at Memorial Community Hall.¹⁶⁶

The city of Toronto also built at a brisk pace. Boys and Girls House received a major addition in May 1951 for a new children's room and Little Theatre for story-telling, book talks, plays, and puppet shows, its first expansion in three decades.¹⁶⁷ A month earlier, TPL's boys and girls division had opened a branch service on the second floor of the Hospital for Sick Children. Two times a week, librarians visited the wards to distribute books to convalescing children. They also left favourites for nurses to read aloud, such as *Three Bears* and *Curious George*.¹⁶⁸ A year later, the Deer Park branch opened to much fanfare in June 1952. Situated on St. Clair Avenue beside a busy Loblaw's grocery store and across the street from a subway station, Deer Park, designed by Arthur Eadie, was Ontario's first storefront branch. The entire \$450,000 project consisted of the main floor library with two entrances for adults and children beneath rental offices on the second and third floors.¹⁶⁹ A timely legal alteration, *The Public Libraries Amendment Act, 1952*, allowed boards and municipal councils to erect buildings "larger than are required for library and branch library purposes" and to lease unused portions. Rental fees allowed TPL to cover the debenture payments. A month later, a Downtown branch near King and Bay streets opened in an old bank on 7 July 1952. Toronto's Board of Trade welcomed the project because business district professionals and office workers were the main users.¹⁷⁰ Toronto's Parliament St. branch opened in January 1955 near Canada's first social housing project, Regent Park, which was "replacing" Cabbagetown's older slums. Many library users were from low-income families, and in its first year of operation, the library circulated 55,000 books after an initial slow start, partly due to Regent Park's incomplete redevelopment status.¹⁷¹

Throughout Ontario, major library building activity took place from 1950-55. Port Arthur, which had missed getting a Carnegie library due to squabbles before WWI, erected a new main library after ratepayers voted in favour of a \$170,000 bylaw in January 1949. Andrew Angus, the architect, studied newer buildings, especially London, and adapted ideas from others, such as Saskatoon, to create an open concept on a single main floor. The library opened formally in June 1951 near the city's central core.¹⁷² Its perimeter and aisle shelves were finished in birch, a popular choice with libraries and suppliers in the 1950s because of its warmth. A series of large front windows offered extensive natural light. A new section for teenage readers as well as an auditorium seating about 200 people for meetings, film audiences, story hours, and lectures became popular features. Three other major cities opened new branches. Ottawa South branch, costing \$108,000, came into service in

January 1951 at the corner of Bank St. and Echo Dr.; it featured an exterior coating of “Nepean Sandstone.” This branch, built to house 17,000 books, eventually became home for the city bookmobile service that could not operate from the aging main Carnegie library.¹⁷³ A small “family” style branch, Seminole, opened in Windsor, near the Ford Motor plant, in 1953. Seminole reached about 18,000 people and cost \$75,000 for the building, furnishings, and property. It immediately exceeded expectations by circulating 81,000 items in its first year.¹⁷⁴ London opened its Fred Landon branch in September 1955, its first branch since 1921. Dr. Landon had been the chief librarian of both the city and university libraries before his retirement in 1950.¹⁷⁵

Smaller communities found resourceful ways to house libraries. To the east of Lake Nipigon, in the gold mine town of Geraldton, the new free library board secured the second floor, about 1,800 sq. ft, in a federal post office. Its new furnishings, improved lighting, and small staff workspace greatly improved access for a community of 3,000 potential users.¹⁷⁶ Waterford, in the tobacco-farming belt of Norfolk County, patiently acquired a lot after the war and finally opened a small library with classic styling modified by vernacular touches on 21 June 1950.¹⁷⁷ A busy schedule of smaller openings took place throughout autumn 1951. On 26 September, Paris, one of the province’s oldest libraries (mechanics’ institute est. 1841), officially unveiled its \$20,000 renovation to the public. The old Carnegie library was “modernized” with improved lighting, furnishings, a mezzanine for children, and a display area. Additional space was gained by removing older items to attic and basement storage.¹⁷⁸ On 1 November, a new library opened at Rodney in Elgin County. The library board used a \$7,000 legacy to erect and furnish a building just less than 1,000 sq. ft. with five smallish rooms—adult, children’s, work area and office, restroom, and furnace room.¹⁷⁹ In December, two boards unveiled renovation projects. A new library opened in a refurbished bank in downtown Ajax, which had achieved improvement district status after the war.¹⁸⁰ This free library served about 4,000 people; the board of trustees for the improvement district provided funds for its operation until Ajax incorporated as a town in 1955. Burlington unveiled its remodeling of a large, white two-storey house on Elizabeth St. on 19 December.¹⁸¹

Cities also upgraded their central buildings—two smaller ones were coping with enlarged populations. At Niagara Falls, the older Carnegie library on Victoria Avenue underwent refitting before its reopening in November 1951: removal of long, fixed counters adjacent to the entrance helped relieve space problems.¹⁸² In September 1952, after forty years, Sudbury finally realized its new building delayed by the depression, war, fruitless site searches, and a 1949 money bylaw that fell short of the total needed due to

inflation. The latter problem was solved by halving the planned adult reading area, eliminating a partial second floor, and receiving a \$50,000 donation from the W.E. Mason Foundation. The \$379,000 MacKenzie Street library was a one-storey, open plan that utilized tile flooring and furnishings in an “imperial contemporary” style accented by sweeping lines, light wood frames, and leisurely curves. The audio-visual section featured recordings as well as a film booking and preview area also used by the Sudbury and District Film Council. A separate room for French-speaking readers and a section for New Canadians in the central hall were important features.¹⁸³

Hamilton’s influential mayor, Lloyd D. Jackson, helped support the library in its quest for \$250,000 to renovate the central Carnegie Library on Main St., first opened in the city core in 1913. A reception and open house greeted the public in November 1952.¹⁸⁴ The main goal was improved heating, electrical and mechanical upgrades, lighting, shelving, flooring, public washrooms, and additional space. The actual replacement of the entire library, which was too small, would have to wait three more decades. In London, a planned expansion had waited for some time but, by summer 1952, three new areas were added to its second floor to house audio-visual services, additional gallery display area, and meeting space. London also launched a bookmobile service in November 1950, the second city in Canada to do so.¹⁸⁵ The largest project, however, occurred in Oshawa, where the older Carnegie building was slated for demolition. Here, Col. Robert S. McLaughlin offered the city a gift of a 30,000 sq. ft. library building. Ontario’s Premier, Leslie Frost, opened it in December 1954. Arthur Eadie designed the new central library at the cost of \$450,000 to hold 110,000 books. It rivalled London’s building for functionality and featured a blend of Prairie and International Styles displaying low-lying horizontal lines broken by vertical bands of windows, a front entrance, and chimneys finished in Credit Valley Sandstone. Ample windows allowed diffused light into the interior for reading. “If I have done good for my fellow-citizens,” Mr. McLaughlin said, “I am happy.”¹⁸⁶ The McLaughlin Library was known for its dignity and gracious styling from the day it opened and received support from the automaker’s foundation for years to come.

The physical infrastructure of libraries was not the only indicator of progress in the early 1950s. Postwar Canadian society was assuming more heterogeneous qualities: a blend of British and American ideas, rural and urban lifestyles, popular and elitist culture, liberal and conservative ideas of nationalism, conflicting views of the welfare state, and many diverse national, regional, and civic political views.¹⁸⁷ Library annual reports and statistical analyses indicated that the inertia occasioned by the depression and war had been dispelled by rising social and economic demands. Table 9: Growth of

Free Libraries, 1945–53, indicates steady increases in Ontario. The most dramatic figure was the portion of provincial grant concerning total expenditures: it grew from just under 2% to more than 15% percent during the period when per capita expenditure rose from 43¢ to 81¢. Book circulation increased, but only marginally on a per capita basis (from 3 to 3.2); the total number of volumes remained less than 1 per capita in 1953. Some problems lingered, however. The provincial population served by free libraries remained less than 60% in 1953; little progress had occurred since 1945. The paucity of trained librarians in rural Ontario was evidenced in 1952 when Angus Mowat reported there were only 508 certified librarians in public libraries with just 13 B-class in counties and 49 E-class in association libraries.¹⁸⁸

The challenges identified two decades before in *Libraries in Canada* and by former Inspector F.C. Jennings remained relevant, perhaps intractable. The more ambitious legislative agenda developed at the end of the war by Angus Mowat remained dormant because it lacked support. The library community reflected this ambivalence. When the issue of free county systems arose at a county institute at Barrie in 1950, there was some hedging: “it was felt that free county libraries would be the best, but some thought that it was too soon to make a complete change.”¹⁸⁹ The long delay in the release of the Hope Commission Report was unfortunate; it upset many library expectations for postwar era consolidation of smaller units and cooperative activities.

By the early 1950s, it was apparent that the concepts and plans related to postwar library reconstruction ideas were only partially achieved. Passage of the National Library Act of 1952 and official recognition of W. Kaye Lamb as National Librarian was by far the most successful endeavour. Recognition of the complexity and significance of library service in the Massey Report was another apparent stimulus. These feats were national in scope, not provincial. After 1945, the OLA had relied on briefs and presented development plans in the immediate postwar years based on ideas prevalent during the war’s reconstruction phase. No one had expected the Hope Commission to take five years to issue its recommendations. In the interim, Ontario’s Department of Education had revised its grant formulas and regulations, introduced certification, amended legislation, provided additional direction or funding for local services, and added staff to Mowat’s branch. Still, there was evident disenchantment with the inequitable and quixotic distribution of grants. The 1946 grant formula had improved conditions, but it had been based mostly on increasingly lesser amounts for more populous municipalities. In the case of Toronto, an arbitrary \$50,000 ceiling in the early 1950s limited the board to about one-quarter of what it could expect to receive, i.e. almost \$200,000. The presence of OLA’s Provincial Grants Committee at the minister’s door each

year signified the need for an alternative schedule of grant money.

The conceptual plans for coordinated regional or metropolitan types of service voiced in OLA's briefs and discussed at conferences before 1950 had not taken root. Across the province, municipal officials and library boards had acted on local priorities and augmented collections and programs based on community needs and sensibilities. They had improved funding, developed personnel, financed building projects, and promoted services to a greater range of potential users. Only one district co-operative in northern Ontario broke the pattern of southern rural county services separate from cities and larger towns. Library planning for interconnected urban areas was at an elementary stage.

Already, in 1951, the DBS introduced census metropolitan areas greater than 100,000 people to measure the influence of central city cores and to identify potential rapid growth. Yet, there was no immediate recognition by library leadership that demographic patterns would converge with provincial-municipal planning to set priorities for financing and developing library services or changing concepts about public service. For Ontario, there were five CMAs built around the largest incorporated cities:

<i>CMA</i>	<i>1941 Population</i>	<i>1951 CMA Population</i>	<i>1951 City Population</i>	<i>CMA % Increase</i>
Toronto	909,928	1,117,470	675,754	22.8%
Hamilton	197,732	259,685	208,321	31.3%
Ottawa	226,290	281,908	202,045	24.6%
Windsor	123,973	157,672	120,049	27.2%
London	91,024	121,516	95,343	33.5%

The ALA had sponsored landmark postwar studies, such as *A National Plan for Library Service* (1948), *The Library's Public* (1949), *The Public Library in the United States* (1950), and *The Public Librarian* (1951) that aroused little interest in Ontario.¹⁹⁰ Funding for library systems by federal, state, and local governments in the U.S.A. seemed unattainable in Canada. The controversial proposal that library work should concentrate on quality materials for a limited, serious clientele would reverse the ethos to serve a broader public with recreational books. Further, there was no interest in discarding the "library faith" in the beneficent value of books to improve individuals and society.

The OLA's Provincial Library Committee report of 1952 was its most important postwar response. It was an elaboration of OLA's 1944-45 briefs, of what a provincial library service could do and how it might function. It was a call for further study. It was perhaps a belated declaration. Although supported by the Association, the statement did not become an immediate priority. The

provincial committee recognized the need for consensus amongst the province's libraries before approaching the government. There were many in the library field that believed promotion of larger units of service—consolidation of smaller libraries into townships, free counties, and regional libraries—might be a better strategy. After all, the Education Department's long campaign to merge small school sections into unified townships had succeeded in eliminating over 2,000 school jurisdictions by the early 1950s. Yet, caution remained the byword on larger administrative units. At the county library institute meeting held at Big Bay Point on Lake Simcoe in fall 1953, Angus Mowat was equivocal: regional libraries were a "better set-up" but it would mean a complete change in the system of grants.¹⁹¹ It was difficult to perceive what common strategy would prevail when library legislation finally cast off its legacy as the "banner province," a condition that *Libraries in Canada* had dissected in 1933.

The answer came at OLA's Kitchener conference, 1954. The President from Sudbury, Isabel McLean, said a Provincial Library unquestionably was the most urgent improvement needed. It would require a concerted campaign.

If we as librarians and library trustees want a provincial library, we are going to have to work for it. We must, in our own communities, show our readers what an improved service would be theirs with a provincial library. Those of us who work in the medium-sized, the small, the county libraries, must reiterate at every opportunity to our readers, to home and school groups, to community organizations, the value of a provincial library in improving library service to the individual. The Provincial Library will come when the demand for it exists, and the demand for it will exist when we have fostered it.¹⁹²

As an awareness-raising exercise, Roberta Wilson, chair of the Provincial Library Committee, solicited reports from Nova Scotia, British Columbia, and Saskatchewan for the May 1954 Ontario Library Review. Articles on "What is a Provincial Library?" explained essential features—assistance for local libraries, help for individuals without libraries, and consolidation of existing provincially operated library services.¹⁹³ These provinces encouraged centralized provincial bodies and regional services because it was an efficient way to deliver services from Victoria, Regina, and Halifax. Over the next half-decade, the issues related to regional libraries, travelling libraries, co-ordination by a "Provincial Library" agency, open shelves, inter-library loan, and distribution of government publications would occupy many discussions and ultimately lead to new legislation.

CHAPTER 4 NOTES

1. *Report of the Minister of Education, 1945* (Toronto, 1946), 75.
2. Statistics Canada, CANSIM Series no. 501593, dated 1926-46 (terminated).
3. Nora Bateson, "Reading Pursuits and Possibilities," *Food for Thought* 3 (Feb. 1943): 14.
4. Canadian Youth Commission, *Youth and Recreation: New Plans for New Times* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1946), 216-17 [tables 4 and 6].
5. Helen Clifton, "Symbolism," *OLR* 26, no. 1 (Feb. 1942): 54.
6. "Toronto Another Boston?" *Globe and Mail*, 8 July 1944: 6; "Local Library Board and Suppressed Book," *Globe*, 6 Nov. 1944: 6.
7. Angus Mowat, *The Public Library*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Dept. of Education, 1946), 11.
8. James T. Farrell, "Canada Bans Another Book," *Canadian Forum* 26 (Nov. 1946): 176-78.
9. Stuart W. Griffiths, "Eyes and Ears," *OLR* 27, no. 3 (Aug. 1943): 248-56.
10. Leslie Anne McGrath, "Service to Children in the Toronto Public Library; a Case Study, 1912-1949," PhD diss., Toronto, Faculty of Information Studies and Collaborative Program in Book History and Print Culture, University of Toronto, 2005, 386-90 for TPL and radio.
11. Elizabeth Dafoe, "Your Next Job - - Librarian," *CLA Bulletin* 2 (June 1946): 106-07.
12. Dorothy Cullen, "Library Radio Programs," *OLR* 30, no. 1 (Feb. 1946): 48-51.
13. Margaret Penman, *A Century of Service*, 34-35; and Marcus Adeney, "Music in the Library," *Food for Thought* 4 (May 1944): 11-12.
14. Anne Hume, *A History of the Windsor Public Libraries, 1937-1944* (Windsor: WPL, 1945), 10-15; and Anne Hume, "An Experiment in Community Integration of the Arts," *OLR* 28, no. 4 (Nov. 1944): 478-80.
15. R.E. Crouch, "A Library Meets the Community," *ALA Bulletin* 40 (Dec. 1946): 475-78.
16. R.E. Crouch, "Western Canadian Libraries," *CLA Bulletin* 2 (Dec. 1945): 13, 17.
17. R.E. Crouch, "The Librarian," *OLR* 29, no. 1 (Feb. 1945): 7-8.
18. Richard E. Crouch, "A Community Art Centre in Action," *Canadian Art* 2 (Oct.-Nov. 1944): 22-28; and Lawren Harris et al., "Community Centres—A Growing Movement," *Canadian Art* 2 (Dec.-Jan. 1944-45): 62-63, 77, 85; Murray G. Ross, "The Community Centre Movement," *Food for Thought* 6 (Jan. 1946): 10-17.
19. For example, see Charles D. Kent, "Libraries of the Future," *OLR* 30, no. 4 (Nov. 1946): 349-51.
20. Norbert Wiener, *The Human Use of Human Beings* (Boston:

Houghton Mifflin, 1950), 18.

21. Helen Battersby, "Music and the London Public Library," *OLR* 26, no. 4 (Nov. 1942): 383-84; and F.C. Jennings, "A Record Collection," *CLA Bulletin* 4 (March 1948): 130-31.

22. Rowland Hill, "Western Ontario Film Institute," *OLR* 30, no. 4 (Nov. 1946): 359-65.

23. Gordon Adamson, "The Place of Film in the Library," *CLA Bulletin* 3 (Feb. 1947): 74-76.

24. H.W. Curran, "The Federation of Film Councils of Eastern Ontario," *CLA Bulletin* 4 (Dec. 1948): 106-07.

25. Mrs. Gordon Kerr, "Film Service as a Part of Library Service," *OLR* 31, no. 3 (Aug. 1947): 292-96.

26. "Short Course in Librarianship Class 'E' Certificate," *OLR* 32, no. 1 (Feb. 1948): 51-52.

27. See Bertha Bassam, *The Faculty of Library Science University of Toronto and its Predecessors, 1911-1972* (Toronto: University of Toronto Faculty of Library Science, 1978), 46-47 and 67-68 for these courses.

28. Rev. A.-M. Morisset, "Twenty Years of Library Education at the University of Ottawa," *Canadian Library* 14 (April 1958): 220-23; and *Historical Notes and the Library School Faculty* (Ottawa, 1966).

29. Ontario, *Report of the Minister of Education, 1946*, 74.

30. *Libraries in Canada, 1944-46* (Ottawa: DBS, 1948), Table 5 reported salaries for all Canada for the 8-year period.

31. "Report of the Committee on Salaries," *OLR* 29, no. 3 (Aug. 1945): 279-84.

32. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 2 April 1947, 757.

33. "Library Delegation Will Go to Toronto," *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 18 Jan. 1947: 4.

34. Angus Mowat, "S.B. Herbert Retires," *OLR* 30, no. 3 (Aug. 1946): 257-58; and "Patricia Spereman," *OLR* 30, no. 4 (Nov. 1946): 348.

35. Angus Mowat to Freda Waldon, 15 Jan. 1946. File: Legislation, Correspondence Files of Director of Provincial Library Service Branch 1939-69, Dept. of Education, RG 2-229, box 1, AO.

36. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 2 April 1947, 756.

37. Angus Mowat, "County Libraries: Amendment to Public Libraries Act," *OLR* 31, no. 3 (Aug. 1947): 267.

38. Ontario, *Report of the Minister of Education, 1947*, 262.

39. B.D. Hardie to Angus Mowat, 28 March 1949. File: Legislation, Correspondence Files 1939-69, Dept. of Education, RG 2-229, box 1, AO.

40. Angus Mowat, "The Books Drive On," *OLR* 31, no. 4 (Nov. 1947): 351-54.

41. "The Northwestern Ontario Library Institute," *OLR* 31, no. 2 (May 1947): 117.

42. "Leaside Public Library," *OLR* 30, no. 2 (May 1946): 143-46.

43. "York Township Library, Progress Report," *OLR* 29, no. 4 (Nov.

1945): 431-32; and Evelyn Gregory, "Books on Wheels for York Township," *OLR* 32, no. 2 (May 1948): 91-93.

44. Dorothy Rogers, "The Value of Boys' and Girls' Libraries," *OLR* 29, no. 3 (Aug. 1945): 341-43.

45. See *East York Public Library; A History* (Toronto: EYPL, 1974) 1-2.

46. Quoted in Canadian Library Association, *Proceedings of the Organizational Conference June 14-16, 1946, Hamilton, Ontario* (Ottawa: CLA, 1946), 38-39. The conference record differs from Mowat's account for the *OLR*: see "Glory Be! The Canadian Library Association-Association Canadienne des Bibliothèques," *OLR* 30, no. 3 (Aug. 1946): 227-56.

47. Elizabeth Hulse, *The Morton Years: The Canadian Library Association, 1946-1971* (Toronto: Ex Libris Association, 1995), 1-12.

48. "A National Library for Canada; A Brief Presented to the Government," (Ottawa: n.p., Dec. 1946); and F. Dolores Donnelly, *The National Library of Canada*, 59-69.

49. Freda Waldon, "National Library Services," *Proceedings of the Canadian Library Association, June 24-26, 1947, Second Conference, Vancouver* (Ottawa: CLA, 1947): 14.

50. See Donnelly, *The National Library of Canada*, 56-77.

51. "The National Library of Canada: Its Eventual Character and Scope," *CLA Bulletin* 6 (Sept. 1949): 36-39.

52. Canada. Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, 1949-1951, *Report* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1951), 105-10.

53. Canada. Royal Commission, *Report*, 330-34.

54. "Gyro Club Presents Sunnybrook Library," *Toronto Daily Star*, 15 September 1948: 5.

55. "Christie St. Hospital Library, Toronto," *CLA Bulletin* 2 (April 1946): 83.

56. George F. Vale, "Canada's Gift to Bethnal Green," *CLA Bulletin* 3 (Dec. 1947): 61-62; and "Toronto Response to Bethnal Green," *The Times*, 18 September 1947: 7.

57. "The Canadian Book Centre," *CLA Bulletin* 5 (Nov. 1948): 114-15; and Donald A. Redmond, "Seven Months to Build a Library," *CLA Bulletin* 6 (Nov. 1949): 134-35.

58. "New Library Urgent Need," *Toronto Daily Star*, 18 Nov. 1946: 8.

59. Report on North Bay, July 2nd 1945, Inspection Diaries, 461; Angus Mowat fonds, Western University, box 1875.

60. Charlotte Douglas, "Sudbury Public Library," *OLR* 27, no. 1 (Feb. 1943): 35-37.

61. Report on Guelph, April 24-25th 1951, Inspection Diaries, 573-80; Angus Mowat fonds, Western University, box 1875.

62. Angus Snead Macdonald, "The Library of the Future," *CLA Bulletin* 5 (July 1948): 11-13, 29.

63. Arthur H. Eadie, "The Smaller Public Library Building," *JRAIC* 24 (Feb. 1947): 39-41, 64.
64. R.F. Hilton Smith, "Some Principles of Library Design," *JRAIC* 24 (Feb. 1947): 36-38.
65. Anne I. Hume, "The Building Programme of the Public Library in Relation to Its Functions," *JRAIC* 24 (Feb. 1947): 42-45, 60.
66. Lillian H. Smith, "The Children's Library," *JRAIC* 24 (Feb. 1947): 56-58.
67. "New Wing of Kingston Public Library Is Opened," *OLR* 32, no. 4 (Nov. 1948): 263-65.
68. "Toronto Public Libraries, George H. Locke Memorial Branch, Toronto, Ontario," *JRAIC* 28 (Feb. 1951): 26-27.
69. J. Katharine Greenfield, *Hamilton Public Library 1889-1963: A Celebration of Vision and Leadership* (Hamilton: HPL, 1989), 93-98.
70. "New Branch Library at Niagara Falls," *OLR* 33, no. 3 (Aug. 1949): 203-04.
71. Eleanor McAlpine, "Leaside's New Library," *OLR* 34, no. 2 (May 1950): 91-93; and "Leaside Public Library, Toronto, Ontario," *JRAIC* 28 (Feb. 1951): 28-29.
72. M.A. Story, "Towards a New Library," *CLA Bulletin* 4 (March 1948): 137.
73. Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 1982), 186.
74. *Report of the Minister of Education, 1949*, 34. See Shirley Maye Tillotson, *The Public at Play: Gender and the Politics of Recreation in Post-war Ontario* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 2000) for recreation in the 1950s.
75. Patrick R. Penland, "Great Books at Parry Sound Public Library," *OLR* 38, no. 2 (May 1954): 102-03. Penland, a Vancouver native, eventually taught at the University of Pittsburgh School of Information Sciences from 1968 to 1989.
76. See Mary Louise Adams, "Youth, Corruptibility, and English-Canadian Postwar Campaigns against Indecency, 1948-1955," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6 (1995): 89-117.
77. Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, "Feel Harmful Books Being Sold [to] Young People," *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 22 Dec. 1949: 30.
78. Austin Cross, "Civil Servants Scan Those Purple Passages," *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 5 Aug. 1949: 2. "Judge D.J. Cowan Dismisses Obscene Book Case; Would Not Have 'Amboy Dukes' in His Library Nor in Schools," *Brantford Expositor*, 24 Nov. 1949: 1-2; and "Books in Court," *Brantford Expositor*, 25 Nov. 1949: 4. "Crown Fails to Prove Tragic Ground Obscene," *Globe and Mail*, 19 Feb. 1947: 5.
79. Report on Kirkland Lake, May 14th 1946, Inspection Diaries, 493; Angus Mowat fonds, Western University, box 1875.
80. Blair Fraser, "Our Hush-Hush Censorship; How Books Are Banned," *Maclean's Magazine*, 15 December 1949: 24-25, 44.

81. For American intellectual freedom, see Louise S. Robbins, *Censorship and the American Library* (Westport: Connecticut, 1996), 29-68.

82. Extension to 16 mm films discussed in *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 24 March 1949, 1265-76. "Report of the Intellectual Freedom Committee," *OLR* 33, no. 3 (Aug. 1949): 198-99.

83. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 30 March 1949, 1673.

84. Robertson Davies, *The Table Talk of Samuel Marchbanks* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1949), 208-209. For David Balfour see *Toronto Daily Star*, 27 March 1947: 20 and 22 April 1947: 2.

85. "Increased Public Aid Promised to Libraries," *Globe and Mail*, 12 June 1951: 8.

86. Robert Porter, "A Library Problem," *OLR* 32, no. 4 (Nov. 1948): 310-11.

87. "Bias Fought by Libraries: Ontario Association Adopts 'Rights Bill'," *Windsor Daily Star*, 12 June 1951: 7.

88. Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 2nd Session, 6 December 1949, vol. 3, 2815.

89. "Books Blasted," *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 12 June 1952: 1, 20; "Magazine Distributor Convicted," *Evening Citizen*, 22 Nov. 1952: 1; and "Court Upholds Conviction on Bad Books," *Evening Citizen*, 5 June 1953: 36.

90. Toronto Public Library, *Reading in Toronto 1952* (Toronto: TPL, 1953), 10.

91. Charles D. Kent, "Paper Editions in the London Public Library and Art Museum," *CLA Bulletin* 8 (March 1952): 139-41; and Jack McClelland, "The Reprinting of Canadian Books," *OLR* 41, no. 3 (Aug. 1957): 190-92. For McClelland see Janet B. Friskney, "McClelland and Stewart and the Quality Paperback," in Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, eds., *History of the Book in Canada* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 2007), vol. 3, 233-37.

92. See Margaret Ann Jensen, *Love's Sweet Return: The Harlequin Story* (Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1984).

93. J.N. Wolfe, "The Market for Books in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 24 (1958): 541-53.

94. "Book Censorship Opposition Voiced by Library Association," *Ottawa Journal*, 26 Aug. 1953: 13.

95. Canada. Senate Special Committee on Sale and Distribution of Salacious and Indecent Literature, *Proceedings*, 19 February 1953, 120.

96. "The Vexed Question of Censorship," *Quill & Quire* 19 (Aug. 1953): 3-4, 11.

97. There was no date of inception for this title: see Stephen Cummings, "Angus McGill Mowat and the Development of Ontario Public Libraries, 1920-1960," 277.

98. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 31 March 1949, 1726; and *Orillia Daily Packet and Times*, 7 March 1949, 5.

99. Chair, Windsor Public Library to Minister of Education, 14 March

1949 with draft reply forwarded 18 March to Minister. File: Dept. of Education 1939-58, Correspondence Files 1939-69, Dept. of Education, RG 2-229, box 2, AO.

100. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 29 March 1949, 1576.

101. F. Waldon to Hon. D. Porter, 16 April 1949. File: Legislation, Correspondence Files 1939-69, RG 2-229, box 1, AO.

102. "Report of the Provincial Grants Committee," *OLR* 34, no. 3 (Aug. 1950): 176-78.

103. Memorandum Angus Mowat to Minister of Education [W.J. Dunlop], 11 Dec. 1951. File: Dept. of Education 1939-58, Correspondence Files 1939-69, RG 2-229, box 2, AO.

104. "Brief on School Libraries in Ontario," *OLR* 34, no. 2 (May 1950): 146-47.

105. R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 1999), 23-24.

106. Ontario, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario 1950* (Toronto: King's Printer, 1951), 149-55.

107. Judith St. John, "The Catalogue of the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books," *Quill & Quire* 24 (Nov.-Dec. 1958): 2-6; and "1,800 Children's Books Gift to City," *Globe and Mail*, 15 Nov. 1949: 5; and "Children's Book Week," *Quill & Quire* 12 (Dec. 1946): 15-19. For Edgar Osborne, see *A Token for Friends* (Toronto: Friends of the Osborne and Lillian H. Smith Collections, 1979), unpagged. Also, Leslie McGrath, "Judith St. John, 1914-2007," *ELAN: Ex Libris Association Newsletter* 43 (Spring 2008): 10-11.

108. For both developments, see Bassam, *The Faculty of Library Science*, 45-49.

109. See Roger Graham, *Old Man Ontario: Leslie M. Frost* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1990), 244-51 for education in the 1950s.

110. See "Mrs. Gordon Kerr Dies in England," *Windsor Star*, 23 May 1969: 5; and Lorne and Karen Bruce, *Public Library Boards in Postwar Ontario* (Halifax: School of Library and Information Studies, Dalhousie University, rev. ed 2012), 15-29 for representation and responsibility.

111. A. Mowat, *The Public Library in Ontario*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Dept. of Education, 1957), 20.

112. Charles S. Evans, "The Trustee's Responsibility in Publicizing the Library," *CLA Bulletin* 5 (Sept. 1948): 72-75.

113. Agnes Montagu Leeds, "The Trustee and the Library," *CLA Bulletin* 7 (Jan. 1951): 148; and "The Library Trustee," *CLA Bulletin* 9 (Sept. 1952): 25-29.

114. George H. Hamilton, "What Lies Ahead for Library Trustees?" *OLR* 34, no. 3 (Aug. 1950): 173-75.

115. Helen Harris, *A Lordly Task: What Constitutes Good Library Service* (Ottawa: CLA, 1959).

116. "Brief for Presentation to Provincial-Municipal Committee," *OLR* 36, no. 3 (Aug. 1952): 144-46.

117. Ontario Provincial-Municipal Relations Committee, *Progress Report* (Toronto, 1953), 37-38.

118. See Frances Frisken, *The Public Metropolis: The Political Dynamics of Urban Expansion in the Toronto Region, 1924-2003* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2007), 64-75.

119. "General Committee on Hope Commission Report," *OLR* 36, no. 3 (Aug. 1952): 138-39.

120. John Robert Beard, *Canadian Provincial Libraries* (Ottawa: Canadian Library Association, 1967), 184-242.

121. For F. Waldon, see Kathleen R. Mathews, "Freda Farrell Waldon, 1898-1973," in *Bibliography of Canadiana Published in Great Britain, 1519-1763* (Toronto: ECW Press, 1990), xiii-xxxiii.; and "Provincial Library Committee," *OLR* 36, no. 3 (Aug. 1952): 136-38.

122. Ontario Library Association Provincial Library Committee, *Report to the Executive, February 1, 1952* (Toronto: OLA, 1952), reprinted as Appendix C in William S. Wallace, *Report on Provincial Library Service in Ontario* (Toronto: Dept. of Education, 1957), 47-51.

123. A. Mowat memo to J.G. Althouse, 7 February 1952. File: Dept. of Education 1958, Correspondence Files 1939-69, RG 2-229, box 2, AO.

124. See J.G. Althouse, "Role of the Library in Continuing Education," *OLR* 31, no. 4 (Nov. 1947): 373-375; and Roy S. Foley, *William James Dunlop: A Brief Biography* (Toronto: author, 1966), sec. V for Dunlop's administration.

125. Angus Mowat, "Report [Public Library Service in Ottawa]," Ontario Dept. of Education, 26 April 1954, 7.

126. For her contributions see "Marie Tremaine, 1902-1984—A Tribute," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* 23 (1984): 12-29.

127. Canadian Welfare Council, Recreation Division, *Brief on the Library Services to Canadian Youth, Based on the Findings of the Canadian Youth Commission* (Ottawa: CWC, January 1948), unpagged [6 pages].

128. Frederick Minkler, *Voluntary Reading Interests in Canadian Elementary Schools* (Toronto: Macmillan and Ryerson, 1948), 31-41.

129. Arnold Edinborough, "Books and the 'Teen-Ager'," *OLR* 33, no. 3 (Aug. 1949): 281-83; and "The Public Library and the Reading Public," *OLR* 33, no. 2 (May 1949): 113-15.

130. Robert M. Donovan, "Bug Eyed Monsters," *OLR* 36, no. 1 (Feb. 1952): 28-30; and Samuel Neill, "Report of the Science-Fiction Investigation Committee," *OLR* 37, no. 3 (Aug. 1953): 187-89.

131. John Adams, "Local History," *OLR* 40, no. 4 (Nov. 1956): 220-22.

132. Charles D. Kent, "New Canadians and the London Public Library and Art Museum," *CLA Bulletin* 6 (March 1950): 205-06.

133. Joan Magee, "English for New Canadians," *CLA Bulletin* 9 (Nov. 1952): 83-85; and "Work with New Canadians," *OLR* 35, no. 2 (May 1951): 122.

134. "Books in Foreign Languages Libraries' Most Urgent Need," *Globe and Mail*, 2 Feb. 1953: 32.
135. Report on Sault Ste. Marie, October 14th 1947, Inspection Diaries, 518; Angus Mowat fonds, Western University, box 1875. Also, Mary Shortt, "Libraries as Film Centres," *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 23 April 1947: 28 with accompanying editorial, "Film Centre for Ottawa."
136. DBS, *Survey of Libraries in Canada 1946-48*, 11.
137. Lachlan MacRae, "The Film Council and the Library," *CLA Bulletin* 6 (Nov. 1949): 122-25.
138. Grete Nielson, "Film Institute at Kitchener," *OLR* 32, no. 1 (Feb. 1948): 23-25.
139. Dorothy Carlisle, "Sarnia Library First in Television," *OLR* 34, no. 1 (Feb. 1950): 15; and D. Carlisle, "Television in the Public Library," *OLR* 37, no. 4 (Nov. 1953): 232.
140. "Report of the Audio-Visual Committee," *OLR* 36, no. 3 (Aug. 1952): 140-42.
141. Mary Barber, "Experiment in TV," *OLR* 38, no. 4 (Nov. 1954): 302-03; and Howard Overend, "Middlesex County Library Exposed!" *OLR* 38, no. 3 (Aug. 1954): 233-34.
142. "Brains of the Library," *CLA Bulletin* 5 (March 1949): 168-71.
143. "Wentworth County Library on the Air," *OLR* 34, no. 2 (May 1950): 102-04.
144. Charles Sanderson, "Keeping Young," *CLA Bulletin* 7 (July 1950): 8-10; Freda Waldon, "Children ARE Wanted—Now!" *CLA Bulletin* 8 (July 1951): 17-20.
145. "Radio Spot Announcements," *CLA Bulletin* 8 (July 1951): 13-15.
146. June Graham, "Cuckoo Clock House," *CLA Bulletin* 8 (July 1951): 21-23.
147. "Teen-Age Book Parade," *CLA Bulletin* 10 (Aug. 1953): 60. For Clay's documentation and radio scripts, see files for Teen-Age Book Parade, 1952-64, Charles Clay fonds, MUS 39, Library and Archives Canada.
148. Ralph Hyman, "Librarians Find TV Stimulates Interest in Reading," *Globe and Mail*, 13 June 1956: 10.
149. Canadian Library Association, *Brief to the Royal Commission on Broadcasting* (Ottawa: CLA-ACB, 1956), 1-4.
150. Ontario Library Association, *Brief to the Secretary, the Royal Commission on Broadcasting* (Toronto: OLA, 1956).
151. See Frank Peers, *The Public Eye: Television and the Politics of Canadian Broadcasting, 1952-1968* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979) for regulatory control and program content.
152. Data for 1947-52 is from the reports of the Minister of Education.
153. *Free Urban and Regional Public Libraries, 1954* (Ottawa: DBS, 1955), Table 24 reported 14 Ontario co-ops serving 1,439 schools with 2,535 classrooms. Estimated enrollment was 135,374.
154. L. [Lenora] Roberta Wilson, "Wentworth County Library Co-

operative," *OLR* 37, no. 1 (Feb. 1953): 8.

155. "New County Library," *OLR* 35, no. 2 (May 1951): 134.

156. See Stephen Cummings, "Angus McGill Mowat and the Development of Ontario Public Libraries, 1920-1960," 278-90.

157. Reports for Wellington Co. libraries and County Council, March-April 1950, Inspection Diaries, 543-49, Angus Mowat fonds, Western University, box 1875.

158. Angus Mowat, "Creating New Local Service in Canada," *Library Trends* 4 (Spring 1956): 394-95.

159. W.A. Roedde, "New Library Development in Northwestern Ontario," *OLR* 37, no. 1 (Feb. 1953): 9; "District Library Reports Progress," *OLR* 38, no. 1 (Feb. 1954): 45; W.A. Roedde, "A District Librarian Reports," *OLR* 40, no. 2 (May 1956): 96-97; and W.A. Roedde, "I Drive a Bookmobile," *CLA Bulletin* 13 (Aug. 1956): 5-11.

160. See Richard Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900 to 1950* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1996) 23-24.

161. Evelyn Gregory, "'It Can Be Done!'" *OLR* 36, no. 2 (May 1952): 71-73.

162. Paul Stang, "New Toronto Library Expands," *OLR* 38, no. 3 (Aug. 1954): 218-19.

163. "Half Children Lack Libraries Official Warns," *Toronto Daily Star*, 9 June 1955: 30.

164. Betty Hardie, "Progress of a New Township Library," *OLR* 35, no. 1 (Feb. 1951): 16-17.

165. "Public Library, Etobicoke, Ontario," *JRAIC* 33 (Oct. 1956): 396-99; and Betty Hardie, "Etobicoke Opens Main Library," *OLR* 40, no. 1 (Feb. 1956): 8-9.

166. Gladys Amos Allison, "North York Library Expands," *OLR* 38, no. 4 (Nov. 1954): 304-06; and Reginald A. Rawkins, *North York Public Library; The First Thirty Years* (North York: North York Public Library, 1980), 3-20.

167. "New Boys and Girls Library, Toronto Public Libraries," *OLR* 35, no. 3 (Aug. 1951): 206-07.

168. Marian Cooke, "The Children's Library in the Hospital for Sick Children," *OLR* 35, no. 3 (Aug. 1951): 230-31.

169. H.E. McCullagh, "Deer Park Branch Library, Toronto," *OLR* 38, no. 3 (Aug. 1954): 229-30.

170. "Downtown Branch Opens in Toronto," *OLR* 36, no. 3 (Aug. 1952): 173.

171. David L. Houldridge, "Parliament Street Branch Library, Toronto," *OLR* 40, no. 2 (May 1956): 82-84.

172. Robert Porter, "The New Port Arthur Public Library," *OLR* 35, no. 4 (Nov. 1951): 255-58.

173. "Ottawa's Fine New Library Building," *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 1 Feb. 1951: 22; and "New Branch Library Opens in Ottawa South," *OLR* 35,

no. 2 (May 1951): 118-19.

174. "New Branch Library Opens Doors," *Windsor Daily Star*, 30 Oct. 1953: 5; and Anne Hume, "Seminole Branch Library," *OLR* 39, no. 4 (Nov. 1955): 228-32.

175. "The Fred Landon Branch," *OLR* 39, no. 4 (Nov. 1955): 227.

176. Dorothy M. Reid, "Geraldton on the Move," *OLR* 34, no. 3 (Aug. 1950): 209-10.

177. "New Library Opened in Waterford," *OLR* 34, no. 4 (Nov. 1950): 310-12.

178. "Paris Library Complete Modernization," *OLR* 35, no. 4 (Nov. 1951): 284-85.

179. "New Memorial Library Opened at Rodney," *OLR* 36, no. 1 (Feb. 1952): 37-38.

180. "New Library at Ajax," *OLR* 37, no. 1 (Feb. 1953): 17.

181. Barbara Koegh, "Burlington Public Library, 1872-1952," *OLR* 37, no. 2 (May 1953): 75-77.

182. "Niagara Falls Library Modernized," *OLR* 35, no. 1 (Feb. 1952): 23.

183. "Sudbury Library Is Opened," *Sudbury Daily Star*, 25 Sept. 1952: 1, 3; and Isabel McLean, "Sudbury Opens a New Library," *OLR* 36, no. 44 (Nov. 1952): 215-17.

184. J. Katharine Greenfield, *Hamilton Public Library 1889-1963* (Hamilton: HPL, 1989), 99-103.

185. Jean Gorwill, "A History of London (Ontario) Public Library," MLS thesis, University of North Carolina, 1958, 69-72.

186. Jean Fetterly, "The McLaughlin Public Library, Oshawa," *OLR* 39, no. 1 (Feb. 1955): 8-10; "\$450,000 Library Opened by [Leslie] Frost," *Globe and Mail*, 2 Dec. 1954: 13.

187. See Leonard B. Kuffert, *A Great Duty: Canadian Responses to Modern Life and Mass Culture, 1939-1967* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 107-74; also, Michael Gauvreau and Nancy Christie, *Cultures of Citizenship in Post-war Canada, 1940-1955* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University, 2003), 63-94.

188. A. Mowat, "Public Libraries Branch" dated 5 Feb. 1953. File: Dept. of Education 1939-58, Correspondence Files 1939-69, Dept. of Education, RG 2-229, box 2, AO.

189. "County Library Institute," *OLR* 35, no. 1 (Feb. 1951): 34.

190. For example, ALA's four-year plan in *OLR* 32, no. 3 (Aug. 1948): 196-98; the 1949 Chicago Inquiry forum in *OLR* 33, no. 4 (Nov. 1949): 349-52; and the Inquiry highlights in *OLR* 34, no. 3 (Aug. 1950): 211-12.

191. "County Library Institute," *OLR* 37, no. 4 (Nov. 1953): 244-45.

192. "President's Report," *OLR* 38, no. 3 (Aug. 1954): 204-05. In 1956, Isabel McLean earned her graduate degree, MSLS, at the University of Illinois Library School. She held a BLS from Case Western Reserve, 1941.

193. "What is a Provincial Library?" *OLR* 38, no. 2 (May 1954): 87-91.

PROVINCIAL LIBRARY PLANNING, 1955–66

The fifty-third annual Ontario Library Association conference assembled at the fashionable summer resort outside Orillia, Fern Cottage, at the beginning of June 1955, two months before the annual Couchiching Conference at nearby Geneva Park, discussed “Co-Existence” in the atomic age. The OLA’s conference general session, the “Provincial Library” led by keynote speaker Alberta Letts, was less noteworthy than the Canadian public affairs offerings. Alberta Letts had begun her career as a children’s librarian at London in 1939 before the Elsie Perrin Williams building opened. She had experience in cooperative work in Middlesex and Simcoe counties and had taught the E-certificate departmental short course from 1947-49 before moving to Nova Scotia’s Provincial Library as assistant and then director. She had a good grasp of Ontario’s general situation: “You have a hodge-podge of library services in the province, ranging probably from the best to the worst in Canada. You pay more for library service and in some cases get less than any other province. There are over 500 established libraries. Of this number not more than 5 are self-sufficient.”¹ She partly based her statements on the CLA-ACB’s recent development of standards for public libraries. On this basis, administrative entities would serve a minimum population of 25,000 and operate with a budget of no less than \$37,500 (\$1.50 per capita) and employ one professional librarian for 5,000 to 7,500 people.² Letts concluded that a survey of existing Ontario conditions was a requisite. OLA delegates agreed: a conference resolution requesting the government appointment of a librarian to survey conditions for the establishment of a “Provincial Library Service” passed easily. OLA was a small organization, about 1,000 members strong, but still felt that it influenced the Dept. of Education beyond its modest numbers.

Ontario was preparing for another election in June 1955. The Progressive Conservatives, under Leslie Frost’s leadership, were in an enviable position. Construction on the St. Lawrence Seaway had begun in August 1954. Upon completion, it would allow uninterrupted shipping from the Lakehead through Ontario’s ports on the Great Lakes to the Atlantic, a venturesome journey that Holling C. Holling’s wooden toy canoe had traversed years before in his children’s classic, *Paddle-to-the-Sea*. The phrase “Golden Horseshoe” was coming into vogue to describe the prosperous industrial area stretching along the shore of Lake Ontario from Niagara Falls, Hamilton, Toronto, to Oshawa. Technology was transforming society in many beneficial ways. By the mid-

1950s, the CBC was informing and entertaining viewers on its national broadcasting network. Teens were tuning into radio shows playing rock 'n roll. Medical breakthroughs—polio vaccine, organ transplants, and penicillin—were saving lives and improving human health. There was strong confidence in economic growth, a frame of reference captured in 1958 by John Kenneth Galbraith's *Affluent Society*. The federal government and the province were reaching cost-sharing arrangements that enabled funds to flow for social welfare, hospital, and medical programs. It came as no surprise that Premier Leslie Frost returned to power with 83 of the 98 seats in the Ontario election. Afterwards, the Department of Education made a few administrative changes. When Dr. Althouse died later in August, he was replaced as Director by Dr. Cecil F. Cannon, who reported to the returning Minister, W.J. Dunlop. Given these circumstances, the OLA pressed for an entirely new library review in a brief, *The Need for a Provincial Library*, presented to the Minister of Education just before Christmas 1955. The short presentation concluded with one recommendation: the department should study the establishment of a provincial library.

This would not necessarily entail the setting up of a completely new library, nor require, at this stage, a new building. The Province of Ontario already has within its jurisdiction valuable book collections. The larger public libraries might be able to do more for their smaller neighbours if they were part of a clearly defined provincial system. We strongly advise against unnecessary duplication.³

W.J. Dunlop acted with some dispatch after the meeting. The Minister had received letters on the same theme from boards during the fall. He asked the Librarian Emeritus of the University of Toronto, William Stewart Wallace, to conduct a study in early 1956. Dr. Wallace had been a member of both the OLA's brief advocating a National Library to the Rowell-Sirois Commission in 1938 and the OLA's Reconstruction Committee brief to the Minister of Education in 1944 that had first broached the idea of a Provincial Library.

Dr. Wallace's official appointment came at the OLA's annual banquet in mid-May 1956. He received instructions to:

- review "the need for a Provincial Library Service;"
- survey its possible requirements;
- study similar current services in Canada and the United States;
- examine the cooperative services of the National Library, universities and municipalities that a provincial service could draw upon; and
- make recommendations to the Minister before the end of the

fiscal year.⁴

Dr. Wallace spoke briefly at OLA and attended the CLA-ACB conference in June at Niagara Falls where “Promoting Library Service” was a theme.

As part of this topic, one day was set aside for discussion of the ‘larger unit of library service’ featuring American and Canadian systems.⁵ American federated systems of state, county and regional libraries were important new steps in moving from the idea of library extension in county and regional work to direct services and programs based on larger administrative and taxing entities. But, as the Wallace report later revealed, state systems (e.g. New York) did not influence his thought. He did not rely on statistical information to any extent, nor did he refer to the recently published CLA-ACB *Suggested Standards of Service for Public Libraries in Canada* that recommended local library service should be supplemented by an adequate “provincial library,” a central storehouse with bibliographic regional information. He also ignored newer ventures, e.g., the cooperative ordering and processing services of the Cooperative Book Centre of Canada. Canadian publishers had operated the centre since 1954 to offer libraries the incentive of simplifying acquisitions via wholesale service. After the CLA-ACB meeting, Dr. Wallace began investigating and speaking with people, travelling to Ottawa, the UK, the western and Maritime Provinces to seek information. He conferred with Angus Mowat and other prominent OLA and CLA-ACB executives about current affairs and practices. Then he began the process of summarizing his findings for presentation to the Minister of Education by early 1957.

The theme of OLA’s 1956 conference was “’46–’66: Backcast and Forecast.” A decade after World War II was an opportune time to review accomplishments. Ontario was changing. The social conformity of the early 1950s was in retreat: youth culture craved rock-and-roll music and TV shows. Rapid economic growth was altering the geography of urban areas. Unlike the situation when *Libraries in Canada* appeared in 1933, there were active provincial library associations across Canada. New legislation had built on the Ridington report’s ideas. Library borrowing and information sharing were now assisted by better communication. The National Library was emerging in Ottawa together with the Public Archives on Sussex Street. Its union catalogue had recorded holdings for more than one hundred major libraries, and its utility for locating resources was proven.⁶ For Ontario, Alberta Letts’ assessment was realistic. To be sure, the 1952-54 DBS annual report showed that Ontario’s libraries in communities greater than 10,000 were still at the forefront of progress: seventeen of these spent more than \$1.50 per capita. Only a few flirted with \$3.00 (London, Sudbury, and Niagara Falls). Certainly, these cities were self-sufficient.⁷ However, the mass of smaller rural association libraries

and county co-operatives did not fare well: their expenditures ranged from 9 to 41-cents per capita.

For larger units of service, Ontario reported 14 of 26 Canadian regional libraries (DBS classed county co-operatives as regional operations), yet county service was primarily to juveniles—usually more than 80 percent of total circulation. Elgin County, for example, in the mid-1950s, served 13 libraries, 2 secondary schools, 101 elementary schools, a bookmobile stop, and a deposit station. On a provincial scale, Ontario led with volumes per capita and did well in other measures (See Table 10: Canadian Public Libraries Comparison by Province, 1952–54). The most noticeable difference between Ontario and other provinces was the percentage of provincial support. When budget estimates were tabled in the Legislature, the Premier frequently used 1945 library grants as a baseline to show that “We have greatly expanded our assistance to libraries from \$45,000 to over \$800,000 this year [1955].”⁸ This short refrain repeatedly blunted questions from opposition members. It also stalled efforts by OLA, trustees, and librarians to have conditional library grants increased because they were the most generous in Canada.

There were some successes to highlight. The Public Libraries Branch had expanded its staff. Incremental legislation on library co-operatives in 1947 had formalized larger units. The 1954 appointment of Mary Mustard as Supervisor of Secondary School Libraries to promote training for school librarians, followed by Dr. Wallace’s study on a provincial library scheme, were noteworthy steps. In terms of general library organization, the number of county and district co-operatives had increased from ten to fifteen. Some association libraries had converted to free status; but association libraries lingered, partly because a few exceptional communities, e.g. Deep River, were successful in maintaining this type of service.⁹ In general, the number of small, relatively ineffective boards was reduced steadily in this period. In terms of personnel and professional matters, certification of librarians and new regulations had come into effect. Across the province, larger libraries had implemented salary staff plans. Pensions were mostly unresolved because the Ontario Teachers’ Superannuation Commission had turned down requests for the admittance of librarians. In terms of finances, the minimum for the “public library rate” had advanced to 50 cents per capita, with the maximum limit removed. Conditional grants were greatly increased; however, there was disappointment with the formula because recipients wanted to be paid 100%. As well, additional funding for the University of Toronto Library School or extension services remained in abeyance. No formal process for a revision of the Libraries Act requested in the briefs of 1944-45 had occurred.

On balance, it was a mixed record. There was obvious disappointment

expressed about financial and administrative issues at OLA's 1956 Oshawa conference. In committee meetings and at the resolution sessions, members raised several problems beyond the question of a Provincial Library. The conference approved two resolutions thanking the Minister of Education for appointing Dr. Wallace and for increasing the provincial grant to allow 100% payment of earned grants. The Audio-Visual Committee considered forming a separate section within OLA to promote films, music, picture collections, and displays. The Trustees Section discussed problems related to recruitment, especially a proposal for certification of clericals that Fort William brought forward. It was felt that the Public Libraries Branch offered too few measures to encourage the shorter courses, the D and E certificates. Mowat's branch seemed preoccupied with annual grants. The Director was often involved with publications; consultative services; legislation; certification of librarians and service training; library institutes; and direct services to the public and schools through travelling libraries service. This latter activity had expanded to the point of issuing 1,500 boxes a year and circulating more than 70,000 books by 1955. Yet, some felt the box system retarded the advance of regular local service because it was a poor substitute. Many believed the Public Libraries Branch offered too few measures to encourage larger units of service or to promote organizational structures such as the Provincial Library.

Library Leadership and Professionalism

There was some ambivalence about progressive changes taking place across the province, partly due to an underlying transition in leadership. A generation of leaders was leaving active service. In Kingston, Aimeé Kennedy had stepped down in 1949 after guiding the library since 1910. She had been OLA President 1930-31 and a strong supporter of library services to schools after the introduction of the new curriculum in 1937.¹⁰ Winifred Barnstead, director of the University of Toronto Library School, retired in 1951. In addition to developing the bachelor's (BLS) and master's (MLS) programs for library science, she had also founded, in 1927, the first Canadian professionally-oriented group affiliated with ALA, the Ontario Regional Group of Cataloguers. More than six hundred librarians had graduated under her stewardship from 1928-51.¹¹ In Sarnia, Dorothy Carlisle retired in March 1954 after thirty years of service to the city and region. An OLA President in 1936-37, she pioneered county library service and helped organize inter-provincial meetings. Carlisle was also an activist in her community: a patron of the Lambton County Music Festival, an original member of the Sarnia Drama

League, and executive of the Conversation Art Association.¹² Her name was synonymous with the service ethic embedded with “modern methods.”

Lillian H. Smith was the most prominent retirement. Her ability to develop children’s services was unparalleled in Canada: Boys and Girls House on St. George St. was a mecca for children’s librarians. In TPL’s system, there were children’s libraries in 16 branches; 30 elementary schools; 3 settlement houses; Toronto’s School for Crippled Children, as well as the Hospital for Sick Children. Eighty thousand children were registered borrowers, and circulation reached almost two million books in 1951. A *Globe and Mail* editorial drew attention to her work and professionalism:

She loves and understands children; knows how they think and what interests them. Among her associates, she has had the faculty of inspiring loyalty and of transmitting enthusiasm—gifts which do much to explain her success.

After her retirement, Smith distilled a lifetime of work in *The Unreluctant Years*, published by ALA in 1953. Her book was a critical approach to children’s literature that sought to apply enduring standards to emphasize great literature, a classic text that remains relevant today.¹³

Retirements could signal disruptive change or be a seamless process. At Windsor, when Anne Hume stepped down in 1957, the staff she had recruited over the later part of her career continued her efficient work. Anne Hume, like Richard Crouch, was a prominent proponent of the ‘library in the community.’ She closed her 1955 presidential address at CLA-ACB in Saskatoon by commenting that libraries needed to continue on the road to providing services in their communities, an echo of her earlier *Quill & Quire* articles that had outlined Windsor’s work in a broad range of cultural and educational activities.¹⁴ She was well regarded by the *Globe and Mail* literary critic, William A. Deacon: he recalled working with her at a Book Week in Windsor in the mid-1940s by enthusing, “May the influence of this dynamic lady spread since she has so brilliantly left the older conception of books as the quiet consolation of the favored few, for the modern, realistic idea of books as necessities for everybody, not merely to amuse but to stir them to wise, positive actions.”¹⁵

Conversely, at Ottawa, when Claude Aubry succeeded F.C. Jennings in 1953, affairs became volatile. Ottawa trustees and chief librarian, the Board of Control, and new Mayor, Charlotte Whitton, had been at odds for some time when F.C. Jennings submitted his resignation due to a conflict over the implementation of bookmobile service and his unhappy relationship with the mayor about the state of the library’s finances. Before he retired, Jennings wrote, “the library is a stepchild living in a marble palace on a meager or

insufficient diet.” Aubry supported this notion, and subsequent events were to corroborate the observation.¹⁶ Angus Mowat was asked to intervene between the two sides and make recommendations about Ottawa’s services, buildings, and personnel. Regarding Aubry, Mowat stated he was a “wise appointment.” Regarding the library, Mowat concluded that Boys and Girls House was “disgraceful” and the old Carnegie library “incapable of housing a modern library system.”¹⁷ He wrote to Charlotte Whitton to say that the new chief librarian was making a case for much-needed support and tried to soothe the rift between the two.¹⁸ It was a tactful response and set the stage for physical expansion in Ottawa starting with the relocation of Boys and Girls House, followed by the opening of the Carlingwood branch in a state-of-the-art shopping centre, the first such quarters in Canada.¹⁹

Death also removed leaders who had made significant contributions after 1930. Charles Sanderson died unexpectedly on 24 July 1956. At his memorial service in TPL’s central circulating library, the English-born librarian was praised for keeping Toronto at the forefront of North American libraries.

But his real contribution was far greater than this. It lay in setting an almost unique pattern of the true, which is the inspired, librarian before the public of Canada, and by his public life and his witty and polished speeches, raising the professional status of librarians throughout the whole length and breadth of the land.²⁰

Sanderson always had time for diverse interests, serving as President of the Empire Club of Canada, 1941-42, the first chair of the Canadian Library Council, 1941-43, and publishing *The Arthur Papers* of Sir George Arthur, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada. Twelve years after his death, TPL’s Charles R. Sanderson memorial branch opened at the intersection of Bathurst and Dundas streets. The \$317,000 library emphasized work with children and young adults and a range of audio-visual services.²¹ One of his chief Ontario contemporaries, B. Mabel Dunham, died on 21 June 1957. She had been OLA President, 1920-21 and was the first woman to head a public library in a major Ontario city, Kitchener (1908-44). Although she had retired in 1944 due to ill health, Dunham had continued to write and receive praise for her books, *Grand River* (1945) and *Kristli’s Trees* (1948). The latter book, which won the 1948 Children’s Book of the Year award, told the compelling story of a Mennonite boy. In her hometown, Dunham was as recognizable as the prominent features of the downtown Carnegie library’s Greek pediment atop the front entrance. Kitchener declared her birthday in 1953 to be “Mabel Dunham Day” in recognition of her tireless efforts to improve library service and for her active work in civic and social clubs.²²

Sometimes it was more than a matter of generational change or infusion of new ideas. Sanderson's successor, Henry Cummings Campbell, was much more attuned to technological issues. Raised educational standards and emerging positions at Canadian universities, secondary schools, and special libraries were opening new channels of opportunity leading to alternate career streams and divergent opinions about what constituted good service or professional standing.²³ Technology continued its advance: Toronto's reference department filled more than 2,000 photocopy requests from individuals and businesses in its first full year of service, 1957.²⁴ New trends in library service, community demands, social conventions, and labour relations were in evidence. Crucial professional issues were emerging concerning collective bargaining, book selection, working conditions, and certification that would become flashpoints in the 1960s. Although new candidates filled administration positions, generational renewal in the Ontario library field marked a noticeable break in leadership.

Of course, the OLA was attuned predominately to public library affairs. Its leadership drew upon a corps of trustees and administrators in larger cities accustomed to the principles inherent in a dichotomy between policy and administration. OLA's officers were not inclined to advocate causes such as intellectual freedom, equal pay and equal opportunity for women, or broader legal-political issues bearing on women's rights, such as domestic violence. Too often, OLA waited for ingrained habits to evolve rather than advocate essential change even though it was apparent international developments were influencing Canadian society. By summer 1960, in Toronto, the organization, Voice of Women, was formed to oppose war and advocate nuclear disarmament, the first stirrings of a second wave of the women's movement. As well, the effect of the UN Declaration on universal human rights was quite evident in Ontario. Provincial legislation passed in 1951, the *Female Employees' Fair Remuneration Act* and *Fair Employment Practices Act*, began to reduce discrimination in hiring practices and improve salaries based on the same wage for the same or identical work. Increasingly, women were entering the workforce, e.g. married women working in Canadian libraries rose from 18% to 34% during the 1950s. The 1961 Canadian census reported there were 2,809 female librarians: 1,624 single, 950 married, 191 widowed, and 44 divorced. Comparable figures for the 1951 census were: 1,787 total females, 1,303 single, 334 married, 131 widowed, and 19 divorced. Yet, on a provincial scale, there was no library sponsorship for issues to ease the working environment for women, such as an expansion of childcare programs or recognition for "work of equal value" that acknowledged men and women were doing different jobs.

Generally, there was a heightened awareness of individual and collective rights and responsibilities. Improved working standards, salaries, and pensions were becoming significant issues across the province. But OLA was not suited to meet these challenges. Its Sections were functional-institutional groupings devoted to circulating libraries, reference work, children's service, or trustees. OLA committees on pensions and salaries had been active since 1930, but, in the mid-1950s, OLA was joined by CLA-ACB in a quest to achieve better working conditions for librarians. CLA-ACB's Committee on Salaries and Personnel "Interim Salary Scale Recommended for Public Libraries" was approved at its Ottawa annual meeting in August 1953. It divided libraries into four classes according to budgets (starting at the lowest standard, \$37,500 to the highest, \$1,500,000) and provided flexible ranges for all library positions, clerical to chief librarians, from \$1,800 to \$10,000 plus. Pensions, of course, were a stubborn impediment to career development as long as local municipal plans blocked portability between employers. The 1952 OLA pensions committee had received support from the Minister of Education to enter the provincial Teachers' Superannuation Fund, but negotiations were frustrating. Then, OLA found that its private plan developed with Dominion Life Assurance conflicted with municipal legislation introduced in 1953. After further rejections by the teachers' superannuation administrators, OLA delegates finally endorsed CLA-ACB's Retirement Plan at their Kingston conference at the end of May 1958. Possibly as many as 50 libraries employing 125 librarians without coverage would be interested in the new plan as well as other librarians currently enrolled in municipal schemes.

Terms of employment with professional concerns had to be negotiated, of course. Because provincial civil servants did not have bargaining rights, it was challenging to argue for professional librarians, often members of local benevolent employee associations, to have collective rights on a province-wide basis. At a practical level, the tradition of library board-librarian collective action in the area of wages and working conditions was beginning to fracture. The 1950s was a period of general union activism in Canada, particularly after the merger of craft and industrial unions in a new national federation in 1956, the Canadian Labour Congress. The CLC represented the evolving nature of collective employee-management relations that provincial governments were regulating. London's library union, formed in 1945, became a legal bargaining agent for professional, clerical, and technical workers in March 1958; it then negotiated a contract with the library board for 1959.²⁵ At the end of 1959, North York librarians and staff members also established a bargaining unit within the National Union of Public Employees. In these situations, the distinctions (and tensions) between librarians and other library workers were

often highlighted. There was also some dissatisfaction with provincial certification due to a lack of stated professional standards and experience.

Of course, what constituted occupational or professional work in libraries was not a new issue by any means. An anonymous source—"Dilettante"—had teased *Ontario Library Review* readers in November 1942 by demanding, "Is Librarianship a Profession?" No less than the Director of Education, Dr. J.G. Althouse, answered in the affirmative, paving the way for certification in 1946.²⁶ Despite the efforts of librarians, such as TPL's Jean Ross MacMillan, to stimulate professional concerns through OLA, the issue lingered until, coincidentally, *Saturday Night* depicted librarianship as a "forgotten profession." Although this article cited outstanding literary contributions—Josephine Phelan's award-winning 1951 biography, *The Ardent Exile; The Life and Times of Thos. Darcy McGee*, and Robert Hamilton's *Canadian Quotations and Phrases*—readers could not escape the fact that poor remuneration and low esteem seemed to dog librarianship.²⁷ The definitive fifties popular stereotype of librarians—Broadway's Marian the Librarian in *The Music Man*—cemented the image that librarians were prim, proper, and dutiful. The fact that librarians could be efficient administrators or successfully pursue alternative careers as authors and freelancers—notably Evelyn Margaret Waddell (writing as Lyn Cook), who published *The Bells on Finland Street* (1950) or Evelyn Harrington, who published several travel books and works for juveniles after WWII—was wholly submerged, thereby hindering arguments for professional status.

Possibly, accreditation of Canadian library schools by CLA-ACB might improve standards. Angus Mowat requested consideration of this in 1953, and a subsequent study of national accreditation by Dorothy Chatwin found it to be an expensive proposition without proper job classification for professional positions.²⁸ In the same period, an observation from London librarian, Philip McLeod, that librarianship was a skilled trade and that undergraduate, rather than postgraduate library education, might be adequate, prompted an immediate reaction in the *Ontario Library Review* and a proposal from the Windsor Library at OLA's 1954 Kitchener conference that the Association address professional concerns.²⁹ As a result, a professional committee, created in 1955, made its first report to the OLA annual meeting at Fern Cottage to investigate the feasibility of a professional organization to represent librarians. The committee chair, William Graff from Peterborough, cited several reasons for this action:³⁰

- development of job classification to ensure best use of professionals;
- "temptation" from labour unions to include professional employees in bargaining groups;

- closer cooperation between trustees and librarians to attract recruits;
- promotion of post-graduate training and ongoing professional development;
- lack of serious Canadian professional literature;
- salaries below CLA-ACB standards; and
- absence of systematic negotiating bodies for wages, terms of appointment, and benefits.

Over the next two years, the Professional Committee gathered information by consulting with various officials. Dr. Althouse spoke to the committee in February 1955 about the hazards of organizing professional groups—“honesty in stating your real aims.” Committee members, such as Elizabeth Magee, worked to create a constitution similar to other OLA sections and to advance the cause of professionalism. The chair, John Wilkinson, Ontario College of Education, regretted the fact that librarians and trustees seldom distinguished between professional and non-professional duties.³¹

The committee presented its credentials to the annual conference at a dinner meeting on the University of Toronto campus in May 1957. After listening to Elizabeth Homer Morton speak on evolving issues in the library profession, delegates discussed the rationale for a professional group within OLA. The constitution, as presented, was rejected, and the committee dissolved. Later, after more sober reflection, it reactivated in September. The committee began to revise the clauses related to membership because there was no “grandfather clause” for people lacking the originally drafted qualifications, a Bachelor’s degree plus a Bachelor’s or Master’s degree in library science. The OLA Executive approved the redrafted articles and bylaws to form a professional group in February 1958. By May 1958, The Institute of Professional Librarians (IPL) was founded and its constitution ratified at OLA’s annual meeting in Kingston. IPL had unique features that set it apart from the normal functioning of other OLA Sections. The Institute’s appeal stretched to librarians working in municipal, educational, government, and business sectors. Its stated aims were universal: (1) to promote library service and increase public interest in its professional aspects; (2) to raise the standard of library services by defining and upholding standards of professional qualifications and encouraging study and research; (3) to promote the prestige, welfare, and interests of librarians and secure conditions to make possible the best professional service; and (4) to cooperate with other organizations with similar objectives.³² To some extent, IPL overlapped with OLA’s general goals to advance libraries. It had an ambitious program, but it lacked the essential legal mechanism to represent librarians collectively with library boards or to enforce its standards or guidelines with members.

The new Institute coexisted comfortably because its members could belong to other library associations or constituencies in OLA and associate with external groups involved with teaching or publishing. Within OLA, there were some natural alignments and potential areas for IPL to coordinate with other sections, such as the Reference Workshop and the regular sessions of college and university librarians that started in 1957. Labour relations were a more restricted field. With the advent of increased public sector unionization by the National Union of Public Employees (est. 1951) and the National Union of Public Service Employees (est. 1952), unionization had become more attractive in the municipal and provincial sectors. CLA-ACB formed a Librarians Committee in 1956 to explore labour issues besetting professional work after Dorothy Chatwin issued her discouraging report on Canadian accreditation. This group investigated the potential for separate professional groups across Canada and found some support for such a group within CLA-ACB at its conference in Victoria in 1957. Afterwards, the committee confined its activities to information exchange and liaison on issues such as a philosophy of librarianship or a code of ethics which ALA had adopted in 1939 to guide professional behaviour.³³ Full-fledged national consensus and strong support for a professional group were lacking. Only in Alberta, for a short time in 1959-60, did active promotion, led by university librarians, lead to a separate professional group at this time. Thus, constructive linkages by IPL with other professional library groups in Canada was not possible.

From the outset, as IPL sought to represent Ontario librarians, it faced severe challenges in its effort to secure professional status and financial rewards for its membership. When the CLA-ACB engaged with sensitive tenure issues, as it did with a notable instance at Victoria in 1954, Elizabeth Morton, its knowledgeable executive secretary, tried to arrange a satisfactory settlement for each case.³⁴ In Ontario, certified librarians might approach Angus Mowat in the Department of Education. He dealt with dismissal cases carefully. At North Bay, when the librarian suddenly was terminated at the end of 1958, he wrote to her to say that the trustees had acted within their authority and she should "cut clean away." He suggested he could recommend other libraries for her.³⁵ At Long Branch, in 1958, he failed to reinstate a librarian he had earlier recommended to the board and concluded, "there is nothing we can do about it."³⁶ If the Public Libraries Branch and the CLA-ACB office in Ottawa often were thwarted, despite their legal and financial resources as well as influence with trustees, what could a new organization such as IPL accomplish?

IPL's membership was reserved for qualified librarians according to its constitution:

The basic qualification for a librarian shall be the possession of at least a Bachelor's degree from a university of recognized standing and a Bachelor's or Master's degree from a library school accredited by the Canadian or American Library Association, or the possession of a general university education and a professional education in librarianship which the Registration Committee considers equal in content and quality to the above degrees; but up to January 1, 1960, applications may also be accepted from others as outlined in the By-Laws.³⁷

The bylaws allowed for experienced university graduates and those holding certificates or diplomas equivalent to the standard set by the Ontario Library School before 1928 to become members. For a short time only, experienced British librarians already employed in Ontario were eligible, too. They had typically earned their credentials from the Library Association through a set of examinations, but not all were university graduates. After 1 January 1960, IPL required these librarians to obtain a bachelor's degree before allowing them membership. IPL found it necessary to issue a conciliatory statement welcoming foreign librarians. To some, who had earned the designation Associate of the Library Association (A.L.A.) or the higher distinction, Fellow of the Library Association (F.L.A.), the Institute offered the impression that it was too exclusive because it had adopted standards demanding additional qualifications that Ontario's government certification process did not require for working in the province.

IPL's stance on certification was a challenge to Angus Mowat's authority because it aimed to set up a certification committee to vet candidates for the Minister of Education. The Director often gave A.L.A. members a C certificate and F.L.A. members a B certificate when they applied to the Department, with or without university degree standing.³⁸ His practice ran counter to a CLA-ACB report on British library education that concluded, "only where the F.L.A. is combined with a university degree do the qualifications of British librarians meet standards of full professional training."³⁹ Mowat's stance was partly a recognition of TPL's successful intern program for British librarians that had begun in 1952 and a desire to fill vacancies with reliable, experienced librarians at a time when Canadian library graduates were in short supply across the country.

Eventually, the Minister did appoint a five-member Certification Board to review applicants.⁴⁰ By 1962, the Board had moved to provide C certificates to F.L.A.'s without degree and D certificates for the A.L.A. without a degree, thus fortifying IPL's initial drive for higher baccalaureate qualifications. Despite the perceived slights on credentials, IPL soon embarked on a vigorous

registration campaign that saw its membership grow beyond 200 in its first year of operation. Yet, this was not a critical mass of librarians. The 1961 Canadian census reported 3,460 librarians for all of Canada, 1,663 for Ontario (263 men and 1,400 female). IPL continued to grow on a voluntary basis, but it never attained the position of speaking for the majority of Ontario librarians. Nonetheless, in the first part of 1960, its executive arranged to incorporate as the Institute of Professional Librarians of Ontario (IPL) using letters patent to become an independent organization without formal connections to OLA.

Book Selection and Censorship

Professional considerations could intertwine with many issues. However, IPL did not stake out positions on far-reaching societal issues. An important policy arena laden with problems throughout the late 1950s was intellectual freedom and book selection for children. In response to issues related to comic books and ephemeral publications aimed at youth, in 1952-53, the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario and the Canadian Educational Book Publishers' Institute had formed a provincial umbrella Committee on Children's Recreational Reading. They invited groups, including the OLA, to participate. Surveys and questionnaires were issued to 20,000 Ontario teachers, school officials, and libraries. The Public Libraries Branch provided a subjective overview of children's library service based on the 1951 census figures of 724,592 children aged 5-14 in Ontario:

- 1) it estimated that about 280,000 children under 16 were receiving "fair to excellent" service;
- 2) it estimated about 83,000 under 16 received "substandard" service;
- 3) leaving about 361,277 aged 5-14 not served by public libraries;
- 4) 90 specially trained children's librarians worked in public libraries.⁴¹

The Committee issued several recommendations for better educational and promotional guides directed to schools and parents.

At a press conference to release the report in March 1955, the case was made that "If parents could afford cars and television sets, they could afford books."⁴² The OLA's Children's Librarians Section established its own Advisory Committee on Children's Reading and created a leaflet for mass distribution, *How to Find Good Books for Children*, in 1957. This Section also urged the appointment of a supervisor of children's library service in Mowat's library branch. In due course, a children's advisor joined the library branch in 1958. After passage of the United Nation's Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1959, there was a growing awareness of children's social rights to read and to receive a proper education. These rights were ones the state ought

to protect. Gradually, debates about the quality of recreational children's reading became less intense, although many librarians steadfastly opposed series books; for example, in 1958, Port Perry was advised

Please do not buy books like Honey Bunch, Bobbley [sic] Twins, Hardy Boys, Tom Swift etc. I know the Children Love [sic] them but the bindings are so cheap and the paper so poor that they fall apart almost immediately. The stories themselves are very poor.⁴³

The subsequent contretemps over the popular Bobbsey Twins series at Waterloo in 1964 demonstrated the public felt otherwise.⁴⁴

Sporadic book bans erupted from time to time. In the later part of 1955 and the first months of 1956, book controversies erupted on three fronts across Ontario. First, in the village of Flesherton (population 500), the free library was accused of possessing books riddled by "atheism, profanity and sex" and allowing access for younger persons. For one week, and most conclusively at a crowded meeting in the town hall, the trustees and the librarian, Elizabeth MacMillan, managed to withstand the inflammatory rhetoric and charges of indecency. They steadfastly refused to withdraw anything. They defended Anya Seton's *Katharine*, saying the novel was in vogue across North America and that parents should be the arbiters of reading for their own families. The *Toronto Star* editorialized: "The town handled an outbreak of bigotry in an admirable manner and may now return to the calm pursuit of its ordinary affairs."⁴⁵ The affair indicated that the successful defence of controversial library selections could fall on non-professional shoulders and helpful support in the pressroom.

A few weeks later, at the end of October 1955, the Catholic Women's League launched a "crusade" to cleanup offensive comics and literature in bookstores and newsstands across Canada. The League, 11,000 members strong, worried objectionable works might lead older children or teenagers astray. It was a persuasive campaign, backed by a list of 300 works shortened by deletions (e.g. Ernest Hemingway's *To Have and to Have Not*) in order not to conflict with books "likely to be found in public libraries." Although the CWL attracted considerable attention and stressed its members were not "Carrie Nations with hatchets," it did not garner support among the media or publishers. The *Toronto Star* stated the League's efforts were a substitute for parental guidance.⁴⁶ Again, the library response was minimal. The OLA's intellectual freedom committee called the Flesherton tempest an "incident" and ignored the CWL's drive in its 1956 report to OLA.

Another major incident involved *The Story of Little Black Sambo* by

Helen Bannerman, a staple on library shelves after its appearance in 1899. In February 1956, the Toronto Board of Education removed this book from classrooms and ruled out its use for pedagogic work in response to a request from a delegation of black parents, who were disturbed by the racial stereotyping of black children.⁴⁷ Racial discrimination against blacks in Ontario was a pervasive social evil that was occasionally highlighted and difficult to eradicate.⁴⁸ *Little Black Sambo* had many defenders who pointed to its literary merits. Critics felt it could cause anxiety and embarrassment. Bannerman's book would continue to appear in TPL's fourth edition of *Books for Boys and Girls* (1966) because Sambo was "a character dear to millions of children." However, a Progressive Conservative member in the Ontario Legislature, Allan Grossman, better captured the general mood: "it is not censorship, because anyone who wishes may buy this book and read it. What we are asking is that this book be not used for the purpose of educating our children. This is something entirely different from censorship."⁴⁹ The affair called attention to stereotyping in children's literature and questioned librarian book selection standards at a time when the black population of Ontario was still relatively small (the 1961 census counted 32,100). Yet, there were few challenges to library books for children perhaps because there was public confidence in selections or because some librarians, such as Claude Aubry, in Ottawa, and Dorothy Reid, in Fort William, were prominent children's authors themselves, penning such award-winning works as *Les Iles du Roi Maha Maha II* (1960) and *The Tales of Nanabozho* (1963).⁵⁰

The OLA intellectual freedom committee chose to ignore the *Little Black Sambo* incident when it organized a panel discussion at the Oshawa conference in 1956. Its report stressed:

People differ as to what is 'valuable' or 'honest' or 'well-written,' particularly when morals, politics, and religion are concerned. Clarification can be obtained by reading, and—most important—by discussion. Discussion at all levels—library conference, board meeting, informal get-together—can help us obtain an understanding of the issues involved.⁵¹

At this point, OLA remained very much in a "watch and ward" mode. Active opposition to censorship or coordination with other groups, for example, the Civil Liberties Association of Toronto that had been upset with the Catholic Women's League crusade, was not broached. After Canadian customs officials prevented Grace Metalious' steamy *Peyton Place* entry into the country in 1956, the journalist Peter Stursberg labelled Canadian censorship an "irksome, futile system." The author's publisher, Dell, appealed the ruling and, eventually, in April 1958, the Canadian Tariff Board removed the ban,

although its officers said the novel was “shocking.”⁵² *Peyton Place* fell well short of being outstanding literature, but its popularity made librarians reflect on relaxing their adult fiction criteria. The *CLA Bulletin* reprinted parts of the tariff board hearings in July 1958, giving literary credence to the novelist’s underlying exposé of the hypocritical veneer of respectability shrouding small-town America.⁵³ Critics might consider Metalious’ prose to be trash, but her message tapped into reading interests usually bypassed by libraries.

There was a growing library consciousness about the conflict between maintaining community standards and the protection of free speech. When Windsor police seized John O’Hara’s *Ten North Frederick* at newsstands in 1957, the board announced its library copies would continue to circulate because “a public library has to serve everyone.”⁵⁴ Nonetheless, a year later, Ontario’s public libraries were scorched over their failure to purchase or freely circulate Vladimir Nabokov’s critically acclaimed *Lolita*. Canada Customs banned it in 1958, but an American edition was available in Canada, one that had trouble finding a place on open library shelves. In January 1959, *Quill & Quire* surveyed Metropolitan Toronto’s twelve libraries and found only four had the book available for the public. “It is perhaps for the conscience of the librarians, or for the collective conscience of librarians in their professional organizations, to tell themselves whether this is a very good score.”⁵⁵ Journalists were less charitable.⁵⁶ When he was asked to write a column to celebrate the upcoming 1959 Canadian Book Week, Pierre Berton wrote, “It is too bad that the library [TPL] cannot afford *Lolita*, since from a critical as well as a commercial point of view, it is one of the year’s most successful books.” Robert Fulford wrote, “Libraries, in this country at least, have never been in the vanguard of the fight against censorship.” The editor and author, Arthur Hammond, told OLA’s Circulating Libraries Section he had “grave doubts” whether libraries were fulfilling their educational role.⁵⁷ Later in 1959, OLA’s Intellectual Freedom Committee reported, “We are fortunate in Ontario that the chief danger is not local or government censorship but self-censorship by librarians themselves. We must, therefore, guard against emasculating our book collections by too narrow a personal outlook or fear of possible criticism.”⁵⁸ To heighten awareness, the Committee prepared an exhibit and a small pamphlet, *Banned Books; Censorship through the Ages*, for the 1960 OLA convention to moderate ingrained habits and promote social responsibility.

In Ontario’s library history of intellectual freedom, the *Lolita* episode represented a nadir. Although the federal government’s justice minister, Davie Fulton, had broadened the meaning of “obscene” with new legislation in July 1959, it was still difficult to judge community standards when selecting books.

The new delineation of obscenity had become the undue exploitation of sex or sex with crime, horror, cruelty, and violence. There was no exemption from the new standard for libraries. Ontario's Attorney General, Kelso Roberts, stated he would act within this definition. The attorney general's office had commissioned a report on objectionable materials after receiving a wave of complaints in 1956-57. The *Report on a Study of Obscene and Indecent Literature* submitted in April 1958 recommended further study of Canadian reading habits by the Canada Council; better school libraries "to foster the individual acquisition for a valuable home library;" creation of a review panel; and retention of tariff restrictions on pornography. The Attorney General's department established an advisory committee to judge the validity of complaints. Distributors, who faced the prospect of fines for possessing obscene materials, could apply and be notified of the committee's decision. Then, they could choose to withdraw materials or to ignore the advice and be subject to court prosecution.

Ontario's new quasi-legal bureaucratic arrangement infuriated many liberals. Critics and publishers slammed the committee's existence calling it "a new way of having censorship without having censorship."⁵⁹ Seemingly, it reinforced the library's perspective because a librarian, Robert Porter, was a committee member. A former member of OLA's Intellectual Freedom Committee, he was opposed to censorship on principle but did not select books because of their notoriety. It was an opportunity to provide a library context to decisions on what constituted obscenity and to keep the profession current through liaison work. Too often, OLA's Intellectual Freedom Committee had been reactive, not proactive. What was the position of libraries and librarians on intellectual freedom? There was a new Canadian Bill of Rights enacted as a statute in August 1960 by Prime Minister John Diefenbaker's Progressive Conservative government to safeguard citizens' freedom of speech and freedom of the press with regard to federal powers. Because this statute was not a constitutional amendment, provincial jurisdictions were excluded. In any case, no immediate endorsements or like-minded declarations from libraries were forthcoming.

The early sixties were a nascent period in government protection of people's rights and the promotion of equality rights, especially equality of opportunity. The diminution of longstanding religious, moral, and social constraints and ubiquitous language of freedom infused the law as well as speeches, songs, books. In 1961, the Ontario Human Rights Commission was created to investigate and rectify complaints about discriminatory practices in employment and housing. Federal and provincial government support for political and civil rights was perhaps a catalyst for action: the OLA, after a

short time, in 1963, would adopt a policy to promote freedom of expression and the right to read at its Kitchener conference.

The Wallace Report, 1957

In many respects, the slim report Dr. Wallace submitted in January 1957 was a practical compromise. Rather than embarking on a comprehensive investigation, the surveyor focused on existing incremental ideas. The concept of a large, central library (or system of libraries) had persisted since OLA's Reconstruction Committee, which Dr. Wallace had chaired, introduced the Provincial Library "model" in March 1944. More extensive, recently released provincial reports had led to divergent outcomes about provincial libraries. Two provinces, New Brunswick and Manitoba, had commissioned library surveys shortly before 1956. In New Brunswick, Peter Grossman reported to the Department of Education in 1953 that a regional system of libraries was necessary, enabled by improved legislation and the appointment of a director of provincial library services. With oversight by a librarian and general council, regional and local systems could develop in tandem. As a result, New Brunswick revamped its Library Services Act in 1954 to promote regional library systems.⁶⁰ Grossman's valuable report was a blueprint not always followed. To the west, in Manitoba, a survey over an extended period, 1953-55, summarized by George Noble, led to a decentralized system whereby the Legislative Library assumed control of public library legislation. Library extension work (the open shelf system and travelling libraries) became part of the University of Manitoba. Thus, Manitoba divided authority for library development.⁶¹ Across Canada, library administrative structures and services reflected the reality of different social, cultural, and economic conditions. It was felt that Dr. Wallace's lengthy experience and knowledge of library collections in Toronto could be beneficial in creating a plan for Ontario's development.

Dr. Wallace succinctly rejected the concept of a large, centralized Provincial Library and suggested the Department of Education provide more direction with four recommendations:

1. The Public Libraries Branch should be renamed Provincial Library Service (PLS) and the Director of Public Library Service be renamed Director of PLS;
2. The proposed Director of PLS should inaugurate an interlibrary loan system to serve smaller libraries and an "Open Shelf" system (books-by-mail) to areas without library service in Ontario;

3. The staff in the proposed PLS should be increased by adding an inspector of public and regional libraries, a provincial children's librarian, and at least three additional assistants to staff the new interloan and open shelf services;
4. Improved accommodation for the Public Libraries Branch, currently at Huron Street, should be expanded and refitted to facilitate the duties and tasks of the proposed PLS.⁶²

The Wallace report recommendations were hardly sweeping by any means.

From the outset, the report stressed continuity. A provincial library service already existed: "What those who have been advocating a Provincial Library or a Provincial Library Service have had in mind has not been, it would seem, something wholly new, but an extension and development of services already in existence." (p. 9) Further, in his view, the development of the National Library at Ottawa had brought on "radical" change: "To build in Toronto a Provincial Library which would duplicate on a provincial scale the resources of the National Library would seem to be, to a large extent, a needless duplication." (p. 14) When Dr. Wallace factored in the resources of a dozen of Toronto's largest libraries holding about three million volumes, he concluded that building "a brand new Provincial Library in Toronto" would result in needless duplication within the city itself. He listed some of the larger city libraries with the observation that their resources should be available by interloan to other Ontario libraries (p.19-20):

Univ. of Toronto (incl. several colleges)	1,250,000 vols
Toronto Public Reference Library	900,000 vols
Provincial govt. (incl. Legislative Library)	350,000 vols
Royal Ontario Museum	100,000 vols
Law Society of Upper Canada	100,000 vols
Library of Academy of Medicine	50,000 vols
Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission	25,000 vols
Ontario Research Foundation	20,000 vols

He felt accumulating book stocks in a new central provincial library building would be a waste of money.

Organizing services for the public, rather than building and administering a central collection in Toronto, should be the primary goal of provincial library service. In this regard, Dr. Wallace followed New Brunswick's example by rejecting the concept of having the Legislative Library, with approximately 140,000 volumes, as the nucleus for a central provincial collection: "The functions of the Legislative Library are so different from those of what is now the Public Libraries Branch that they have little in common." (p. 15) The

Legislative Library should concentrate on serving the elected members at Queen's Park and the civil service. Its older function of providing books to schools and teachers—a task inherited from the Dept. of Education—could be “ironed out” in a new arrangement with the proposed PLS. Similarly, Wallace cast off the idea presented in the Hope Commission for TPL to serve as a core for a provincial library or service by arguing “that the administrative difficulties involved in tacking a provincial institution on to a municipal library would be far from negligible.” (p. 19)

Dr. Wallace felt that coordination of services, not collection building, should be the foremost responsibility of the PLS: “Further, The PLS should be augmented by the addition of two inspectors, one for children's services and one for county or regional libraries.” These were not new recommendations—the Hope Commission had made them in 1950. Two submissions made to Dr. Wallace from the children's librarian sections of OLA and CLA-ACB both supported adding a children's librarian to provide professional guidance (report appendices E and F). While Wallace was firm about the basic need for a children's coordinator in the PLS, he was less certain about the success of regional library systems.

Not only in Ontario, but in other provinces as well, I cannot help wondering whether the results have always been commensurate with the efforts put forth by those who have struggled (like missionaries trying to convert the heathen) to get regional libraries started. ... So far as the creation of more and better regional libraries offers the hope of better library service in the future, it would seem to be the duty of the province to do what lies in its power to forward this development; and the most obvious means of doing so is to appoint an officer of the Provincial Library Service charged with fostering the growth and development of regional libraries. (p. 17-18)

In sum, the Wallace report on the department's administration of public libraries did not break new ground. It removed the older notion, never clearly accepted, about a central Provincial Library in Toronto and followed the model of separating the Legislative Library from public libraries.

The *Report* did introduce some new PLS services—interlibrary loan and the open shelf system, a clearing-house for requests and book supply to communities with inadequate (or no) library services. The mechanics of how a provincial interlibrary loan system would operate were outside Dr. Wallace's mandate, but he contemplated using a dedicated teleprinter service between the PLS and the National Library rather than establishing a separate union catalogue for Toronto libraries. In fact, by July 1957, a new telex low-speed

data network for the transmission of messages would be in place on a Canada-wide basis, but Wallace light-heartedly admitted, "I am old-fashioned enough to believe a telephone in Toronto could solve the problem." (p. 23). He also briefly reflected on fees for interloans, a subject that librarians would return to many times. Library cooperation and the open shelf system had impressed him greatly during his researches despite his reservations: "To lend books freely and indiscriminately seemed to me a most dubious proposition. Yet my visit to the western provinces convinced me that my fears were largely unfounded." (p. 23) He realized attempting to serve 1,000,000 or more people without library service by better use of travelling libraries was quite a challenge:

The establishment of an "Open Shelf" system in Ontario would necessitate enlarged quarters in the building now occupied by the Public Libraries Branch [at 206 Huron St.], an increased appropriation for books, and an increased staff. Probably at first the Travelling Libraries Division of the Branch could look after the "Open Shelf" system, since they would presumably be using a common book-stock, but at least one new assistant should be appointed... (p. 24-25)

The report concluded the immediate cost to the Department of Education would be only \$30,000 a year: \$20,000 for salaries of new employees and \$10,000 for books, equipment, supplies, etc.

The Department of Education received Dr. Wallace's *Report* at the start of 1957. Angus Mowat immediately developed a response. Many problems of administrative structures, grants, legislation, and regulations were unresolved. The government's first response was determined before it received the report. Mowat had pushed for legislation to allow the formation of regional libraries in northern districts in 1955-56; finally, in November 1956, he was successful.⁶³ At second reading, on 19 February 1957, W.J. Dunlop explained that *The Public Libraries Amendment Act* allowed two or more district co-operative libraries to form a regional library co-operative board, especially for northwestern Ontario. In this vast area, two districts, Thunder Bay and Rainy River, already were contracting for services together, and another district, Kenora, intended to join. Ontario's first regional library board formed in June after ministerial approval.⁶⁴ To process its grant, Mowat drafted an amendment to regulations to pay grants, not to exceed \$15,000, for each territorial district included in the regional co-operative.⁶⁵ Later, in the spring, the Director forwarded his assessment of northern libraries to the deputy minister:

1. *On the Ontario Northern Line.* Good libraries in North Bay, Timmins, and Kirkland Lake, otherwise 10 small struggling libraries 'not doing the job.' A proposal to extend Travelling Libraries via bookmobile not yet

- ready for ministerial consideration.
2. *North Shore*. Sault Ste. Marie a good library; Sudbury outstanding; scattered population in between the two cities ‘crying out to be organized on a regional basis.’
 3. *Northwestern Ontario*. Excellent libraries in Fort William and Port Arthur; fairly good in Fort Frances and Kenora; new regional system for Thunder Bay and Rainy River and ‘It is hoped that the next step will be to bring Kenora district into the regional library.’⁶⁶

Mowat’s support for regional systems, first evident in his long postwar draft, finally could blossom.

For southern counties, Mowat laid out a different path, which harked back to his ideas formed in WWII. In January and later in May 1957, after some county councils had complained about their legislative grants to the Minister, he sent the deputy minister a plan for improving services. In a nine-point memo, Mowat prepared the way for tax-supported county library systems to supersede the county co-operatives, “which have come to the end of the road.” The hard reality—it came down to money.

6. This would mean another item in the equalized assessment and county councils would not rush to adopt the plan. But I believe that some would adopt it and others would follow. The scheme would be of slow growth.
7. In order to stimulate the adoption of the plan there would need to be an establishment grant and an annual grant, a ‘bait’ grant such as we now offer the city and town libraries.⁶⁷

The Director knew firsthand that forming county co-operatives or county systems was a demanding chore. In Renfrew, after March 1957, he began assisting a county committee of teachers and trustees led by Grace Hampson (Pembroke), who wanted to form a county system. He organized a county institute at Cobden before Christmas to get a petition signed to approach the county council in the New Year. The Renfrew councillors required more information about reading habits, were unsure about economic conditions, and felt that rural communities were not well represented in the proposal. Despite the setback, Mowat encouraged the Renfrew group to keep up the pressure in the following year. To the county officials, he offered assistance with a playful note suggesting, “apart from the larger towns, the County does not seem to have any reading habits that can be discovered.”⁶⁸ Further planning for other counties was postponed because the Dept. of Education was awaiting comment on the Wallace *Report*.

At OLA’s May 1957 annual meeting held in Toronto, the Minister of

Education praised Dr. Wallace's report and assured delegates the government would advance the cause of libraries. But W.J. Dunlop made no progressive announcements. Delegates had to be satisfied with a joint program on regional libraries organized by two OLA sections, the Circulating Libraries and County and Small Libraries. Many of the delegates realized the first part of 1957 was an unusually busy time for Angus Mowat, who was tied up responding to numerous grant requests made by libraries across the province. The city of Toronto had presented a brief, prepared by TPL, to the Minister in January requesting removal of the specific \$60,000 limit to their conditional grant, which provided about one-quarter of what TPL could expect to receive based on the regulations if they were applied without the restriction. W.J. Dunlop noncommittally replied he would refer it to the Treasury Board. If Toronto received its full amount it would, in effect, use up almost a quarter of the entire legislative vote for libraries. Later, in March, the Minister answered a question about Toronto's demand in the Legislature:

What I promised the mayor and his board of control was that I would submit the request to the treasury board. The little village of Tara, in Bruce County, I am sorry to say, gets a grant of \$93.12 and here is Toronto wanting \$214,000. I do not know what the hon. member from Bruce will say about that.⁶⁹

Mowat reviewed the twelve sections in TPL's brief. The constraint on cities by population struck at the heart of the way regulations dispensed money. If large libraries received the same rate as smaller libraries, they would absorb money otherwise available for smaller library development. Mowat suggested raising TPL's amount by \$10,000, if necessary, because legislative money should be applied where libraries "are weakest and where I myself have failed most to help, namely, in the counties and territorial districts."⁷⁰ The outcome for TPL was a \$30,000 annual raise in the legislative grant. In the following year, March 1959, the Toronto board of control and TPL trustees met directly with Leslie Frost to claim their full payment. By this time, the entire system of grants was under review and higher payments in the offing: TPL happily received \$124,000 in 1960 and \$186,000 in 1961.

There were other complications with municipal amalgamations and contractual agreements to distract the provincial library office during 1957. Niagara Falls was unhappy when Mowat indicated at the end of 1956 that Stamford Township was overcharged in a contract for services. The city's energetic librarian, Eileen Weber (BS in LS, Columbia University, 1945), objected:

I am sure you will agree that a judgment based solely on per

capita rates would not be fair. There are two comparisons that give a more accurate picture: 1. The cost per borrower, because if a great many people are paying for a service that comparatively few of them use then naturally a higher rate will not be needed. 2. What the municipality gets for its money.⁷¹

After this short quarrel, Mowat endorsed the agreement in April 1957. Cornwall was less fortunate. Like Oshawa, it was one of the first major libraries to abandon its Carnegie legacy when it moved to entirely new quarters just before the old building was demolished at the end of 1955. It celebrated its expanded services with a grand opening officiated by Dominion Archivist and National Librarian, Dr. W. Kaye Lamb.⁷² After the city amalgamated part of Cornwall Township later in November 1956, its service population rose from 17,000 to 41,000. Unfortunately, the 1957 legislative grant, previously based at 25%, subsequently fell to 20% due to its higher population placement in the grant regulations. Mowat asked for permission to continue paying the 25% for five years. But departmental officials refused because they wanted to eliminate such exemptions. Cornwall had to serve the additional 25,000 people with much the same size grant before new grant regulations were devised.⁷³

Despite this heavy workload, by mid-summer 1957, the combination of previous plans made by Mowat and the Wallace *Report* were digested. Then the Director submitted his recommendations “at the least possible cost” by forwarding them to Charles Booth, Deputy Minister, for approval.⁷⁴ Altogether, there were six according to Mowat’s preferred sequence:

1. Enabling legislation for county public libraries based on existing municipal legislation with the expectation that counties would work closely with cities and towns, thereby superseding the existing county co-operatives;
2. Appointment of an assistant director of public library service to promote and supervise county and regional library work and to assist with administration of the Public Libraries Act and general promotion of service;
3. Appointment of a supervisor of children’s library service to select books for the travelling libraries and assist smaller libraries to develop their services;
4. Provincial funding for a regional library demonstration in northern Ontario for three years, after which local authorities would assume a “fair share” of financing;
5. Establishment of a system of interlibrary lending with the libraries branch providing coordination of requests and shipments. Compensation for larger libraries to enable them to

provide books and staffing and enlargement of the Travelling Libraries collection to fill requests that could not be met by borrowing;

6. After building up a sufficient stock of books and providing additional accommodation for the branch, implementation of the open shelf system for Ontario.⁷⁵

After a short hiatus, it became apparent that neither the minister nor deputy minister was prepared to embark upon immediate plans to expand the Public Libraries Branch. Funding a regional demonstration seemed more apt. Mowat marked time in the last part of 1957 by personally attending to routine departmental business and a round of new building openings.

There was renewed interest in library architecture. In June 1957, Hamilton opened a new Western branch in the Westdale neighbourhood at an estimated \$200,000. The visual effect of its exterior façade was striking after dark when passersby could view the illuminated interior through full-length, single-storey plate glass windows. The city's extension services operated from the new facility.⁷⁶ In the same month, Peterborough's renovation of its older Carnegie Library was unveiled at the cost of approximately \$135,000. The architect, Albert E. Vine, had earlier experience with libraries in York Township. Windsor expanded its older Carnegie Library in October 1957.⁷⁷ Architectural firms, notably George Banz and Philip Brook, began to specialize in library architecture. Banz advocated establishing "the identity of the [public] library as the core of a cultural centre" without recourse to monumentality or "frilly roof shapes, slick entrances or similar cosmetics."⁷⁸ To keep abreast of architectural planning, CLA-ACB planned its second publication, *Libraries in Canada Today*, with contributions from Ontario librarians on new buildings, financing, site planning, urban planning, and current functional trends. This proposed work appeared in 1959; it updated the original 1947 publication with the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada. Both Ottawa and Etobicoke held major openings before this publication appeared. Ottawa's \$314,000 addition to its main Carnegie, opened by the Governor General, Vincent Massey, was chiefly the result of Angus Mowat's 1954 report. The Alderwood branch in Etobicoke was an economical building, \$71,000, for a community population of 15,000.⁷⁹ Etobicoke had plans for another similar branch to open in Rexdale in 1959.

In due course, recommendations concerning the Wallace *Report* were implemented in stages. Late in 1957, Mowat held an institute with county librarians and officials in London to test some of his ideas. It came as no surprise that counties were mostly interested in improved grants, following Toronto's earlier successful lobby. In January-February 1958, on his own

initiative, the Director made an extended northern winter visit. He planned to expand the branch's travelling library service and develop a regional library demonstration in northern Ontario. Mowat had his eye on the districts of Timiskaming and Cochrane. His ally, the chief librarian of the newly formed Teck Township in Kirkland Lake, Samuel D. Neill, had been promoting cooperative ventures with other boards and schools since his arrival in 1956. Mowat was able to make aboriginal contacts he felt should serve on the Northwestern regional board. At Moose Factory, near Moosonee, he decided to open a library service point, following in the footsteps of Rev. Neville Clarke, who had opened a travelling library there for natives several years before with aid from the Atkinson Charitable Foundation.⁸⁰ Establishing a library service in a predominately aboriginal area was entirely new; it would become the first in Canada. There were many jurisdictional problems to overcome and Mowat had to finagle approvals from federal and provincial authorities.

Finally, in April 1958, W.J. Dunlop acted. He held a meeting with OLA's Provincial Library Committee to review the Wallace report. It was agreed that the *Report* would be distributed at OLA's annual meeting at Kingston and that two departmental appointments would be forthcoming. At the end of May, when the committee made its report to OLA, William A. Roedde (BLS, McGill, 1951) was introduced as the new Assistant Director of Public Library Service specializing in regional services. Later, at the end of summer, Barbara J. Smith (BLS, Toronto, 1953), who had experience at Oshawa with children's work and who had headed the Port Credit Library, became Supervisor of Children's Library Service. For its part, OLA established a special committee on library legislation (separate from the provincial committee and the grants committee) and set to work examining how to encourage more substantial units of service and improve library service. Mowat returned to further library openings. In September 1958, the Moose Factory library came into operation. Grace Crooks, temporarily on leave from her post as head of Orillia Public Library, had ably assisted Mowat to complete this project.⁸¹ The Director, however, had still not gotten county legislation approved, his actual priority. He wrote the deputy minister in mid-summer and early fall to move things along.⁸²

I do feel it is most urgent that this should be dealt with at the next session. The whole matter of county and rural library service is overdue for an overhauling and, as you know, county councils and county library boards have been pestering the Minister. They grow more and more impatient, and I am convinced that this submission will prove the most

logical and reasonable means of dealing with the problem.

Two months later, he estimated that county legislation would cost an additional \$10,000 for 1959. At the end of Mowat's busy year, Leaside's library addition opened in November 1958 at a cost of \$109,000. Shortly afterward, Kingston's Kingscourt branch opened at just under \$60,000.

By this time, November 1958, with assistance from Sam Neill and W.A. Roedde, Mowat organized a productive library institute at Kirkland Lake to discuss the formation of a northeast regional library co-operative. Representatives from fourteen communities attended:

Cochrane District

Cochrane
Iroquois Falls
Matheson
Porcupine-Dome
Schumacher
Smooth Rock Falls
Timmins

Timiskaming District

Cobalt
Englehart
Haileybury
Larder Lake
Kirkland Lake
McGarry (Virginiatown)
New Liskeard

At the meeting's end, the delegates drew up plans to circulate a petition to the Minister to form a regional library co-operative.⁸³ After some delay, in April 1959, W.J. Dunlop provided authorization for a grant of \$30,000, thereby establishing the Northeastern Regional Library Co-operative. The new regional board decided to contract with Teck Township library (Kirkland Lake) to organize the new co-operative's daily work while retaining control of policy and financial matters. They chose this administrative union because of its effective and economical use of the only professional librarian in the two districts, Sam Neill.⁸⁴ By the start of 1959, the revamped Public Libraries Branch had made progress on the recommendations ensuing from Dr. Wallace's report.

To prepare for implementation of the open shelf service, expanded travelling libraries and an interloan system, Mowat made some internal arrangements with his reliable assistant librarians: Margaret Hughes became Supervisor of Extension Service and Beatrice Evans became Chief Librarian of the Provincial Library Service. Space requirements and financial estimates were prepared to expand services at the Huron Street headquarters. To prepare for legislative changes, in February 1959, Mowat met with the chief librarians of larger urban libraries to develop further plans and prepare a statement for the Minister. A change of name to "Provincial Library Service" was approved to go into effect on 1 April 1959. In the first issue of the *Ontario Library Review* for 1959, W.J. Dunlop pointed out that "We shall not be satisfied with a solution that is less than satisfactory to librarians, trustees, and the reading public of the Province." It appeared the remaining Wallace report

recommendations could be put into operation during subsequent legislative years when more satisfactory accommodations were attained for travelling libraries and staff.

In the Legislature, the Minister introduced *The Public Libraries Amendment Act, 1959*, to allow the formation of free county libraries and larger union boards. It received third reading in March 1959. Further creation of county co-operatives under the 1947 legislation was suspended. Now a single union board could be formed for two or more municipalities, thereby easing administration. Now a county library could be established when seventy-five percent of the municipalities asked a county council to pass an authorizing bylaw. Transitioning older co-operatives to county systems with a single tax base and responsibility for providing services to all parts of a county was a progressive step that had taken a long time to achieve. Seemingly simple administrative advantages, such as a single county library card, might be at hand. With the systematic exploration of city and county library cooperation for technical processing as well as school and public services in some areas, such as the Chatham-Kent, it might be possible to move to larger groupings of service. Planning union boards also held the promise of a better future; for example, Oakville-Trafalgar issued its *Library Expansion Programme* in August 1960, claiming the need for a new central Oakville library as well as a branch in south-west Trafalgar Township.⁸⁵

The Provincial Library Service and the Shaw Report

Two years after submission of the Wallace report, the latest steps towards progressively improved library service left some dissatisfaction with its scale and selective approach. OLA's Provincial Library Committee was interested in larger regional and free county systems, but the thrust of its 1956 resolution to the Minister was for a comprehensive plan—one that included reference service for libraries across the province, details about how an interloan system would operate with the National Library, or arrangements to share collections in research facilities. Some of OLA's issues—the open shelf, travelling libraries, and promotion of children's services and regional libraries—were partly addressed by W.S. Wallace. Other issues, such as inventories of provincial government documents, could proceed with minor funds from Angus Mowat's office. Of course, ongoing issues also continued to trouble trustees and library administrators. Grant payments at less than 100% remained a thorn in the department's side. Added to this, many libraries in counties and larger cities wanted increased grants, elimination of population

limits, and revision of the entire system of regulations. Although progress had been made, at last, in northern Ontario, the PLS had few current plans to benefit the southern municipalities and Metropolitan Toronto.

In the Greater Toronto Area, which the Wallace report had mostly ignored, the energy of trustees and librarians was turning away from provincial concerns to the potential of developing local area services in conjunction with metropolitan planning. North York, for example, opened its Gladys Allison Building as a central library in 1959 for the entire township, now grown to 150,000 people. Under the leadership of William Graff, the board also planned to erect new branches over subsequent years into the mid-1960s.⁸⁶ Due to the efforts of the Toronto Public Library Board, a brief 1958 amendment (6-7 Elizabeth II, chap. 68, sec. 13) to the *Metropolitan Toronto Act, 1953*, allowed Metro Council to make grants to any board providing services to residents of other area municipalities after March 1958. Under this arrangement, TPL received \$25,000 in 1958-59 and \$100,000 in 1960-61. To expand its central reference library on College St. by another 200,000 volumes, TPL, with assistance from Metro Council, began building a \$310,000 three-storey extension scheduled to open in April 1960.⁸⁷ Eventually, it would house the Bibliographic Centre and TPL's special collections, such as the Canadiana and Manuscript section headed by Edith G. Firth, who was making important contributions to the collection and maintenance of local history.⁸⁸ Most importantly, in November 1958, the Metro Council authorized a group of trustees, the Council of Library Trustees of Toronto and District, first formed in 1954, to prepare a detailed survey in the thirteen area municipalities. Systematic coordination was the most logical way to achieve satisfactory area-wide service. The trustees, led by Richard Stanbury from North York, chose Dr. Ralph Shaw, Rutgers University, New Jersey, to bring American-style library planning to Ontario. He began his work in 1959 and agreed to publish his findings by 1960.

In the larger southern libraries and counties, the annual shortfall in the legislative appropriation and the resultant reduced percentage of the earned grant continued to be a simmering issue. Contemporary library standards utilized per capita grants, not earned grants with comprehensive schedules. Dr. Wallace had ignored the revised CLA-ACB standards for public libraries recommending administrative units of not less than 50,000 people financed with \$2.00 per capita. This guideline was judged best to improve conditions across Canada.⁸⁹ Likewise, the total amount of library expenditure rankled the library community. The OLA Special Committee on Library Legislation pointed out in 1959 that at no time had grants ever exceeded one percent of the total Departmental expenditure.⁹⁰ In fact, in reviewing Table 11: Provincial

Library Grants, 1930–2000, it is evident that this analysis was made shortly after the percentage had reached its highest point in the forty years (1930-71) when public libraries were under the authority of the Department of Education. County libraries were particularly disadvantaged because their major grants were pegged at older maximums instead of a percentage of approved expenditures, which was the standard for county schools. As a result, the combined amount for all co-operatives had languished in the \$60,000 range for many years. Letters from counties to the Department in 1958-59 requested removal of this “unjust” grant structure.

When the OLA met at Windsor in May 1959, three committees weighed in on the provincial scene. The Provincial Grants Committee had urged its members once again to protest the disruption of budget planning that payment of 92% of earned grants for 1958-59 caused. The committee met in April with Dr. Cecil Cannon, the deputy minister, who promised 100% payment of grants for 1959-60. The Provincial Library Committee welcomed the Wallace report but steadfastly repeated, “before any further recommendations are made to the Minister of Education, a thorough study of the entire problem of provincial library service is necessary.”⁹¹ The Special Committee on Library Legislation, which had been set up the year before at the Kingston conference, stated the need for more long-term planning. This new committee presented delegates a lengthy report that reiterated many of the problems identified a generation before in *Libraries in Canada*. Statistical evidence, library standards, population bases, and local finances had changed in the intervening decades, but it seemed the problem of poor service (or no service) and too many small library authorities remained an inherited headache.

Raised provincial grants certainly helped promote local support, yet they did not encourage the most effective form of organization. Consequently, the OLA’s legislation committee authored an association resolution to establish a commission to investigate library services to revise the library act and its regulations. The committee wanted to encourage grouping local government units into effective library systems. It suggested the commission be composed of one librarian, actively engaged in public library work, one authority on municipal affairs, one library trustee, and a specialist in social research.⁹² Not surprisingly, when W.J. Dunlop, who was ailing at age 71, received the OLA resolution, he rejected it, partly because he believed it pertained to the Wallace Report, not a new study. When Dr. Dunlop retired at the end of 1959, Premier Frost selected a new Conservative MPP, John P. Robarts, as Minister of Education on 17 December. The new minister was known to be pragmatic, a progressive thinker, and eager to make government work more effectively. His appointment came a few months before Mowat’s retirement in March 1960

and William Roedde's appointment as the new Director shortly afterward.

Angus Mowat had served with distinction for more than two decades and steadfastly advanced the cause of public libraries in the nation, Ontario, and his postwar hometown, Richmond Hill, where a new library opened in summer 1959.⁹³ The author of *Then I'll Look Up* (1938) and *The Carrying Place* (1944) still had literary ambitions and unpublished materials at hand. His son, Farley, had already won critical acclaim for his own children's story, *Lost in the Barrens* (1956). Family relationships were also changing and he was now approaching seventy.⁹⁴ There is some evidence that Mowat was not entirely satisfied with his position within the enlarged departmental bureaucracy or with the constant chirping about 100% grants, something he had never promised.⁹⁵ The Ontario civil service was expanding rapidly, and the practice of having a busy branch director administering grants of more than a million dollars was outdated. Grant payment was a task for departmental financial officers and staff within the department itself. When the department promulgated new regulations in 1960, its Business Administration Branch managed the grants to libraries.

A farewell evening for Angus Mowat took place at Toronto's new Park Plaza Hotel in February 1960. There were many greetings and speeches, but Roberta (Wilson) Weiner, the chief librarian at Wentworth County from 1948-55, who returned from New Brunswick for this occasion, best captured Mowat's enterprising spirit:

Angus Mowat could never abide dull people, dull meetings, dull talk nor dull writing. Let us remember that, always. The greatest dangers of our time are standardized ideas, gobbledegook, and organization men; and these may result in 'package-without-content' librarianship. Angus Mowat stood for none of these. Disregarding forms in triplicate, silly rules and cumbersome regulations, he got on with the job. As Angus Mowat saw it, his job was libraries, librarians, and books—not 'reading matter'—but books, good books.⁹⁶

The rationale behind Wilson's reference to William Whyte's 1956 bestseller, *The Organization Man*, was clear. Systematic managerial planning for government, welfare, health care, lifestyles, suburban communities—virtually any social convention—meant Ontario's expansive provincial civil service had opened a less personal chapter in government services.

To test the new landscape, the OLA invited the Minister to its conference at his hometown University of Western Ontario in May 1960. John Robarts spoke at length about the potential for change. New regulations based on equalized tax assessment would provide higher grants to municipalities with

smaller assessments and eliminate population as a criterion. The Wallace report had “somewhat underestimated the organizational and financial problems” for the PLS; accordingly, expanded accommodation was being sought. Association libraries should seek affiliation with larger library systems or become branches of county systems. Robarts announced grants would reach \$1,750,000 for 1960.⁹⁷ With some optimism, the OLA presented a short brief to the Minister in June calling for the Department to establish a Commission composed of two librarians, one trustee, and “such experts as the government would deem helpful.” The commissioners would investigate urban and rural library services to permit grouping local boards into effective systems. The keywords were cooperation and coordination. The OLA brief stated the commission case succinctly: “This body would determine the most effective basis for the co-operation and co-ordination of library services in order to provide all people living in Ontario with service to a standard recommended by the Canadian Library Association.”⁹⁸ The Minister was attentive but subsequently appointed no commissioners.

The Provincial Library Service headed by W.A. Roedde could point to the success of departmental legislation when another regional library co-operative, North Central, was formed in July to serve the districts of Manitoulin and Sudbury. Sudbury Public Library would be its centre. In December, a second OLA group met with the Minister to discuss legislation and the new grant structure. The issuance of new regulations was the most important development in 1960. W.A. Roedde had spent considerable time soliciting advice from many chief librarians to revamp the grant system. Essentially, the PLS believed, “If two factors could ever be singled out for a recipe for library progress, they might be ‘local initiative’ and ‘high standards’. We cannot obtain the latter without co-operation, but we must not sacrifice the former or our efforts will fail.”⁹⁹

The new regulations encouraged public library work by trying to equalize the ability of municipalities to pay for adequate service and by promoting the formation of larger units of service. Equalized tax assessment introduced a sliding scale based on municipal assessment and levies, for example:

- \$2,000 or more per capita = 7% percentage rate approved cost
- \$1,500 or more but less than \$1,525 per capita = 27% percentage rate approved cost
- \$1,000 or more but less than \$1,025 per capita = 47% percentage rate approved cost

- \$700 or more but less than \$725 = 59% percentage rate approved cost per capita

This grant formula employed a similar scheme used for elementary and secondary education. Increased grants for counties and regional co-operatives provided an incentive well beyond the original \$4,000 grant directed to county or district co-operatives.

The overall thrust was to encourage larger county units of service and eliminate fragmented service patterns inherent in small authorities. County services clearly required more direction. Charles Doherty, chief librarian of the Simcoe County Library Co-operative, faced typical problems. He explained to a reporter that he had little control over circulating items to his member libraries and that some libraries were only open a few hours per week to the public's detriment.¹⁰⁰ The Department contacted county councils to clarify the new system and its advantages. For most cities and towns, the movement to grants based on expenditures rather than municipal levies was a welcome change. The Minister explained the new system in the Legislature at some length on 7 April 1960. He promised to provide no less than in 1959 allowing for "non-recurring items" that might have skewed the previous system. There was some uncertainty, of course, but also an understanding that conditional grants were being scaled upward more rapidly and that the PLS was encouraging larger units of service.

In Toronto, the work of the PLS was overshadowed by Dr. Ralph Shaw's report, *Libraries of Metropolitan Toronto*, released by the Library Trustees' Council of Toronto and District in May 1960. Dr. Shaw's report did two things: it set a high standard for methodical social science research in Canadian library surveys and, more importantly, it revealed the disparity in library service across Metro's thirteen library authorities for books, reference, and financial support (Table 12: Library Service in Metropolitan Toronto, 1958). Although some cooperative steps were in place to centralize the processing of acquisitions and to establish reciprocal borrowing privileges between Toronto and other boards, Shaw made fifteen recommendations to improve integration and standards of service. Principal among these was:

- establishment of a metropolitan library board;
- no amalgamation or consolidation of local boards into a single system;
- funding by a metropolitan board for services necessary for all citizens in the greater region, e.g. reference collections and information service;
- provision for centralized cataloguing and card preparation for all libraries operated by the metro board;

- priority for development of regional branches of 100,000 volumes with specialized staff;
- development of neighbourhood branches for children's services and adult recreational and general reading be given secondary priority and bookmobile services be extended for these purposes;
- TPL to merge its reference and circulation departments into a single department with subject specialization and relocate from College Street to a new building for use by Metro residents; and
- Metro-wide use of a single card for all libraries.

The most important recommendation, a metropolitan board, would prove difficult despite the advice that there should be no amalgamation of local boards.

Dr. Shaw, following the Wallace report precedent, rejected the idea of TPL serving as a central bibliographic and reference resource for all Ontario. Further, he advised that the administrative separation of TPL's children's services should be discontinued, especially in branches. The management of libraries in schools for students by TPL was an awkward arrangement. Services for schoolchildren and young adults varied throughout the region and required new delivery approaches. Shaw judged technical services in all libraries to be slower and more expensive than necessary. When the Report came to Metro Council, the chair, Frederick Gardiner, asked Dr. Shaw how service compared to American cities. The surveyor replied that demand was "explosive."¹⁰¹ There was no denying the rapid growth of libraries, but some major social studies, such as the popular *Crestwood Heights* (1956), a veiled sociological study of Forest Hill co-authored with the former Leaside librarian, Elizabeth Loosley, had seldom made references to libraries. In fact, Forest Hill library service came under greater scrutiny and criticism when the press investigated service levels.¹⁰² For schools, the Toronto Board of Education appointed Leonard Freiser as chief librarian and established the Toronto Education Centre to support its goal of equipping schools with their own libraries. A *Globe and Mail* editorial on 11 January 1962 approved: "It must be observed only with surprise that this policy has not been in effect for decades past." However, the separate development of school libraries and children's libraries was open to criticism as needless duplication. Could not facilities and resources be shared to some extent? This question would reverberate in many contexts over the ensuing decade.

To implement the Shaw report, Metro Council set up a Special Committee chaired by Richard Stanbury in July 1960. The federated approach of centralized Metro funding for standard services and continuance of local municipal autonomy had merits. Because some library boards lagged behind

general Canadian standards, coordinated development and tax-based financing from Metro councillors were difficult issues. The *Globe and Mail* observed: “After reading Dr. Shaw’s report, the immediate reaction of Toronto politicians will be to call for an end to the free-loading of many of the smaller municipalities.”¹⁰³ By the autumn, the Special Committee was receiving briefs, not all supportive of Dr. Shaw’s conclusions. The Metro Separate School Board felt providing libraries in every school was an expensive option. When Stanbury’s committee reported to Metro Council in July 1961, it proposed the creation of a 30-member Metro library board, funding for a network of district libraries in Greater Toronto, grants to local library boards to equalize service, and payments for the operation and construction of TPL’s reference library. However, Metro Council balked at providing money without an upper-tier board controlling expenditures. The chair, Frederick Gardiner, declared, “It is either unification of the area library boards or nothing.”¹⁰⁴ When the Special Committee’s effort came forward at Council later in November 1961, its report was adopted with an amendment to form a regional board. This action effectively stalled efforts to create one because there was no unanimity on the issue.¹⁰⁵

From this point, the general swirl of metropolitan change sweeping Greater Toronto enveloped library planning. In April 1962, Albert Campbell, Scarborough’s Reeve, explained: “The basic question is how much of the local library system should be placed under a Metro form of control.”¹⁰⁶ A year later, after additional submissions and discussion, the Metro executive committee decided further study on the costs and methods of implementing a Metro system was necessary. Reeve Campbell’s question would not be answered for half a decade because the provincial government appointed H. Carl Goldenberg to head a review on Toronto governance in June 1963. His *Report of the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto* received some library briefs in May 1964, primarily from TPL. The final report reaffirmed the need for a Metro board to be composed of nine members—two Metro Council appointees, five members from local area boards, and two from Toronto school boards.¹⁰⁷ TPL responded to the report with its review of Goldenberg’s library recommendations about amalgamating local area boards and forming a metro board.¹⁰⁸ The result of this political process was eventually to meld Toronto libraries into a unique regional structure in which trustees looked to Metro Council, or a regional library board, to play the central role in planning, rather than the PLS or the Department of Education. For several years, the Shaw report remained an influential guide to Toronto library development during the first half of the sixties—the creation of a new central reference library, new district library buildings, and the development of

school libraries by the boards of education were apparent changes that could be traced to the pages of *Libraries of Metropolitan Toronto*.

With the Wallace and Shaw reports completed, there was a sense that the concept of a Toronto-centred Provincial Library, as it had existed in the 1950s, was consigned to history. Now the overall course in the Provincial Library Service was to encourage cooperative development in the northern districts, southern counties, and Metropolitan Toronto without restricting control at the municipal level. This approach did involve a certain amount of centralized decision making beyond the local level that even Angus Mowat, who had firmly believed in preserving local autonomy, reluctantly accepted in an interview after his retirement:

But I don't like it. I don't regret the faith I put in library boards. Many have proved it was justified, but there is a large residue of poor libraries that must catch up. I don't think it can be done without more central control.¹⁰⁹

Small libraries sometimes were the target of Mowat's scolding: several months later, he likened Cobourg's library building to a "dog kennel."¹¹⁰ The Department made some minor changes to amendments during the provincial legislative sittings in the early 1960s. The formation of new boards in small school sections and township school areas was discontinued in April 1962 by *The Public Libraries Amendment Act, 1961-62*. This Act permitted the establishment of county libraries where fifty percent of the municipalities representing at least 25,000 people requested it. Initial enthusiasm for county systems had been underwhelming: by mid-1962, no older co-operatives had used the touted 1959 county legislation to change status. In the north, a fourth small regional co-operative for Muskoka and Parry Sound came into being with Raymond Smith as the director working from Parry Sound.¹¹¹ This completed the northern districts in terms of establishing regional libraries.

This period of relative inaction attracted criticism. Vernon Singer, a Liberal MPP for York Centre who had served on the North York Library Board, raised the question of inadequate funding in the Legislature:

We spend these large sums teaching our young people how to learn and then lose without providing the library facilities through which they can profit from that investment. It seems to me it is just like building the power plant at Niagara Falls then using all that power that is generated to light a single 25-watt bulb.¹¹²

The press picked up on Singer's colourful analogy and the fact that the PLS had been unable to fill a position to help the Director, William Roedde, for over a year because of the inadequate salary set by the Treasury Board. Lack

of provincial leadership and weak organization was cited as the main problem holding back improvements in service.¹¹³ The PLS did publish a tentative plan for eleven regions in mid-1961, partly based on the concept of regional development associations adopted by the province after 1954. These advisory associations supervised by the Department of Economics and Development aided industrial development, tourism, and social planning over ten areas.¹¹⁴ In the early 1960s, the provincial government considered this type of regional development separate from regional government typified by Metropolitan Toronto. For the PLS, regional associations established by the government provided a framework to facilitate cooperation on a provincial scale. However, there was irregular contact between libraries and the new agencies.

John Robarts, who continued to hold the Education portfolio after he became Premier in 1961, defended his Department's record of relative inaction in mid-April 1962 after listening to an opposition member read the April 9th *Globe and Mail* article "Our Starving Libraries" into the Legislative Hansard:

I can assure the hon. members that as Minister I meet with the library associations frequently during the year. It breaks down into various sub-groups and they come in to see me. Frankly, they want more money at all times. They want more money for more libraries, more books, increased facilities. We are sympathetic to this, but there is a limit to what we can do.¹¹⁵

Bascom St. John's article on famished libraries questioned the government's commitment to support libraries in the cause of continuing education. The Premier, of course, was busily engaged for September 1962 with the introduction of the "Robarts Plan" to allow students to enter three academic streams in secondary schools. No similar tangible progress towards a provincial library study could be observed. At the joint OLA and CLA-ACB annual conferences "A for Action," held at the Chateau Laurier at the end of June 1962, the Provincial Library Committee made a last effort to persuade the government to establish a Royal Commission to study library service for all types of libraries. It requested adequate financial support, staffing, and representation from diverse library groups to allow the commission to work effectively.¹¹⁶ Louise Schryver, OLA President, summed up the general mood when she said that library service was "an also-ran in the large complexities of the Department of Education Budget."¹¹⁷ Nonetheless, the potential for change remained. When Premier Robarts formed a new Progressive Conservative cabinet later in the fall, William G. Davis became Minister of Education on 25 October. The new minister was said to be open to new ideas and new ways of doing things.

The PLS stayed its course, shepherding a bill through legislative committees at the end of 1962 to permit regional co-operatives to form in southern counties. At the same time, the Middlesex county council approved a by-law forming Ontario's first county system after considerable lobbying by trustees, local groups, school teachers and inspectors, and librarians. During the first year of operation, Middlesex introduced a single library card and began plans for more centralized services.¹¹⁸ Then, unexpectedly, on 19 January 1963, fire ruined the building on Davenport Road where the PLS was housed. About 30,000 books from the Travelling Library Service were lost, precipitating a decision to curtail its service. The era of providing pre-selected shipments to smaller libraries was passing. Later, in April 1963, *The Public Libraries Amendment Act, 1962-63*, received third reading. The long-awaited establishment of co-operative library regions in southern Ontario, a subject stretching back to the Great Depression and Mowat's forgotten postwar draft legislation, was finally a reality. As well, another amendment required boards to appoint one or more librarians and designated the head librarian as the "chief executive," effectively supporting the concept of a division between policymaking and administration. To complement this revision, June E. Munro, who joined the PLS as Supervisor of Extension Service in 1961 after Margaret Hughes' departure, published *The Role of the Library Trustee* (1962) in cooperation with CLA-ACB. This manual stressed the importance of trustee policy considerations, finances, general administrative oversight by librarians, standards of service, community liaison, and legal issues for trustees—the traditional public governance model that trustees had followed for three-quarters of a century.

Regional libraries depended greatly on knowledgeable trustees, not just encouragement from the PLS. Trustee recruitment and education was a vital element in public library development. Many trustees, such as Ruth Dickinson and Betty Butterill in Nepean Township (City View) outside Ottawa, Walter Stewart in East York, and Gladys Allison in North York, had provided dynamic leadership at the local level. Ontario trustees continued to be active in CLA-ACB's trustee section, where interchange with provincial counterparts about service levels could take place.¹¹⁹ To be effective, trustees knew public relations, liaison, lobbying, and promotion of services had to reach beyond local boundaries. Many concerns raised locally were provincial, even national, in scope.

After 1959, many Ontario libraries participated in a national effort, Canadian Library Week, during the springtime. A committee of CLA-ACB sponsored the Week.¹²⁰ At CLA-ACB's 1964 conference in Halifax, Ontario trustees were well represented and provided valuable contributions.

Scarborough's Dr. Reginald Stackhouse put in a plea for adult education, "It seems to me that we should be working in much closer harmony in developing the use of the public libraries and the expanded educational programme which every community will have to have in the very near future."¹²¹ Now trustees were charged to develop regional co-operatives, to expand and interweave the dimensions of service across the province. "The combined efforts of library trustees can do much to gain more effective legislation and better financial support at every level," a new member of the Niagara Regional Library Co-operative wrote in 1964.¹²² Experienced trustees, looking ahead to the challenges of regional work, indorsed this concept; for example, Vivien Kerr in Southwestern Ontario and Robert Steele, who had supported regionalism in Northwestern Ontario for more than a decade.¹²³ The new 1963 legislative stipulations for regional boards required more than one hundred trustees to coordinate services in the upcoming years, a substantial number to be drawn from local boards.

According to the 1963 legislation, southern regional co-operatives required a minimum 100,000 population in at least three counties. Boards were formed by ministerial approval of a petition submitted by three or more library boards in cities or towns, each having a population of 15,000 or more. The size of boards depended on the number of cities and towns over 15,000 and an equal number of elected trustees representing smaller library boards. Finally, the aims of regional boards, which had been debated for many years, were set out in legislation as follows:

1. to establish a collection(s) of reference books and other items as the basis of reference service for the region;
2. to promote interlibrary loan;
3. to determine services that might be provided by one or more libraries for a) selecting, cataloguing, processing materials, circulating, and disposal of books, b) circulating films and pictures, c) providing educational programs for adults, d) other similar services that can be provided efficiently and economically;
4. to determine the unit cost of supplying each service and approve fees to members;
5. to appoint a regional director of library service.

Before the end of the year, three regional co-operatives received ministerial approval for provincial grants ranging from \$20,000 to \$25,000: Southwestern (Essex, Kent, and Lambton counties) in May, Niagara (Lincoln, Welland, and Haldimand counties) in July, and Lake Erie (Middlesex, Norfolk, Oxford, and Elgin) in December.

Compared to county systems, the formation of new library regionals was

relatively trouble-free because the province financed them and was experimenting with regional planning concepts. For Lake Erie, Charles D. Kent, chief librarian at London, organized two meetings at London and Woodstock in late 1963 by inviting W.A. Roedde, trustees and chief librarians, school officials, and regional development officials from the Department of Economics and Development. He secured a petition and forwarded it to the PLS within two months. Kent would discover county systems were more difficult to form: Norfolk County rejected a proposed scheme despite a well-constructed campaign, "A County Library for Norfolk," by trustees in larger towns centred at Simcoe in December 1966.¹²⁴ During this period, 1965-66, in a move to decentralize decision making, the Department of Education introduced ten internal geographic administrative divisions of its own. In general, the comparative areas for development associations (renamed councils in 1966), library regions, and education field offices were relatively similar, as Table 13: Regional Schemes by the Province of Ontario shows. However, the relationship between these groupings was never clear.

William Davis addressed the provincial government's expectations at the 1963 OLA Kitchener conference. Kitchener had just opened a handsome central library in the international style with ample glass panels interspersed with stone. The new minister spoke at length about the importance of libraries as community agents. He outlined the role of the PLS as it currently existed but made no new commitment to expand it. He stressed that more effective planning was necessary to serve Ontario's shifting and growing population:

Regional library co-operatives are extensions of local or municipal control of library service. The regional is a co-operative of independent library boards; the regional board is elected by the member libraries but is assisted financially by the Province. With the successful development of several regional co-operatives, the Department of Education will consider new methods of assistance. At present our plan consists of encouraging regional development, and advising the new boards, as well as the provision of grants designed to enable relatively rapid formation of approximately twelve regional co-operatives in Ontario.

We expect that the regional boards and the director will co-operate among themselves, and will establish links with university libraries when required, as well as with the National Library. This will be the responsibility of the boards themselves, but we can see that it is in this way that proper division and co-ordination of responsibilities will develop.¹²⁵

It was clear that the Department of Education was going to direct provincial money to new regional concerns rather than local libraries or expansion of the PLS.¹²⁶ In the same speech, William Davis put to rest the idea of a Royal Commission on libraries by offering instead to finance studies under the aegis of the OLA. The eventual outcome of the Premier's offer was the St. John Report released in February 1966.

The Sixties: Cultural and Societal Changes

Debates surrounding library planning, reports, and professional credentials did not entirely appropriate the library agenda in the first half of the sixties. In terms of physical infrastructure, communities continued to erect major libraries and expand older ones at a rate of 2-5 per year (see Table 14: Major Public Library Openings, 1960–66). Often, there was little sympathy for the heritage aspects of older libraries. Kitchener demolished its Carnegie after 1962. Orillia covered over the facade of its Carnegie exterior with glass and white bricks. One passing landmark was Boys and Girls House, demolished in 1963 to make way for a modern structure to house the Osborne Collection and the Lillian H. Smith Collection.¹²⁷ Year by year, events were supplanting the familiar image of postwar Canada. For many Canadians, the unifying themes inherent in Arthur Lower's *Colony to Nation*, a popular 1946 history text, were too Anglo-Canadian in tone and exaggerated the centrality of self-government.

There was a vibrancy in national life and challenge to deep-seated principles that made the decade of the 1950s appear staid by comparison.

- 1960: Liberals, led by Jean Lesage, defeat the Union Nationale in Quebec's provincial election to initiate the Quiet Revolution.
- 1961: the New Democratic Party is formed from the Commonwealth Co-operative Federation with the support of the Canadian Labour Congress at its Ottawa convention.
- 1962: the Supreme Court of Canada rules *Lady Chatterley's Lover* not to be obscene in March because "undue exploitation of sex" was not the book's dominant feature.
- 1963: the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism is appointed in July to study the dual nature of Canadian society.
- 1964: publication of Marshall McLuhan's *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* popularizes "the medium is the message" and "hot and cool," which makes the author an international figure.
- 1965: the Maple Leaf flag is unfurled on 15 February, replacing the Red Ensign; George Grant's *Lament for a Nation* becomes a bestseller; and John Porter's *Vertical Mosaic* exposes inequalities

- in Canada.
- 1966: Parliament passes the Medical Care Act that extends universal coverage of hospital and doctors' services to all Canadians. *Time Magazine* publishes an article in April, "Is God Dead?"
 - 1967: Expo 67 officially opens on 27 April 1968 with 90 pavilions representing the theme "Man and His World."
 - 1968: the Royal Commission on the Status of Women conducts public hearings across Canada for six months.
 - 1969: Parliament passes the Criminal Law Amendment Act to liberalize abortion, contraception, and divorce; to decriminalize homosexuality; and to regulate lotteries.

The sixties marked the passing of Victorian-era morality, the rapid growth of educational systems, the decline of religious belief and church attendance, and heightened Canadian nationalism supported by government cultural initiatives, such as the Ontario Arts Council (est. 1963). Public librarians had abandoned edifying Victorian values and were fully embracing a responsive service ethic combined with new views about the library's positive social roles.

Marshall McLuhan's controversial ideas posited that all technologies were the extensions of people and invited differing rates of participation. Print, radio, and movies were "hot." Telephones and television were "cool" because they demanded more participation by users to determine meanings. Newspapers and books stimulated the visual sense, permitting readers to explore a diversity of subjects. McLuhan's "Global Village" suggested the world was becoming a single community connected by electronic media that would supplant print culture: "Instead of tending towards a vast Alexandrian library the world has become a computer, an electronic brain."¹²⁸ Yet, in many ways, the theorist was an advocate for print culture. He had been optimistic about its prospects when he spoke on the "Future of the Book" at OLA's 1956 Oshawa conference. Book habits, rather than books themselves, were in danger. Were libraries "hot or cool?" Did they have a place in an electronic culture?¹²⁹ As the speed of sociocultural change quickened, public views of communications, morals, and nationalism were undergoing repeated revision.

The sense of Canadian nationalism inherent in the idea that Canada was an English-speaking and French-speaking country with primarily British ties was fading. By 1965, the power of Canada's political and economic elites was coming under scrutiny by academic works such as the *Vertical Mosaic* and by popular books, for example, Pierre Berton's *Comfortable Pew*. Quebeckers were completely rethinking federalism and nationhood. Lorne Pierce, director of Ryerson Press, declared, "The Commonwealth and Crown connection is almost irrelevant to the half-hearted search for identity" in his *A Canadian*

Nation. There was dissatisfaction with Canada's meager literary achievement and status. Pierce found it shocking to record the nation's public libraries had only 87 books for every 100 persons.¹³⁰ George Grant's cerebral *Lament for a Nation* drew attention to the fact the conservative political tradition in Canada had not only lost vitality, but Canada itself might cease to exist in a liberal, capitalist, technological age dominated by the USA. Many nationalists believed American continental dominance endangered Canadian culture.

Although the Canada Council stimulated national culture, American business communications and publications were prevailing in the consumer marketplace and library shelves. Canadian works fared poorly compared to international contributions. William Toye, an editor and children's author, informed his Windsor audience during Young Canada's Book Week, 1960, that "we have a long tradition of second-rateness behind us."¹³¹ The international homogenization of lifestyles ties was evident in the ascendancy of pop-rock and folk music. By 1966, TPL's Kipling Room for teenage readers had been transformed into a student reference centre. Children matured at an earlier age, parents were more permissive, and teens more independent. An accomplished storyteller-librarian in Toronto, Alice Kane, noticed this reality.

In these latter days when change has settled on everything the story hour has changed too. Almost all the librarians I have talked to report the same thing. Some of the enthusiasm has gone and what is more the older boys and girls have gone. Imperceptibly, week by week their numbers dwindle until the librarian faces, on a Saturday morning, a sea of very young faces.¹³²

For many, the pace of change within the library seemed speedier; but for library administrators, perhaps not fast enough.

In Ottawa, seven years after passage of the National Libraries Act, federal funding for a new library building remained in limbo. A 1959 Dominion Day editorial by the *Globe and Mail* criticized delays and restated the obvious: "The library is needed in the life of this country, and there can be no library in any real sense until there is a building with shelves to put books on, where people can get at them." There were always other national priorities; indeed, the Canadian economy suffered a major recession in 1953-54, followed by lesser ones in 1957-58 and 1960-61. It seemed Ottawa considered support for cultural activities to be a low priority: it was cultural boosting at a snail's pace. CLA-ACB vigorously began to lobby the federal cabinet and Prime Minister in 1960-61 by issuing two essays as *And Canada's National Library?* in March 1961. The Association argued that the proper development of staff and collections languishing in Ottawa storage facilities was not feasible without a

central building. Consequently, the national integration of resources, research, and bibliographical coordination was unduly delayed. In June 1962, at the joint OLA and CLA-ACB Ottawa conference, delegates urged Prime Minister John Diefenbaker to allocate money for the project.¹³³ Finally, in May 1963, the federal government awarded a ten-million-dollar contract to complete a building on Wellington Street before Canada's centenary. By any measure, the struggle for a National Library after 1945 was not an easy victory.

Relaxed standards regarding controversial literature reached a flashpoint in 1961. When the Department of National Revenue realized an American version of Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* was circulating in Canada, it moved to search and seize copies. Toronto Public Library's chief librarian, Harry Campbell, at first refused to turn over library copies to the RCMP before board trustees discussed the matter. A *Globe and Mail* editorial scoffed, "A more futile waste of the RCMP's time would be hard to imagine." After the board decided to comply with the RCMP order, it received considerable criticism in the press and from the Toronto Board of Education. Because *Tropic* had never received a hearing in court, the *Toronto Star* complained that libraries ought not to be judging and refusing books based on "hearsay." Going a step further, a *Globe and Mail* reader struck to the heart of book selection and evaluation by countering: "I question the qualifications of any librarian to decide what the adults of a given area shall read and what they shall not read. I also question the qualifications of any member of the staff, including the Minister of the Department of National Revenue, to decide what the adults of this country shall read and what they shall not read."¹³⁴

Nevertheless, censorship disputes continued. William Burrough's *Naked Lunch*, a novel of drug addiction, received approval from the Ontario Attorney-General's advisory censorship panel in 1963 after it had been seized at bookstores by Metro's morality squad. TPL maintained its copies throughout this controversy.¹³⁵ By this time, the climate of censorship was decidedly more liberal. In 1959, Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* was removed from the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, and no further additions to the *Index* would be made after deliberations at the Second Vatican Council (1962-65). In March 1962, the Supreme Court of Canada narrowly ruled (by 5-4) *Lady Chatterley's Lover* not to be obscene because, on balance, it was a serious work of literature. After this verdict, the Department of National Revenue instructed its customs officers to stop only those books already judged obscene by the courts. How would libraries respond to this important social change?

On the national library stage, CLA-ACB's Council published a short statement that affirmed the library's role in maintaining intellectual freedom in March 1963.¹³⁶ This announcement was followed, eventually, at CLA-ACB's

Calgary conference in June 1966, by the adoption of an intellectual freedom statement by the general membership. This action would form the basis for subsequent revisions by the national association. The most immediate and positive outcome of these controversies in Ontario was OLA's decision to have its Intellectual Freedom Committee prepare a statement on intellectual freedom for adoption at the Kitchener conference in 1963.

There was little fanfare about the OLA Statement on Intellectual Freedom, but it marked a new era in thinking about censorship issues in Ontario's libraries.¹³⁷ It provided library boards with a framework, which was non-binding, to develop local policies on collection development and to defend contentious purchases. In line with shifting contemporary attitudes on social responsibility, it evoked a different approach to censorship, free expression, and advocacy by librarians and trustees. No longer would it be sufficient to guard community standards. A more proactive approach was necessary to allow freedom of expression for authors and the circulation of unconventional materials. The public, not librarians, would judge the morality of an author's work. OLA adopted the following points unanimously:

- 1) The provision of library service is based on the right of the citizen, within the limits of the law, to judge for himself on politics, religion, and morality;
- 2) librarians are responsible to maintain this right and implement it in the selection of materials, subject to laws governing the suppression of treasonable, seditious, and obscene literature;
- 3) freedom of the press requires freedom to examine other ideas and interpretations than those currently approved by the local community or by society, including unpopular and unconventional ones;
- 4) freedom of the press requires a writer's freedom to depict ugly, shocking, and unedifying ideas made with serious intent;
- 5) free traffic in ideas and opinions is essential to the health and growth of a free society;
- 6) libraries should resist any attempt by any individual or group to abrogate or curtail freedom to read by demanding the removal of materials from the library;
- 7) libraries should ensure that selection of materials is not unduly influenced by the personal opinions of its selectors but is determined by the application of generally accepted standards of accuracy, style, and presentation.¹³⁸

The OLA statement arrived several months before police in Richmond Hill and Toronto seized John Cleland's *Fanny Hill* at the end of 1963 and the start of 1964. The novel made a long transit through the court system until December 1964 when the Ontario Supreme Court ruled *Fanny* not obscene.

The search for Canadian identity and relaxed standards spurred demands for diversified reading material. At the municipal level—in city neighbourhoods, suburbs, and bookmobile stops in agricultural, mining, and lumbering areas—many languages were spoken. The OLA had first investigated reading for New Canadians in the 1930s. Postwar immigration was changing the Canadian Mosaic. The demand for reading materials had grown and diversified. Toronto moved to organize its Foreign Literature Centre materials in 1957 by appointing Mary Finch to head its core collection at the Queen and Lisgar branch. In 1959, TPL, with assistance from the Atkinson Foundation, launched a systematic survey of west-central Toronto between Jane-King-Spadina-St. Clair. Published in 1960, *Toronto Speaks*, by Dr. Andrew Kapos, disclosed that the use of libraries among immigrants was less than native-born citizens. Like many Canadians, watching television was the main leisure-time activity of new arrivals. A great variety of mother tongues included Italian, German, Ukrainian, Yiddish, Polish, Hungarian, and Greek. As one outcome, TPL assisted the CBC with local television programming for “Let’s Speak English” to reach out to Torontonians unfamiliar with English. Another outcome was the upgrading of its Languages and Literature Centre to house 90,000 items at the new Parkdale branch. When it opened in January 1964, TPL made the Centre’s books available to everyone in the country via inter-library loan.¹³⁹

The Kapos report documented the need, in part, for older TPL branches, for example, Earlscourt, to cope with the changing multicultural composition of many Toronto neighbourhoods. Mary Finch and Josephine Phelan, Earlscourt’s librarian, began directing a program of films, readings, exhibits and other attractions for the large Italian community along St. Clair Ave. West.¹⁴⁰ Phelan was well acquainted with promoting library services to New Canadians, having been involved with a program to speak to almost 3,000 newcomers at evening classes in fall 1956 when she worked at TPL’s Bloor and Gladstone branch. Even before the recognition of a “third force” by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism later in the decade, it was apparent that the influx of immigrants of non-British or non-French origin was altering Canadian demographics ushering in a multicultural society, a mosaic, which accepted ethnic diversity. In other Ontario centres, libraries started foreign-language collections after the mid-1950s, for instance, books in Dutch at Chatham and German and Polish books in “Steel Town.”¹⁴¹ Traditional public library service to encourage English among New Canadians was one focus of the 1950s; the 1960s would finally bring the realization that multilingual collections and services should cater to a variety of different needs, not just English-language training.

Collections and services were more prevalent for Francophones. Ottawa's reference department was an encouraging example where good service in French dealt with questions ranging from Beatniks to Ecumenical Councils. Even smaller, exceptional association libraries, such as Stoney Point on the south shore of Lake St. Clair, could offer bilingual services and books when the community supported the library trustees.¹⁴² Even so, the overwhelming reality of unilingual English service and collections was all too apparent to many French-speaking Ontarians. The OLA did not make a submission to the Bi and Bi Commission, relying on the CLA-ACB brief presented in 1964. The national association made four recommendations about improving intercultural service by asking for \$5 million federal aid for translation of authors, Canada Council support, and a School of Translation.¹⁴³ However, the days of CLA-ACB as a bilingual national organization itself were numbered. With the growth of the Association Canadienne des Bibliothécaires de Langue Française to represent Francophones, CLA became an English-speaking organization by 1969, effectively acknowledging two national bodies.

There were many communities of identity to serve in the sixties. Throughout the postwar period, Richard Crouch, who retired from London in 1961, had championed the provision of cultural content, new formats, and active programming through work with individuals and organizations.¹⁴⁴ Now the idea of the 'library in the community' was expanding to identifiable groups of interest or disadvantaged readers unable to reach the library. In Brantford, Joyce King and Jean Easton began to provide regular delivery of books to shut-ins in 1954. This initiative became an emerging 'outreach' activity. In the first year, the library distributed 600 books; more than 8,000 books were in circulation by 1960. Their regular stops included two homes for the aged.¹⁴⁵ Hamilton's Barton Street library, the last major branch renovation planned by Freda Waldon before her retirement in 1963, served as the hub for shut-in services beginning in 1955. TPL's Felicity Ludlow organized and headed the city's Travelling Books Program in 1956 that delivered books to seniors' residences, chronic care hospitals and shut-ins at home.¹⁴⁶ In Ottawa, Claude Aubry and the Central Volunteer Bureau had organized a library service at the start of 1960.¹⁴⁷ However, a systematic provincial plan did not develop. A representative of OLA attended workshops and conferences sponsored by the Ontario Society on Aging from time to time, but there was no formal linkage for library programs. In the rest of Ontario, library services tailored for seniors barely existed. A study of Wellington County conducted in 1958 found that only 16% of the elderly used public libraries. The reported elderly potential was much greater: 39% in rural areas, 38% in urban places, and 35% in group homes replied they would read books if they were delivered to them. Because

there was no Wellington County library co-operative in existence with a bookmobile, the report suggested book delivery schemes using “books by mail,” individual volunteers, or groups, such as the Boy Scouts in Guelph.¹⁴⁸

Often, the attention of trustees and librarians was focused on core reference services and innovative computer ‘information retrieval’ methods to cope with a veritable “information explosion.” At the Toronto Education Centre, Leonard Freiser foresaw a time when computers would supply students with the information for their assignments. Pupils would not “look up their subject in a library catalogue.”¹⁴⁹ A University of Toronto librarian predicted that future clients would become more self-sufficient in computerized applications and need not travel to the library to obtain the information they required.¹⁵⁰ At CLA-ACB’s twentieth annual conference, held in Toronto with an attendance of eight hundred, the theme was “New Directions for Canada’s Libraries.” University of Toronto President, Claude T. Bissell, spoke about the changing intellectual environment, the growth of the “knowledge industry,” and faster transmission of knowledge.¹⁵¹ In the heightened Cold War atmosphere, scientific, technical, and engineering literature assumed more importance for military-industrial and educational expenditures. Canada became the third country to launch a satellite, Alouette 1, in 1962. As well, medical and biotechnology research was expanding the sphere of health care and exploration of human biology. Discussions on ‘big science’ or the ‘military-industrial complex’ easily identified the conjunction of scientific research, government, and large corporations. In Ottawa, the library of the National Research Council gradually assumed the *de facto* role of a national science library after Dr. Jack Brown succeeded Margaret Gill as NRC librarian in 1957. By 1959, an agreement was struck with the National Library for the NRC library to serve the Canadian scientific community. This role expanded after two reports authored by Beatrice V. Simon (1964) and George S. Bonn (1966) stressed the need for a national medical bibliographic centre, a central science library, and improved science library networking.¹⁵² Effectively, by the early 1960s, there were two national libraries at Ottawa, a situation wartime library briefs had not envisaged.

The demand for science materials in public libraries ranged through all age groups and all the major fields of scientific inquiry, especially medicine. OLA’s Reference Workshop Section published an informative piece on medical libraries in early 1962 by Olga Bishop from the University of Western Ontario. Recognizing a further need, the *Ontario Library Review* devoted its entire May 1962 issue to “Science” with articles ranging from books for children, science fiction, Toronto’s expanding science collection at its central library, to the NRC library’s role. The NRC was working to produce the

revised *Union List of Scientific Serials in Canadian Libraries* using punched cards for input, the first national list produced by a computer. Dr. Brown urged public librarians to pay more attention to scientific collections and utilize cooperative systems to borrow books, provide photocopies of articles, and locate materials through union lists.¹⁵³

Building adequate science collections for public consumption was a costly proposition. Science and technology were two fields, each with a vast literature. Even the largest of Ontario's public libraries, Toronto's reference library, could fall short: its science offerings were judged second to Vancouver when TPL did an extensive survey of its central library subject holdings by the American library consultant, Lee Ash, in 1966-67.¹⁵⁴ The establishment of reliable, automated information systems was a complicated matter of national planning requiring adequate funding and cooperative use of collections across Canada.¹⁵⁵ An OLA Reference Workshop report from 1964 showed most Ontario public libraries were ill-prepared to offer extensive reference or information. They lacked seating, photocopiers, microform equipment; and usually did not have dedicated reference staff specializing in a range of subjects.¹⁵⁶ The report documented the following situation based on the population for fifty-five public libraries:

<i>Population and No. of Libraries</i>	<i>Libraries Reporting</i>	<i>Reference Organization and Specialization</i>
Under 50,000 (31)	25	Part of circulation & same staff
50,000 to 150,000 (10)	5	Separate dept. with own staff
Over 150,000 (7)	4	Subject dept. with separate reference staff
Over 150,000 (7)	3	Part of circulation dept.

In these circumstances, specialized information service for the public, especially in the realm of science, was seldom possible.

On a national and provincial scale, lack of information on library services often hindered plans for advancement or responses to societal change. The CLA-ACB's "Program of Inquiry" in 1960-61 and its subsequent limited impact were symptomatic of this problem. The national survey was an ambitious effort to collate data on all types of libraries and activities across the country. But much information remained difficult to interpret or use. For example, findings by the Canadian Association of Children's Librarians were discouraging. Elaine de Temple, head of children's services in Ottawa, received only 290 survey replies from 880 libraries. She summarized the national survey as follows:

One fact was revealed most clearly; the immediate need for more professional children's librarians. The statistics show that 134 professional librarians are engaged in full-time work with children in only 49 library systems. 156 libraries have no full-time professional children's librarian on their staff. There is also a definite book shortage. Approximately 35% of the libraries reported less than 2000 volumes in their collections.¹⁵⁷

When CLA-ACB members discussed the results at the St. Andrews, New Brunswick, conference in summer 1961, it was evident extensive work was necessary to further the cause of library service. Over the next half-decade, the Association tried to further its public library standards, lobby for federal assistance, and promote planning. But, in Ontario, the national program of inquiry was eclipsed by other concerns, especially data processing, staffing, education standards, and a provincial study of libraries.

By the early 1960s, libraries were introducing different methods of processing and circulating materials by mechanical and computerized methods borrowed from business applications. A symbolic (but practical) gesture was a name change for the Ontario Regional Group of Cataloguers, first formed in 1927. In 1962, this OLA section revised its constitution to become the Ontario Resources and Technical Services Group. The new title indicated the separation in larger libraries of public and technical services staff, improved standards of cataloguing led by the Library of Congress for computerized Machine Readable Cataloging records (MARC), the possibility of centralized processing, and the emergence of machine-aided work in circulating departments. Libraries were beginning to transcend mechanization and engage tentatively with the next step, automation, which featured computer applications. In this way, new work processes and computerized systems would reduce labour requirements and increase efficiency. Perspectives on library automation stretched back to the mid-1950s. OLA had held a work simplification symposium at its 1954 Kitchener conference where the use of photo-charging equipment, the Recordak machine, to provide speed and efficiency in circulating departments was confirmed by the London and Windsor libraries that had begun installing equipment in autumn 1952.¹⁵⁸ These were early efforts before technology became more specialized.

In January 1958, the CLA-ACB hosted a seminar at McGill University on the use of machines for information retrieval and library routines featuring Dr. Ralph Shaw, an acknowledged expert in the burgeoning field of 'documentation.' C.D. Kent spoke about the potential application of notched or punched cards to keep track of 750,000 circulations and 36,000 registered readers—the

most extensive list of names of any London public agency. Documentalists supplied citations and responses to client queries, usually in the sciences. TPL was a natural choice to experiment with these new techniques. Harry Campbell addressed the potential to enhance public reference for indexing and data retrieval systems at TPL. He foresaw the promise of access to collections and information on a broad basis.¹⁵⁹ Later, with the advance of mainframe computing, he offered a TPL bibliographic databank as a provincial resource by outlining the costs of potential systems and staffing to undertake a pilot project.¹⁶⁰ At CLA-ACB's annual conferences in the mid-1960s, there were presentations on library automation and discussions on 'Library 21,' a futuristic ALA exhibit at the 1962 Seattle World's Fair on an 'electronic library' highlighted by a UNIVAC computer. The forecasts were for fundamental changes for library collections, which would be linked to national information resources. In-house tutorial instruction on library terminals would assist users in identifying their sources. There would be 24-hour access by remote terminals from user's homes or offices linked with professional assistance to pursue complex requests. Paper copies of documents would replace interloans.¹⁶¹ These were visionary technological prospects.

When Dr. Shaw's report on Metropolitan Toronto raised the possibility of centralized cataloguing and card preparation, it caught the attention of some Ontario librarians. Current mechanized card production of typed catalogue data on master sheets allowed for offset printing of card sets to be filed in several catalogues. TPL's head of technical services, Albert Bowron, proposed the formation of a Co-operative Library Book Processing Centre in 1961 using mechanical equipment and Library of Congress catalogue slips to order, process, and distribute books to member libraries on a contract basis for about 50 cents a volume. A follow-up proposal by TPL's Mary Shortt to streamline new acquisitions outlined how publishers' samples in a book centre could be evaluated within ten days and then ordered using Canadian publishers and agents.¹⁶² These types of schemes were already operating in Europe and the United States. A 1961 study noted that "medium-sized and large public libraries in Ontario have been the traditional bastion of library purchasing from the Canadian publishing houses," although some use of foreign book jobbers was justified by delays in delivery and higher pricing by Canadian agents.¹⁶³ Improved Anglo-American cataloguing standards, record formats, and computer applications were available by the mid-1960s following the development of MARC. The use of these operations and services offered potential efficiencies and economies. As well, the new Canadian Book Publishers' Council (1962), which began to streamline sales between educational texts and trade books, now better represented Canadian publishers.

Mechanization, automation, and the scientific aura of work simplification had human resource implications. Automation spurred the need to clarify job classification and the distinction between professional and clerical work. In parallel with the formation of the Institute of Professional Librarians, a new OLA section for clericals met first in 1958 at OLA's Kingston conference. Within a year, a Library Clerical Assistants' Section formed: its objects were to promote and improve standards of library clericals; assist professional staff; and secure training leading to the certification of clericals.¹⁶⁴ Its executive was drawn from principal libraries, such as London, Hamilton, and Windsor, and it stressed training opportunities. This section soon grew to be one of the largest OLA groups with almost 100 members. Questions about in-house clerical training, certification by the Department of Education, the use of terminology such as "non-professional," "clerical assistant," and "library technician," as well as potential diploma training programs were raised at meetings during its first years because the PLS had suspended its training programs for D and E certificates in 1960. To address these issues, in 1962, an OLA Library Training Clerical Committee surveyed libraries to investigate the educational attainment and number of clerical staff. It recorded 580 workers in public libraries, some with degrees.¹⁶⁵ The nature of their work was considerable. College training programs for paraprofessionals were difficult to establish: in 1962, there was only one Canadian program offered at Winnipeg.

In 1964, the PLS reintroduced the D certificate program for approximately 25 applicants with Grade 12 graduation and six years of experience.¹⁶⁶ This was a small step for many currently employed clericals who were seeking advancement. Classes immediately filled up. It was not necessary, however, to complete the courses to receive a D certificate. The new departmental Certification Board created in 1961 also considered the D certificate applicable to librarians holding the British F.L.A. without a degree and for librarians holding a B.A. plus a diploma from an unaccredited library school course of less than one academic year. Obviously, a more satisfying solution was needed to satisfy hundreds of staff, especially younger people entering libraries. IPLO conducted a useful survey of educational needs for technicians and their employment experience using data from American and Canadian provinces outside Ontario before the first two-year library technician program opened at Lakehead University in 1966.¹⁶⁷ After this development, the Department of Education ceased issuing the D and E certificates established initially in 1946. In their place, after 1965, the Certification Board introduced Class 1 and Class 2 certificates for the new community college library technician programs which were being offered.

Interest in the division between clerical and professional work took place

amidst attempts by IPLO to pursue special legislation to confer licensing powers and self-regulation as a professional body. It was perceived that “Only through evaluation and examination of ourselves as librarians, and a group with legal status to speak for us as an entity, will we receive the necessary recognition as a profession.”¹⁶⁸ IPLO achieved one of its aims in 1961 when it got a representative on the new Certification Board established by the Dept. of Education. However, its legislative achievements were limited. Ultimately, the *Institute of Professional Librarians of Ontario Act, 1962-63*, a private member’s bill by Allan F. Lawrence, a Progressive Conservative from Toronto, did provide a few measures for librarians in search of professional status and regulation. This April 1963 legislation enabled IPLO to elect a board of not less than eleven members from its membership. The Act ensured the right of members to use the designation R.P.L., Registered Professional Librarian. IPLO could control the entry of its members through qualifications or examinations, develop professional programs, and establish a code of ethics. Ethical standards could influence provincial and national norms, although librarians did not have to be IPLO members to work in Ontario. One important issue the private member’s bill did not address was collective bargaining.

Many librarians began to realize that the newly formed Canadian Union of Public Employees (est. 1963) was the most likely source of progress for bargaining. CUPE was a relatively decentralized “white-collar” federation, and its locals possessed more autonomy—they could elect their executive officers, establish rates for dues, and conduct their own negotiations. Although the Ontario Public Service gained bargaining rights in 1963, IPLO’s main concern rested with honing its strategy to achieve professional social recognition and advancement.¹⁶⁹ It organized successful autumn workshops at Geneva Park on Lake Couchiching in successive years, 1963-64, on the role of professional librarians in society. Prominent speakers, such as David Lewis and John Crispo, spoke about labour relations and the role of professional organizations to represent their members and develop standards.¹⁷⁰ They were familiar with new developments in federal and provincial labour law, such as Ontario’s retirement scheme for municipal employees. They encouraged IPLO to be more aggressive about self-regulation and bargaining on behalf of its members. But this was a road not taken by IPLO’s executive because it wished to expand membership before returning to the Legislature on these issues.

At this point, IPLO also turned to educational development. Graduate programs for librarians were under study by the Presidents of Provincially Assisted Universities and Colleges in 1964-65 [later known as the Council of Ontario Universities] because “an adequate supply of librarians is second only in importance to an adequate supply of teaching staff.” Both Toronto and

Ottawa library schools required additional support, and there was the potential for the establishment of a new library school.¹⁷¹ IPLO made representations to a Sub-Committee on Librarianship under Dr. George Whalley, Queen's University.¹⁷² The subcommittee, which included IPLO members, affirmed the BLS as a necessary degree for all types of libraries and the need for expanded Master's programming for specialized subjects. It advocated the establishment of a research centre for Information Science and, ultimately, doctoral programs. It also questioned the advisability of proposed diploma courses for library assistants; instead, it recommended in-service training.¹⁷³ An IPLO member, R. Brian Land, the new Director at the University of Toronto Library School following Bertha Bassam's retirement in June 1964, influenced the subcommittee's determinations by two memorandums that included the future provision of studies on 'information science' and for doctoral programs.¹⁷⁴

Education for librarianship and library employees was in rapid transition in the 1960s. The discipline of Information Science, which was undergoing a transformation from Documentation, required librarians with a humanities background to consider more specialized courses, such as information retrieval or data processing because librarianship accepted a broad definition of the term 'information.' Higher educational attainment was becoming imperative because of staff shortages and automation. Centralized technical services, mechanical aids to efficiency in circulation, and computerized operations offered the promise to release more professionals for direct public service. Bertha Bassam had guided the Library School in Toronto through major curriculum reforms of the 1950s by introducing Canada's first MLS program. Nevertheless, most graduates chose the BLS program until its discontinuation in 1970. Although program quality was not in doubt, library enrolments did not keep pace with demand. Consequently, staff shortages, a recurrent theme of the 1950s, continued. Retirements, better opportunities elsewhere, and low salaries all combined to plague the recruitment efforts of administrators.¹⁷⁵

Now, with the expansion of universities, there was an opportunity to enlarge the program for librarianship within the University of Toronto or develop a new school at the University of Western Ontario.¹⁷⁶ Financing by the Department of Education for Toronto's Library School ended in July 1965 when a University of Toronto bylaw created the School of Library Science as a teaching unit. The school's departure from the Ontario College of Education building on College Street ended a thirty-seven-year affiliation. Ontario's new colleges of applied arts and technology were in the planning stage; the first, Centennial College, opened in fall 1966. Often, revised position classifications introduced library technicians to new opportunities, such as reference service, previously the domain of librarians. By 1970, when the Canadian Library

Association organized a library conference at Thunder Bay, much work previously considered “professional” in public and technical services was becoming the responsibility of technicians.¹⁷⁷

Towards the St. John Survey and Bill 155

Amid the kaleidoscope of shifting societal attitudes sweeping through education, lifestyles, and social services, plans for Ontario public libraries commenced a decade before moved to a conclusion. The OLA accepted William Davis’ offer of financial assistance and formed a Research Committee in 1964 under John Parkhill, head of TPL’s reference library, to consider study options for the province. After reviewing the scope of a provincial survey, the committee chose Francis R. St. John, formerly director of the Brooklyn Public Library and a respected American library consultant, to conduct a provincial-wide study of all library types. St. John began his work in January 1965 and provided an update in May to 700 conventioners at OLA’s Niagara Falls meeting. The consultant emphasized the need for cooperative development. As St. John proceeded in 1965, the PLS worked to revise legislation based on eliminating less relevant clauses (e.g. the free library rate, free library status, and local plebiscites to establish libraries), abolishing association libraries, and elaborating the emerging regional and county schemes. Five more regional co-operatives commenced operation in 1964-65: Lake Ontario (Jan. 1964), Midwestern (April 1964), Eastern Ontario (Feb. 1965), South Central (May 1965), and Central Ontario (July 1965). The southern regional co-operatives, notably Lake Erie, were experimenting with inter-library loans, resource centres, and the creation of county systems.¹⁷⁸ These activities were deemed essential to the progress of Ontario’s library system.

The promotion of larger units was a key factor. For example, at Owen Sound in the fall, 1964, the Association of Ontario Counties scheduled a morning session on county libraries to update officials on new developments, especially in Middlesex, now under Frances Whiteway’s direction.¹⁷⁹ Five more county systems had organized after Middlesex proved to be successful: Haliburton and Oxford in January 1965; and Elgin, Essex, and Wentworth in January 1966. Haliburton County was an entirely new system with a small population base of less than 10,000; its main centres were small villages, such as Minden, and it had few library resources to develop with a smallish annual budget of just over \$10,000. To provide adequate services, Haliburton contracted with the district high school board and the Victoria County Library Co-operative to provide staff, locations, and books. Despite these difficulties, proponents judged this smaller county system to be a step forward.¹⁸⁰

The St. John survey was eagerly anticipated by public librarians, trustees and the PLS. The expansion of formal education programs was accelerating after William Davis assumed the additional responsibility for the new Department of University Affairs in mid-1964. Public library service was always a minor concern within the Department of Education; now, its size and scope were tiny compared to other education agencies and the revamped post-secondary sector. School library development was receiving considerable attention. When a restructured departmental organization was announced in January 1965, the PLS was grouped with a Special Schools and Services Branch (schools for the deaf and blind and community programs). Previously, the PLS had reported directly to a Deputy Minister; now, it reported through a Branch Director to an Assistant Deputy Minister.

University library funding was also receiving attention. Under the leadership of J.W.T. Spinks, the new University Affairs department began studying university graduate programs. These studies came at a time shortly after university and college librarians formed their own Section in OLA in 1963 with Lorna Fraser as the first president. When the Spinks Commission reported in November 1966, it issued recommendations on library development, starting with an investment of \$9 to \$10 million.¹⁸¹ These findings were similar to other national studies conducted by Edwin Williams (1962) and Robert Downs (1967), showing that Ontario's university libraries were deficient for graduate education.¹⁸² In 1965, the Ontario Council of Regents for Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology became responsible for advising the Minister on programs of instruction and libraries for the newly established colleges. One CAATs program of particular interest was diploma library technician training on campuses at Algonquin, Seneca, St. Clair, Niagara, and Cambrian that could address concerns about staff shortages.¹⁸³

Francis St. John's work was the comprehensive study of libraries in schools, universities, special, and public libraries that OLA had sought for a decade. The report was a singular milestone in large-scale library planning in Ontario, but it was delayed, not being publicly launched until 14 February 1966. It excluded federal government libraries, for which it was criticized, but advocated the establishment of depository libraries to receive provincial government publications. The major trends that had appeared in the early 1960s—regionalism, coordinated provincial planning, and service to smaller libraries in rural areas—were emphasized in sixty-three specific recommendations.¹⁸⁴ The report recommended the encouragement of larger regional units (p. 37-39) and that provincial grants be directed to regions solely. Association libraries (122 in existence in 1965) were to be dissolved and their assets acquired by new regional library boards (p. 32-34). Small

boards in school sections and police villages were also abolished and control transferred to library boards established by the municipality in which the former boards were situated. The task of centralized processing for all libraries (public, school, university) within a region was assigned to the youthful regional library co-operatives (p. 43-51). Each regional system would have a reference centre responsible for information resources within the region (p. 52-58). A 1964 OLA group that identified strong collections across the province had studied this concept previously; it had proposed reference queries, interloan of books, and referrals be additional resource centre tasks.¹⁸⁵

Within the Department of Education, St. John advised the consolidation of all library functions in a single "Library Division" where the PLS, public libraries, elementary and secondary schools, universities and colleges, and government libraries would integrate their work and develop plans (p. 19-21). The Travelling Library service was to be eliminated (p. 13-15), and the PLS upgraded with more staff. The report made scant reference to children's services, which a long-time St. Catharine's librarian declared were in "a sad state of affairs" on a national basis.¹⁸⁶ St. John returned to the idea of TPL serving as a provincial resource centre and receiving provincial funding for this task (p. 59-61). No more county library co-operatives could be formed; it was assumed their assets would eventually be transferred to stronger county library boards. Provincial direction would improve after creation of a new Ontario Provincial Library Council (OPLC) to make recommendations to the Minister respecting the development and coordination of library service (p. 22-24). The initial press reaction to the report acknowledged that Ontario had fallen from the ranks of library leadership. It was a shock to some; to others, a crisis was afoot.¹⁸⁷ When OLA met in Ottawa to discuss St. John's findings in April, it endorsed and amplified many recommendations, although the president criticized the report's focus on organization, not service delivery.¹⁸⁸

William Davis immediately announced that provincial funding would be increased 50% to \$5 million, a new Public Libraries Act would be introduced in the legislature, another supervisor would be added to the PLS, and that the journalist, J. Bascom St. John, would head up a committee to study the recommendations. The Minister relied on policy advisors because the department was expanding rapidly. Each year new programs, new funding formulas, and new administrative agencies were reshaping Ontario's educational system. The sweeping consolidation of smaller school boards begun in 1964 was in progress. The first major revision of the elementary curriculum since 1937 was underway. The Department of Education was about to examine all aspects of education in a Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education, the Hall-Dennis Committee established in 1965. The

concept of “open education,” whereby students learned on their own progress rather than adhering to standardized grade steps, was on the march.

With the tremendous expansion of schools and post-secondary education, an era in public library-school library cooperation was ending. Elementary and secondary school libraries were administered outside the PLS, although many public libraries had developed services for schools since the 1930s. County co-operative bookmobile school visits and deposits had proliferated to almost 4,000 classrooms by 1960. Elgin County, for example, attended to more than a hundred schools. Now, counties that served rural township school sections were phasing out bookmobile services because of school centralization. Some urban libraries operated small branches and classroom deposits in elementary schools. Belleville, a small city of 30,000, administered about 12,000 volumes for 8 school branches and 50 classroom sets in addition to children’s work at the main library.¹⁸⁹ Efforts to combine public libraries in school facilities, such as the experiment in Toronto Township that William Davis officially opened at Meadowvale in May 1965, often were unsuccessful and short-lived.¹⁹⁰

Standardization for school libraries began with the work of a departmental school library standards committee in conjunction with OLA.¹⁹¹ In 1963, *Planning Secondary School Libraries in the Province of Ontario* appeared. By 1966, the Ontario Teachers’ Federation published *School Library Standards*. The Department produced its *Library Handbook for Elementary Schools in Ontario* (1967) to guide new teacher-librarians and *Library Resource Centres for Elementary Schools* (1968) to assist planners. In February 1964, Barbara Smith left her PLS position as Supervisor of Children’s Library Service to become Supervisor of Elementary School Libraries within the Department’s elementary schools division. It was a year before Irma McDonough, from TPL’s Parkdale branch, filled the PLS children’s position. The familiar partnership between elementary schools and children’s libraries in towns and cities; county bookmobile service to small rural classrooms; and travelling library boxes from PLS to isolated schools, initially forged of necessity during the Depression, was drawing to a close.

All these developments guaranteed that a principal recommendation of the St. John report, the consolidation of library services into one central agency within the Department of Education, was highly unlikely. There was also another serious impediment to regional library plans. Following a series of studies across the province in 1965, a Select Committee on the Municipal Act and Related Acts, chaired by Hollis Beckett, recommended larger regional units of municipal government with counties as the smallest component. Regional library co-operatives ran counter to the Beckett Committee’s philosophy of centralized local government control. The first regional

government study, *Ottawa, Eastview and Carleton County Local Government*, appeared in June 1965 while the St. John study was progressing. It reported that libraries were an “area-wide concern” to be administered by a regional council, not local boards. After the Goldenberg Commission report for Metro Toronto was submitted, the government introduced Bill 81 to amend the *Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act*. This Act included the creation of six area library boards—Toronto, North York, Scarborough, Etobicoke, York, and East York as well as an upper-tier regional metropolitan board of nine members. Bill 81 determined an entirely separate course for the Toronto area and passed through the Legislature in May 1966.

On 7 June 1966, William Davis rose in the house to introduce Bill 155, a completely revised *Public Libraries Act, 1966*: “It [the St. John report] recommended that legislation be provided for an Ontario provincial library council and advisory council and that provisions for regional library service be improved. We have accepted these recommendations and followed certain other recommendations in the report.” He described the four main sections:

- the powers and responsibilities of library boards;
- the role of the newly designed 23-member OPLC to develop and coordinate service under the Minister’s control;
- the role of the 14 regional library co-operatives with Metro Toronto included in current amendments to the Metropolitan Toronto Act;
- strengthened county libraries.

At second reading, the Liberal from Brant, Robert F. Nixon, criticized Bill 155 because there was no section on centralized processing of materials. The Minister replied no legislation was required; it was more a matter of funding and organization. Three new university libraries (Trent, Guelph, and Brock) and two University of Toronto regional campuses (Scarborough and Erindale) were already participating in a successful computerized processing scheme to provide them with books and book catalogues. The University of Toronto library administered the groundbreaking project. Donald MacDonald, the NDP leader, reviewed St. John’s criticisms of Ontario libraries with the comment that the “limited increases in library grants” were scarcely enough to improve the situation. At third reading, MacDonald made a prescient observation:

What puzzles me about this section of the Act is the fact that the government this year has begun to pay lip service to the proposition of developing regional governments and moving toward decentralization in that great Design for Development [announced on 5 April], and yet here you have still another area of public administration in which the grants are going to be given to small library boards—so small they are in violation of what the experts say is a viable operative

unit in a library—instead of giving it to the regional library, which can then engage in a process of consolidation and placing the money where it might be most effective.¹⁹²

There was no discussion about one new section (s. 29) which enabled an Indian band to form a board and to operate a public library. County legislation essentially included some minor amendments and remained as it had in 1959 (sec. 47-53). On 8 July, the Lieutenant Governor, W. Earl Rowe, gave Royal Assent, noting that the Libraries Act had been completely reorganized.¹⁹³

The new Act eliminated some prominent vestiges of the past—the need for local plebiscites to establish libraries (1882), the requirement to be a British subject (1905), the voluntary Library Association form of governance (1909), and the minimum per capita library rate of 1920. The PLS would continue to play a limited leadership role. The major duties of the Director of PLS were to supervise the operation of the Act, to promote and encourage the extension of service, to serve as nonvoting secretary of the Ontario Provincial Library Council, and oversee grant regulations (sec. 30-32). The onus for planning fell to the new OPLC and regional boards. The legislative sections on regional boards were brief, considering their assigned functions (sec. 37-40):

1. one trustee appointed by public library boards in municipalities in excess of 15,000 people in the region;
2. one trustee appointed by each county board in the region;
3. if the total of clauses 1 and 2 was less than nine trustees, the Minister could appoint sufficient members to form a board not to exceed nine members; and
4. if the total of clauses 1 to 3 was less than nine trustees, more members could be elected by other library boards in the region to form a board of nine members.

The term of office was for one year, limited to five consecutive years. Boards could have more than nine members but the traditional size was favoured.

The board of the OPLC (sec. 33-36) consisted of nine members appointed by the Minister and one member appointed by the board of each region. The term of office for Ministerial appointees was set at six years, the term for regional appointments at one year. The OPLC normally had twenty-three members, and its representative character was mostly geographic. There was no formal mandate or directives for the OPLC in the legislation. The council was to meet at least three times a year and make recommendations to the Minister “with respect to the development and co-ordination of library service in Ontario” based on regional plans submitted to it or committees it might strike. The regional system boards had broad objectives (sec. 44):

1. to establish a collection of reference books and other items as the basis of reference service for the region;

2. to promote interlibrary loan and other means to further efficiency and coordination of service;
3. to establish a central service and determine services that might be provided by one or more libraries for a) selecting, ordering, cataloguing, processing materials, b) providing an advisory service, c) providing educational programs for adults, d) providing educational programs for library personnel, e) other similar services;
4. to charge fees for supplying any library service and determine costs;
5. to undertake responsibilities for providing interlibrary loan and other services throughout Ontario with Ministerial approval; and
6. to appoint a regional director of library service who was not an employee of another board.

These powers presented policy challenges, e.g. in the field of adult education where Ontario libraries were providing specific courses and programming (lectures, meetings, etc.) for 5,724 and 473,839 persons respectively in the mid-1960s.¹⁹⁴ The ground rules for regional boards were vague: the transaction of budgets, formal planning of services, and consultation necessary between member boards were not specified. Municipalities could contract for services or help finance a regional board, but, except for Metro Toronto, most funds would come from the Province.

Doubts were expressed immediately about the suitability of legislation regarding regional systems and the viability of the OPLC.¹⁹⁵ The powers given to regional boards did not match their funding, less than a million dollars in 1965 for a province of six million people. No integration of library service across educational sectors advocated by St. John was planned. The OLA's Provincial Library Committee, meeting in April 1966 at Ottawa, specified roles for the OPLC—advising on legislation, establishing standards for regional service, making grants, conducting research, and establishing a provincial reference service and central processing service.¹⁹⁶ But the OLA had little influence at this point. It was assumed, after William Davis said further amendments would be made after the OPLC was formed, that the Council's role might be better delineated. With the formation of the last two regional boards, Georgian Bay in April 1966, and Metropolitan Toronto in 1967, fourteen regional systems were in place. One new system, Midwestern, commissioned St. John to develop a plan to guide its trustees, who began discussing his recommendation as early as June 1966. St. John recommended the board hire a director, contract with Kitchener for central reference resources, establish a separate headquarters in the same city, and conduct a vigorous public relations campaign to establish county libraries.¹⁹⁷ It was an ambitious undertaking. All the regional systems faced similar tasks.

CHAPTER 5 NOTES

1. Alberta Letts, "The Provincial Libraries in Nova Scotia," *OLR* 38, no. 3 (Aug. 1955): 154-58.
2. CLA Public Library Standards Committee, *Suggested Standards of Service for Public Libraries in Canada* (Ottawa: CLA, 1955).
3. Ontario Library Association, *The Need for a Provincial Library* (Toronto: OLA, 1955), reprinted as Appendix D in W. Stewart Wallace, *Report on Provincial Library Service Ontario* (Toronto: Dept. of Education, 1957), 52-57.
4. W. S. Wallace, *Report on Provincial Library Service in Ontario*, 7.
5. Joseph B. Rounds and Keith Crouch, *Urban, Regional and County Public Libraries* (Ottawa: CLA, 1956).
6. Martha Shepard, "The Union Catalogue," *OLR* 40, no. 1 (Feb. 1956): 21.
7. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Survey of Libraries, 1952-54*, 22-23 (table 13 and 14).
8. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 10 March 1955, 670.
9. "Doomed as a Relic, Library Still Thrives," *Globe and Mail*, 3 April 1961: 4.
10. M.A.C. [Mildred A. Clow], "Kingston Librarian Retires," *OLR* 34, no. 1 (Feb. 1950): 13.
11. Robert H. Blackburn, "Winifred Glen Barnstead, 1884-1985," *Focus (OLA)* 11 (Sept-Oct. 1985): 16-17; and Freda F. Waldon, "W.G.B.: A Personal Reminiscence," *OLR* 35, no. 3 (Aug. 1951): 203-05.
12. "Sarnia Librarian Retires," *OLR* 38, no. 3 (Aug. 1954): 220.
13. Adele M. Fasick, Margaret Johnson, and Ruth Osler, eds., *Lands of Pleasure: Essays on Lillian H. Smith and the Development of Children's Libraries* (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1990); Charles R. Sanderson, "Well-known Librarian Retires," *OLR* 36, no. 2 (May 1952): 74; and "Valued Librarian Retires," *Globe and Mail*, 5 April 1952: 6.
14. Anne Hume, "The Public Library and the Community," *Quill & Quire* 14 (Aug. 1948): 19-21, 28; (Sept. 1948): 37-40; and (Oct. 1948): 16-18.
15. William Deacon, "The Fly Leaf," *Globe and Mail*, 25 June 1955: 10.
16. For this period see Phil Jenkins, *The Library Book* (Ottawa: the Library, 2002), 42-54.
17. Angus Mowat, *Report [Public Library Service in Ottawa]* (Toronto: Dept. of Education, 1954), 26-27.
18. See Stephen Cummings, "Angus McGill Mowat," 290-95 for this episode.
19. Claude Aubry, "The Shopping-Centre Branch Library," *OLR* 45, no. 1 (Feb. 1961): 17.
20. Toronto Public Library, *Reading in Toronto 1956* (Toronto: TPL,

1957), 47-56 for the memorial service conducted by Lorne Pierce; and "Charles R. Sanderson, F.L.A.," *CLA Bulletin* 13 (Oct. 1956): 69-70.

21. "City's Chief Librarian," *Globe and Mail*, 25 July 1956: 4; and Betty Stapleton, "The New Deal in Libraries: A Happy Place for Children," *Toronto Daily Star*, 20 Sept. 1968: 61.

22. Ryan Taylor, "Mabel Dunham's Centenary," *Waterloo Historical Society Annual Report* 69 (1981): 13-25.

23. See Lorne Bruce, "Professionalization, Gender and Librarianship in Ontario, 1920-75," *Library and Information History* 28, no. 2 (2012): 117-34 for efforts to achieve recognition for professional status on a provincial basis.

24. Toronto Public Library, *Reading in Toronto 1957*, 27.

25. Elizabeth Spicer, *Our Odyssey*, 25-27.

26. John George Althouse, "The Status of the Librarian," *OLR* 27, no. 3 (Aug. 1943): 310-12.

27. Robert A. Farquharson, "Librarians: The Forgotten Profession," *Saturday Night* 67 (30 Aug. 1952): 11, 28.

28. Dorothy B. Chatwin, *Investigation Report on Library Education* (Ottawa: CLA-ACB, 1955), 6-7.

29. Philip McLeod, "The Library Schools: A Modest Proposal," *OLR* 37, no. 4 (Nov. 1953): 235-36.

30. "Report of the Professional Committee," *OLR* 39, no. 3 (Aug. 1955): 141-42.

31. J.G. Althouse, "The Price of Professional Organization," *Ex Libris News* 17 (Spring 1995): 13-16; Elizabeth Magee, "Librarianship as a Profession," *OLR* 39, no. 2 (May 1955): 69-73; and John Wilkinson, "A Division of Labour," *OLR* 41, no. 2 (May 1957): 87-88.

32. See Charles D. Kent, *A Short History of the Institute of Professional Librarians* (London: LPL and Art Museum, 1962), 18-34.

33. "Librarianship," *Feliciter* 3 (Feb. 1958): 43-51.

34. See Elizabeth Hulse, *The Morton Years*, 40-41; and John Marshall, "Victoria: In the Fullness of Time," *Ex Libris News* no. 26 (1999): 2-4.

35. Angus Mowat to Frances Whiteway, 22 December 1958; Angus Mowat fonds, Western University, box 1877, item 1379. Frances (Gowan) Whiteway became chief librarian at Middlesex County Library.

36. Angus Mowat to C.W. Booth, Deputy Minister, 29 December 1958; Angus Mowat fonds, box 1877, item 1488.

37. "Institute of Professional Librarians," *OLR* 42, no. 3 (Aug. 1958): 159-62.

38. Angus Mowat to Frances Gowan, 26 September 1957; Angus Mowat fonds, box 1877, item 1357.

39. Bernard A. Ower, "Report on British Library Education," *Feliciter* 3 (Feb. 1958): 17-41.

40. See Canadian Library Association, *Information on the Certification of Librarians* (Ottawa: CLA, 1961), 8-12.

41. Angus Mowat, "Children—A Dangerous Gap," *OLR* 38, no. 4 (Nov.

1954): 299-300.

42. Committee on Children's Recreational Reading in Ontario, *Survey of Recreational Reading Habits of Ontario School Children* (Toronto: the Committee, 1955), 14-15; and "Blames Students' Homes for Poor Reading," *Toronto Daily Star*, 5 March 1955: 6.

43. Report for Port Perry, November 24th 1958, Inspection Diaries, 623-25; Angus Mowat fonds, Western University, box 1875.

44. "She'd Run the Bobbsey Twins out of School Libraries," *Toronto Daily Star*, 24 Jan. 1964: 1, 4; "The Bobbsey Twins Are Just Garbage, Library Board Told," *Globe and Mail*, 24 Jan. 1964: 1; and Margaret Beckman, "Why Not the Bobbsey Twins?" *OLR* 48, no 3 (Aug. 1964): 148-50.

45. "Library Board Shows Sense," *Toronto Daily Star*, 14 October 1955: 6. Also, "Flesherton Critic Fails to Win Approval for Library Purge," *Globe and Mail*, 7 October 1955: 45. Seton's *Katharine* eventually was released as an audiobook.

46. "Indecent Books, Comics Catholic Women's Target," *Toronto Daily Star*, 28 October 1955: 14; "CWL Revises Blacklist," *Star*, 16 Nov. 1955: 3; "A Job for Parents," *Star*, 17 Nov. 1955: 6; and "CWL Group Asks Booksellers Not to Display 'Objectionable' Pocket Books," *Quill & Quire* 21 (Nov. 1955): 11-19.

47. Daniel Braithwaite, *The Banning of the Book "Little Black Sambo" from the Toronto Public Schools, 1956* (Toronto: Overnight Typing and Copy Company, 1978).

48. See Sidney Katz, "Jim Crow Lives in Dresden," *Maclean's Magazine*, 1 November 1949: 8-9, 51-52; and S. Katz, "Maclean's Revisits Dresden," *Maclean's Magazine*, 18 January 1958: 3.

49. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 14 February 1956, 224.

50. "Appreciation: Dorothy M. Reid," *In Review: Canadian Books for Children* 1, no. 4 (Autumn 1967): 5-7; and "Profile: Claude Aubry," *In Review: Canadian Books for Children* 1, no. 3 (Summer 1967): 5-6.

51. "Intellectual Freedom Committee," *OLR* 40, no. 3 (Aug. 1956): 148. See also File: Intellectual Freedom Committee—minutes, Ontario Library Association's action groups, etc. files, Ontario Library Association fonds, F 1195-8, box 33, AO, for the committee's work before 1972.

52. Peter Stursberg, "What Is Obscene Book?" *Toronto Daily Star*, 11 March 1957: 6; and Bruce MacDonald, "Find Peyton Place 'Shocking' But Won't Bar It from Canada," *Star*, 12 April 1958: 8.

53. A.M. Beattie and Frank Underhill, "Sense and Censorship: On Behalf of Peyton Place," *CLA Bulletin* 15 (July 1958): 9-12 and 13-16.

54. "Disputed Book Taken Off Essex Stands; 'North Frederick' Still in Libraries," *Windsor Daily Star*, 20 Feb. 1957: 3, 6; and "Book Seller Freed on Obscene Literature Count," *Windsor Star*, 22 May 1957: 3, 6.

55. "The Hidden Dissuaders: *Lolita* and the Libraries," *Quill & Quire* 25 (Jan.-March 1959): 23-24, 29.

56. Pierre Berton, "Toronto Public Library's Sterling Stand against Censorship," *Toronto Daily Star*, 6 March 1959: 25; and Robert Fulford, "Paper Attacks Libraries," *Toronto Daily Star*, 28 Feb. 1959: 30.

57. Arthur Hammond, "Circulating What?" *OLR* 44, no. 4 (Nov. 1960): 217-21.

58. "Intellectual Freedom Committee," *OLR* 43, no. 3 (Aug. 1959): 182.

59. Robert Fulford, "'No Fuss' Censorship Obscenity Panel Aim," *Toronto Daily Star*, 19 May 1960: 37.

60. Peter F. Grossman, *Library Service in New Brunswick* (Fredericton: New Brunswick Dept. of Education, 1954).

61. George C. Noble, *Public Library Service in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Dept. of Education, 1955).

62. Wallace, *Report on Provincial Library Service*, 26.

63. C.W. Booth memorandum to Angus Mowat, 2 December 1956; File: Dept. of Education 1956, Correspondence Files of Director of Provincial Library Service Branch 1939-69, Dept. of Education, RG 2-229, box 2, AO.

64. W.A. Roedde, "The Northwestern Regional Library Co-operative," *OLR* 41, no. 3 (Aug. 1957): 205-06.

65. Angus Mowat memorandum to C.W. Booth, 26 June 1957; File: Dept. of Education 1957, Correspondence Files 1939-69, RG 2-229, box 2, AO.

66. Angus Mowat to C.W. Booth, 30 April 1957; File: Dept. of Education 1957, Correspondence Files 1939-69, RG 2-229, box 2, AO.

67. Angus Mowat memorandum to C.W. Booth, 16 January 1957; and 15 May 1957; File: Dept. of Education 1957, Correspondence Files 1939-69, RG 2-229, box 2, AO.

68. Angus Mowat to Grace Hampson, 31 January 1958; File: Renfrew County Library—Proposed, Correspondence Files 1939-69, RG 2-229, box 1, AO. Other records in the file document unsuccessful follow-up efforts in 1959.

69. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 12 March 1957, 998.

70. Toronto Public Library, *Reading in Toronto 1957*, 2-3; "Library Grants May be Boosted," *Globe and Mail*, 9 March 1957: 5; and Meeting notes with C.W. Booth, Angus Mowat, and Superintendent, Business Administration, 8 April 1957; File: Dept. of Education 1957, Correspondence Files 1939-69, RG 2-229, box 2, AO.

71. [Eileen Weber] to Angus Mowat, 4 Dec. 1956. File: Niagara Falls Public Library, Public Library Boards Correspondence, RG 2-230, box 1, AO.

72. Ethel Dewar, "Cornwall's New Library," *OLR* 40, no. 3 (Aug. 1956): 161-64.

73. Angus Mowat to C.W. Booth, 7 January 1957, and 6 May 1957; File: Dept. of Education 1957, Correspondence Files 1939-69, Dept. of Education, RG 2-229, box 2, AO.

74. Angus Mowat to C.W. Booth, 25 July 1957; File: Dept. of Education 1957, Correspondence Files 1939-69, RG 2-229, box 2, AO.

75. Recommendations printed as an insert in the *Report* distributed in

spring 1958. Mowat's 17-page departmental review provided a detailed projection for a 3-year \$98,500 regional demonstration centered at Kirkland Lake: see Angus Mowat, *The Wallace Report on Provincial Library Service in Ontario* (Toronto: Public Libraries Branch, c.1957).

76. J. Katharine Greenfield, *Hamilton Public Library 1889-1963*, 107-110; and F. Waldon, "More Than a Branch," *Library Journal* 82 (Dec. 1957): 3050-51.

77. "Library Annex Unveiled before 200 Spectators," *Windsor Daily Star*, 4 Oct. 1957: 5-6.

78. George Banz, "Libraries," *Canadian Architect* 7 (Feb. 1962): 42-44.

79. "Governor General Opens Ottawa Addition," *OLR* 42, no. 1 (Feb. 1958): 92-93; and Betty Hardie, "Alderwood Branch Library," *OLR* 42, no. 1 (Feb. 1958): 93-95.

80. Frank Teskey, "Foundation Helps Bishop Serve 1,000-mile-wide Parish," *Toronto Daily Star*, 19 March 1952: 21A.

81. Stephen Cummings, "Angus McGill Mowat." 315-23; Grace Crooks, "James Bay Public Library, Moose Factory," *OLR* 43, no. 1 (Feb. 1959): 23-26; W.A. Roedde, "Taking Books Into Northern Ontario," *Globe and Mail*, 10 April 1959: 6; and Brendan Frederick R. Edwards, *Paper Talk: A History of Libraries, Print Culture, and Aboriginal Peoples in Canada before 1960* (Toronto: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 149-53.

82. Angus Mowat to C.W. Booth, 23 July 1958 and Angus Mowat to C.W. Booth, 3 September 1958 in File: Dept. of Education 1958, Correspondence Files 1939-69, RG 2-229, box 2, AO.

83. Memorandum 'Report of a library institute' by W.A. Roedde to C.W. Booth, 20 November 1958; File: Dept. of Education 1958, Correspondence Files 1939-69, Dept. of Education, RG 2-229, box 2, AO.

84. S.D. Neill, "The Library on Wheels on Wheels," *OLR* 45, no. 1 (Feb. 1961): 5-8 describes Northeastern's bookmobile travels.

85. Louise Schryver, *Blue Print for Library Service in the Kent-Chatham Region* (Ottawa: CLA, 1958), 14-27. Oakville-Trafalgar Joint Library Boards, *Library Expansion Programme* (Oakville-Trafalgar: the Boards, 1960), 5-10.

86. "North York Public Library, Gladys Allison Building, Metropolitan Toronto," *JRAIC* 36 (Dec. 1959): 412-17; for Graff's progressivism, see Reginald A. Rawkins, *North York Public Library*, 21-46.

87. Henry Campbell, "Toronto Builds an Extension," *Library Journal* 84 (1 Dec. 1959): 3706-08.

88. Edith G. Firth, "Basic Principles for Developing a Local History Collection," *OLR* 47, no. 2 (May 1963): 36-40.

89. Canadian Library Association, *Standards of Service for Public Libraries in Canada* (Ottawa: CLA, 1957).

90. Ontario Library Association, Special Committee on Library Legislation, *Library Legislation and Regulations Background Material*, partially reprinted in *OLR* 43, no. 3 (Aug. 1959): 186-92.

91. "Provincial Library Committee," *OLR* 43, no. 3 (Aug. 1959): 184.
92. "Special Committee on Library Legislation," *OLR* 43, no. 3 (Aug. 1959): 186-92.
93. "Richmond Hill Public Library, Ontario," *Canadian Architect* 7 (Feb. 1962): 45-46.
94. See James King, *Farley: The Life of Farley Mowat* (Toronto: Harper Flamingo, 2002), 173-76.
95. See Stephen Cummings, "Angus McGill Mowat," 305-12.
96. Roberta W. Wilson. "Angus Mowat: Civil Servant," *OLR* 44, no. 2 (May 1960): 65-66.
97. John P. Robarts, "Public Libraries and the Department of Education," *OLR* 44, no. 3 (Aug. 1960): 125-28.
98. Ontario Library Association, *Brief Submitted to the Minister of Education, April 1960* (Toronto: OLA, 1960), reprinted in *OLR* 44, no. 3 (Aug. 1960): 164-66.
99. W.A. Roedde to G.L. Duffin, 20 March 1959, Memorandum: Report on the proposed revision of provincial grant regulations; File: Legislation, Correspondence Files 1939-69, Dept. of Education, RG 2-229, box 1, AO.
100. Vincent Devitt, "Book Habit Hard to Cultivate in Rural Areas," *Globe and Mail*, 24 April 1961: 7.
101. "Library Service Poor in Metro?" *Toronto Star*, 8 June 1960: 8.
102. Stanley Westall, "Rocking the Village Boat," *Globe and Mail*, 28 Nov. 1960: 7.
103. Stanley Westall, "Library System Held Inadequate," *Globe and Mail*, 10 May 1960: 7.
104. "No Petty Cash for Libraries," *Globe and Mail*, 10 Oct. 1961: 7.
105. "Report No. 1 of Special Committee to Study and Report on Survey of Library Services in Metropolitan Toronto" was adopted as amended by Metro Council on Nov. 28, 1961: Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, *Minutes*, 2455-2471. *The Report of the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto, 1965* (Toronto: Royal Commission, 1965), 65-67 reaffirmed the need for a Metro board.
106. "Library Report Not Acceptable, Campbell Says," *Globe and Mail*, 14 April 1962: 5.
107. Ontario, *Report of the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto, 1965*, 65-76.
108. "Preliminary Brief of the Recommendations of the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto as they Affect Public Libraries," File: Toronto Public Library, Public Library Boards Correspondence Files, Dept. of Education, RG 2-230, box 2, AO.
109. Vincent Devitt, "Single Experimental County Library Proposed," *Globe and Mail*, 25 April 1961: 7.
110. "Angus Mowat Deplores Town Library as a 'Dog Kennel'," *Cobourg Sentinel-Star*, 24 Jan. 1962: 1.
111. Raymond A. Smith, "'Ex Boreas semper aliquid novi'," *OLR* 47, no.

4 (Nov. 1963): 140-41.

112. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 27 March 1961, 2588.

113. Vincent Devitt, "Finds Lack of Leadership Delaying Library Advance," *Globe and Mail*, 20 April 1961: 7.

114. W.A. Roedde, "Provincial Library Service—What Is It?" *OLR* 45, no. 3 (1961): 165-68; and W.A. Roedde, "Regional and Public Library Development in Ontario," *Municipal World* 74 (Nov. 1964): 370-72.

115. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 16 April 1962, 2410.

116. *Proceedings of the Ontario Library Association, 1962*, 27-29.

117. Louise Schryver, "A for Action," *OLR* 46, no. 3 (1962): 146-49.

118. June E. Munro, "Middlesex County Public Library—A Demonstration," *OLR* 48, no. 2 (May 1964): 78-81.

119. Helen Harris, *A Lordly Task: What Constitutes Good Library Service* (Ottawa: CLA, 1959).

120. Peter Revell, "Canadian Library Week—a Grassroots Operation?" *Quill & Quire* 31 (March-April 1965): 18-20, 22, 24; and Ruth F. Thompson, "Canadian Library Week," *Canadian Library* 24 (1967): 252-53.

121. Quoted in *Librarians! Trustees! Mutual Opportunities for Progress* (Ottawa: CLA, c. 1964), 32-33. Also see Vivien Kerr, "How Effective is Library Liaison with Government Bodies," appendix 14-15.

122. R.M. Beddington, "Joint Action—Trustees and Librarians," *OLR* 48, no. 2 (May 1964): 82-84.

123. Robert R. Steele, "Why Regional Conferences of Trustees?" *OLR* 49, no. 1 (Feb. 1965): 8-10.

124. For Lake Erie see File: Regional Development—General—Libraries, Regional Development Program Correspondence and Subject Files, Ontario Department of Economics and Development, RG 9-80, AO; and see File: Norfolk County—Proposed, Correspondence Files 1939-69, Dept. of Education, RG 2-229, box 1, AO.

125. William G. Davis, "Community, Regional and Provincial Library Service," in *OLA Proceedings, 1963*, 1-5.

126. W.A. Roedde, "The Regional Library Co-operative in Ontario," *OLR* 47, no. 4 (Nov. 1963): 137-39.

127. *A Chronicle of Boys and Girls House and a Selected List of Recent Additions to the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, 1542-1910, and The Lillian H. Smith Collection, 1911-1963* (Toronto: TPL, 1964).

128. Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press; 1962), 32.

129. Sam Neill, "Books and Marshall McLuhan," *Library Quarterly* 41 (Oct. 1971): 311-319; and Henry Campbell, "Are Libraries Hot or Cool?" *Wilson Library Bulletin* 41 (May 1967): 911-12.

130. Lorne Pierce, *A Canadian Nation* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1960), 19.

131. William Toye, "Complacency or Urgency?" *OLR* 45, no. 1 (May 1961): 97-99.

132. Alice Kane, "The Changing Face of the Story Hour," *OLR* 49, no. 3 (Aug. 1965): 141-42; and Barrie Zwicker, "Teen-age Dating Rendezvous Switches to Data Retrieval," *Globe and Mail*, 1 June 1966: 5.

133. "PM to See Delegation Urging Library Start," *Ottawa Citizen*, 29 June 1962: 3.

134. "Tropic of Cancer," *Globe and Mail*, 30 Oct. 1961: 6; "Book Banning by Hearsay," *Toronto Star*, 30 Nov. 1961: 7; and *Globe*, 1 Nov. 1961: 6.

135. "Naked Intimidation," *Globe and Mail*, 25 July 1963: 6.

136. "This Freedom," *Canadian Library* 19 (March 1963): 329-30; and "Intellectual Freedom [Statement]," *Canadian Library* 23 (Nov. 1966): 193.

137. "Censorship Opposed by Librarians," *Globe and Mail*, 30 May 1963: 8.

138. "Draft Statement on Intellectual Freedom," in *OLA Proceedings, 1963*, 13.

139. Leonard Wertheimer, "Languages and Literature Centre at the Service of Canada," *ORL* 48, no. 3 (Aug. 1964): 156-57.

140. Henry Campbell, "New Canadians Tune in to the Public Library," *Unesco Bulletin for Libraries* 17 (March-April 1963): 63-64; Josephine Phelan, "A Programme for the Italian Community," *OLR* 47, no. 4 (Nov. 1963): 168-70; and Josephine Phelan, "The Library and the New Canadian," *OLR* 41, no 2 (May 1957): 85-86.

141. For Dutch books see *OLR* 38, no 1 (Feb. 1954): 14-17; for German *OLR* 38, no. 3 (Aug. 1954): 224-38; and Polish *OLR* 38, no. 4 (Nov. 1954): 324-29.

142. Augustus M. Long, "Bilingualism in the Reference Department of the Ottawa Public Library," *OLR* 47, no. 1 (Feb. 1963): 15-16; and Nancy Sutterfield, "Bi-Lingual Association Library Moves to its Own Building," *OLR* 46, no. 1 (Feb. 1962): 20.

143. "Brief of the CLA-ACB to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism & Biculturalism," *Canadian Library* 21 (May 1965): 422-29.

144. C.D. Kent, *Richard E. Crouch: Man Ahead of His Time* (London: London Public Library and Art Museum, 1962), 24-30.

145. Joyce King, "Library Service for Shut-ins," *OLR* 39, no. 3 (Aug. 1955): 175; and "Special Book Service Is Aiding Shut-Ins," *Globe and Mail*, 16 June 1960: 20.

146. Alan Barnes, "Pioneering Librarian Felicy Ludlow Helped Shut-ins," *Toronto Star*, 19 April 1985: A20; and Felicy Ludlow, "Library Service to Hospitals and the Handicapped," *OLR* 53, no. 2 (June 1969): 60-65.

147. "CVB Institutes Library Service for 'Shut-Ins'," *Ottawa Citizen*, 9 January 1960: 21.

148. Vernon S. Stevens, *The Aging Population of Wellington County* (Guelph: Ontario Agricultural College, 1959), 31; and J. Bascom St. John, "Library for Older People," *Globe and Mail*, 10 June 1960: 6.

149. Betty Stapleton, "'Brain' to Dig Up Student's Facts," *Toronto Daily*

Star, 4 March 1964: 52.

150 Ritvars Bregzis, "The Library—from Books to Information," *JRAIC* 43 (Feb. 1966): 37-40.

151. Claude T. Bissell, "Libraries in the Life of the Nation," *Canadian Library* 22 (Sept. 1965): 78-83.

152. Beatrice V. Simon, *Library Support of Medical Education and Research in Canada* (Ottawa, 1964) and George S. Bonn, *Science-Technology Literature Resources in Canada* (Ottawa, 1966).

153. Olga B. Bishop, "Notes on Reference Work in a Medical School Library," *OLR* 46, no. 1 (Feb. 1962): 43-44; and Jack E. Brown, "Science Literature and the Public Library," *OLR* 46, no. 2 (May 1962): 69-72.

154. Lee Ash, *The Scope of Toronto's Central Library* (Toronto: TPL, 1967), 31-34.

155. Henry Campbell, "National Planning for Canadian Science and Social Science Information Systems," *Library Trends* 17 (1969): 280-88.

156. Ontario Library Association Committee for the Survey of Ontario Reference Services, *Report. A Survey of Reference Services in Ontario Public Libraries, May 1964* (Toronto: OLA, 1964), 7-8.

157. *The Present State of Library Service in Canada: A Program of Inquiry for 1960/61* (Ottawa: CLA-ACB, 1960-61), part IA, 85-87.

158. Gladys Shepley, "Work Simplification in Public Libraries: Photographic Charging," *OLR* 38, no. 3 (Aug. 1954): 206-08; and Lyn Tovee, "All's Well That Ends Well," *OLR* 37, no. 3 (Aug. 1953): 182.

159. *New Methods and Techniques for the Communication of Knowledge; Proceedings of the Documentation Seminar at McGill University* (Ottawa: CLA, 1958), 74-76; and Henry C. Campbell, "Application of New Documentation Methods at TPL," *Feliciter* 3 (Oct. 1957): 28-30.

160. Henry Campbell, "A Proposal for a Bibliographic Bank for the Province of Ontario," *Feliciter* 11 (Dec. 1965): 7-12.

161. Marjorie Griffin, "Automation in Libraries: A Projection," *Canadian Library* 23 (1967): 360-67.

162. A.W. Bowron, "Central Processing for Ontario Libraries," *OLR* 45, no. 2 (May 1961): 100-03; and Mary Shortt, "Book Order—Horse and Buggy or Jet Age?" *OLR* 47, no. 1 (Feb. 1963): 5-8.

163. Ronald A. Hagler, *The Selection and Acquisition of Books in Six Ontario Public Libraries in Relation to the Canadian Publishing System* (Ottawa: CLA, 1961), 164-84.

164. "Library Clerical Assistant Section," *OLR* 43, no. 3 (Aug. 1959): 203-04; and Jean Ross MacMillan, "Can More So-Called Professional Duties Be Handled by Clericals?" *OLR* 41, no. 3 (Aug. 1957): 222-23.

165. *Proceedings of the Ontario Library Association, 1962*, 22-24.

166. W.A. Roedde, "Training for Library Assistants," *OLR* 48, no. 1 (Feb. 1964): 8-9.

167. *Library Technicians: A Study Commissioned by the Institute of*

Professional Librarians of Ontario (IPLO, c. 1965).

168. Louise Schryver, "Professional Librarians in Ontario," *Felicitier* 5 (Feb.-Mar. 1960): 17-19.

169. For strategies of professionalization, see Margali S. Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1977) and Andrew D. Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1988).

170. See "Report of Geneva Park Workshop [1-3 Nov. 1963]," *IPLO Newsletter* 5, no. 2 (Dec. 1963): 1-8.

171. "The Supply of Librarians; A Report to the Presidents of the Provincially Assisted Universities of Ontario from the Presidents' Research Committee, 5 Feb. 1964" (Toronto: the Committee), 1-4.

172. John Marshall, "Education for Librarianship—Challenge and Response," *OLR* 49, no. 4 (Nov. 1965): 186-88.

173. "Report to the Presidents' Research Committee by the Sub-Committee on Librarianship, 26 March 1965" (Toronto: the Cmte.), 14-19.

174. Brian Land, "Education for Librarianship; A Memorandum Prepared for the Ontario University Presidents' Research Committee Subcommittee on Librarianship, 15 Oct. 1964" (Toronto: IPLO); and "Library School Curricula; Memorandum to Members of the Sub-Committee on Librarianship of the Ontario University Presidents' Research Committee, 25 March 1965" (Toronto: IPLO).

175. Betty Hardie, "Bertha Bassam Retires," *OLR* 48, no. 2 (May 1964): 61-62. For shortages, see "As Important as Schools," *Globe and Mail*, 1 March 1958: 6; "Canadian Libraries and Problems of Staff Recruitment: Further Comments," *Library Review* 17, no. 5 (1959): 321-30; J. Bascom St. John, "Libraries Face Staff Shortage," *Globe*, 31 May 1960: 7; and *Survey of Libraries: Part III: Library Education, 1960-1965* (Ottawa: DBS, April 1966).

176. "Western University to Get Library School," *Globe and Mail*, 18 Feb. 1965: 11.

177. Harriet Parsons, "Public Libraries in Metro Toronto to Use Automation for Replacing Paperback Books," in Canadian Library Association, *Library Automation Projects* (Ottawa: CLA, 1965), 23. Allan Campbell and Irene Dawson, eds., *The Library Technician at Work; Theory and Practice* (Ottawa: CLA, 1970). Olga B. Bishop, *The Use of Professional Staff in Libraries: A Review 1923-1971* (Ottawa: CLA, 1973), 14-15.

178. Charles D. Kent, *The Lake Erie Regional Library Co-operative Board, 1964-1966* (London: London Public Library, 1967), 2-4.

179. Frances Whiteway, "Middlesex—the First Two Years," *OLR* 49, no. 1 (Feb. 1965): 11-13; and three provincial overview papers presented on 27 October 1964 in File: Regional Development, Correspondence Files 1939-69, Dept. of Education, RG 2-229, box 2, AO.

180. Noel McNeill, "Haliburton County Public Library Completes Its First Year," *OLR* 50, no. 2 (June 1966): 76-77.

181. Ontario Commission to Study the Development of Graduate

Programmes in Ontario, *Report* (Toronto, 1966), 55-62 and 84-85.

182. Edwin E. Williams, *Resources of Canadian University Libraries for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences* (Ottawa, 1962); and Robert V. Downs, *Resources of Canadian Academic and Research Libraries* (Ottawa, 1967).

183. See M.C. Wilson and J.E. Munro, *Summary of A Survey of Library Technician Training Courses in Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba and Ontario 1967-1968* (Ottawa: CLA, May 1968), 1-4.

184. Francis R. St. John Library Consultants, *Ontario Libraries: A Province-Wide Survey and Plan* (Toronto: OLA, 1965).

185. Peter Mutchler, *Regional Reference Libraries for Ontario* (Fort William? July 1964), 10-20.

186. Reata Vansickle, "Where Are We, And Where Are We Going???" *Canadian Library* 18 (May 1962): 255-57.

187. Two editorials: "The Shocking State of Our Libraries," *Toronto Daily Star*, 15 Feb. 1966: 6; and "A Crisis in Libraries," *Globe and Mail*, 16 February 1966: 6.

188. Leonard H. Freiser, "Report on the St. John Report," *Library Journal* 91 (Nov. 15, 1966): 5595: "It [information] is learning, not materials. Our consumer wants to know, and if the 'right' book for the question leaves him still unknowing then the entire information system has failed."

189. Leona Hendry, *What the Belleville Public Library Means to Me* (Belleville, Ont.: Epic Press, 2003), 36-37.

190. Albert Bowron, *Coordination of Public Library Service and Secondary School Library Service in Mississauga* (Toronto: Information, Media & Library Planners, 1972), 7-9.

191. For this work, see File: School Library Standards Committee, OLA's action groups, committees, task forces files, Ontario Library Association fonds, F 1196-8, box 33, AO.

192. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 6 June 1966, 4354-55; 14 June, 4667-68 and 4712-14; and 22 June, 5097.

193. *The Public Libraries Act, 1966*, 14-15 Eliz. II, chap. 128.

194 Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Survey of Adult Education, 1964-65* (Ottawa: DBS, 1967), Table 32.

195. Toronto Public Library, *Reading in Toronto 1966* (Toronto: TPL, 1967), 3-4; "Provincial Library Committee," *Proceedings of the OLA, 1966*, 9-10; and "Chief Librarian Calls New Plan Disappointing," *Globe and Mail*, 8 June 1966: 10.

196. Freiser, "Report on the St. John Report," 5593-95.

197. *Mid-Western Regional Library Co-operative: A Plan for Library Development, 1966* (New York: Francis R. St. John Library Consultants, 1966), 60-62.



5. Children reading in the Wentworth County bookmobile at Blackheath, south of Hamilton, 25 September 1962.



6. Meeting of Georgian Bay Regional Library System, 11 Feb. 1967. Standing l to r: Major Alexander Urquhart, trustee, Kimberley; June E. Munro, PLS; Ronald MacKenzie, GBRLS Director. Seated l to r: Gerry Smith, trustee, Barrie; Ioleen Hawken, Owen Sound; Grace Crooks, Orillia; Constance Hardy, Barrie.

“MANY VOICES, MANY SOLUTIONS, MANY OPINIONS,” 1967–75

On New Year’s Eve 1966, about forty thousand people gathered at Queen’s Park in front of the Ontario Legislature to ring in Canada’s centenary with speeches, fireworks, and lighting of a Centennial flame. Many revellers continued to Toronto’s new architectural gem, the city hall designed by Viljo Revell, where they welcomed 1967. As skaters glided around Nathan Phillips Square after midnight, Metro’s thirteen municipalities merged into five boroughs and one city. It was to be a year of festivities and celebrations. Montreal’s Universal and International Exhibition, Expo 67, with the theme “Man and His World,” would showcase Canada to the world. Canadian athletes would develop on an international stage at the Pan American Games in Winnipeg. The West Indian community scheduled a Caribana festival, destined to become a summertime fixture in downtown Toronto and the city’s waterfront. In Ottawa, after two decades of planning Canada’s National Library would finally open to the public in time for Dominion Day. CLA-ACB published its updated *Public Library Standards* emphasizing qualitative achievements for Canadian libraries rather than quantitative specifications. The International Federation of Library Associations organized its first conference outside of Europe (its 33rd) during August in Toronto. At the PLS, Irma McDonough launched *In Review* at mid-year to draw attention to Canadian children’s books across the country. New infrastructure projects were planned, such as the commuter GO Transit rail service commencing in the spring between Oakville—Union Station—Pickering. Across Ontario, seventy-five Centennial library projects, the biggest building boom since the Carnegie grant scheme six decades before, would mark Canada’s birthday.

The Centennial Spirit

The spurt in library building gathered impetus after the 1961 *National Centennial Act* established a federal Centennial Commission reporting to Parliament. The Commission intended to promote Canada’s birthday by planning and assisting with projects related to historical significance. Provincial departments across Canada helped coordinate projects and finances with local groups and municipalities. In all, the total expenditure under various grant programs for all governments reached \$200 million for about 2,500 projects, including the building of Confederation Memorial Centres in each

province. In Ontario, in 1965, the Department of Tourism established a Centennial Planning Branch to help plan and finance celebrations such as armed forces ceremonials, canoe pageants, the Confederation and train caravans, aboriginal events, sports events, and Queen's Park celebrations. The Minister of Municipal Affairs was assigned to cooperate with the federal government, and libraries were included in provisions for the acquisition and construction of buildings, parks, and other capital works. Approved local projects received funding from the federal government normally based on one dollar per capita to a maximum of one-third of the total cost (or up to one-half if eligible for other federal funding). Provinces usually matched the federal amount, and municipalities funded the balance. Some new regional library co-operatives also provided funds for a few projects, notably Teck Township, where regional facilities were included. Eventually, approved Ontario municipal projects totalled approximately \$7 million; more than seventy-five libraries qualified for funding in the building category.

About five percent of the total Canadian projects were library-related (144); Ontario communities accounted for slightly more than half of all Canadian library buildings (Table 15: Planning for Centennial Libraries, 1967). The most notable project, the National Library and Public Archives, fulfilled a need expressed since the beginning of the century. The CLA-ACB received \$12,000 to microfilm Canadian newspapers in the Confederation period, 1862-73; these were subsequently used across the country in many research projects. In Ontario, very few major cities choose to erect or renovate libraries because large buildings were more complex to plan and finance during the Commission's short lifespan. Only Sault Ste. Marie (\$776,000), Chatham (\$515,000), and Mimico (\$300,000) were expensively conceived projects. The majority of libraries were projected to be under \$100,000 due to the per capita funding formula. Smaller municipalities sometimes entered into joint projects with their neighbours to combine their financial resources. One municipality, suburban Toronto Township, built three smaller libraries (3,000 sq. ft.) that opened on the same day in October 1967—Malton, Lakeview, and Clarkson-Lorne Park. The Centennial Commission was not concerned with library architectural features or functional requirements of libraries. By now, the excesses of the Carnegie era were well known: some communities—Cornwall (1956), Sarnia (1960), and Guelph (1964)—had simply demolished their buildings and rebuilt without regard to heritage considerations. Chatham, opened on 15 November 1967, followed the same process, moving to the Thames Theatre Art Gallery while demolition of the old library proceeded. Sault Ste. Marie also razed its Carnegie building.

The general architectural style of Centennial libraries might be described

as “commercial-vernacular” with the following general characteristics:

- most new buildings were 4,000 – 8,000 sq. ft. in size and based on a simple rectangular or box plan, sometimes allowing for future expansion;
- modernist style exteriors were rectilinear in form with plain surfaces, featuring extensive use of glass and horizontal rooflines;
- buildings had approachable “street-level” entrances often with adjoining parking;
- interior “open plan” mix of stacking and public space provided more convenient, individual study areas, larger lounge areas for reading, and improved interface with staff and book collections;
- structural elements featured concrete, glass, and steel that revealed skeleton-frame structure;
- lighting took on more importance with visible fluorescent tubing and long, metal window mullions providing strength in single-storey buildings and allowing more interior daylight to make study and programming pleasant for users;
- in larger libraries, modular column squares made load-bearing and functionality simpler to plan for future redesign needs;
- use of vernacular, localized style combined with contemporary wood-steel furnishings created simplified library spaces.

The majority of Centennial libraries and extensions did not continue the monumental traditional style of the Carnegie era. Many additions simply alleviated space problems, thereby limiting their scope and style. Renovated buildings, such as a service station at Sioux Lookout, did not present opportunities for architectural statements.

The architectural qualities of Centennial libraries differed tremendously. One library, Mimico, opened in November 1966, received a Massey Medal for Architecture for its architect, Philip R. Brook. It was a spacious 18,000 sq. ft. building with a capacity of 60,000 books and an auditorium for 250 people. Other larger libraries, such as Oakville, formed part of a civic complex and combined with gallery space to satisfy municipal needs.¹ Some structures were built with an eye for successful extensions, such as Fort Erie. Others, such as Nepean Township’s modular octagon at Bells Corners, were too small to cope with population growth even with later additions. A small number, notably Cornwall’s Centennial Simon Fraser wing, opened by Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson in July 1967, were additions to existing buildings. Very little critical study of Centennial building projects exists, Bracebridge being a noteworthy exception. Its 1908 Carnegie, of course, suffered space constraints before the trustees and town council decided to renovate the basement for a children’s library and add a small extension for a separate entrance. The

project cost was just less than \$20,000; it included renovation upgrades in the main building and a “centennial wing” which was really “just a concrete-block bunker” that blemished the heritage aspects of the original Carnegie design.² Nonetheless, speeches at an official ceremony on 13 May 1967 deemed the town’s decision to be a wise investment in children’s education. Indeed, the Centennial helped enhance the library’s public image about an expanded range of services, for example, auditoriums for programming; exhibit areas; and accommodation for audio-visual departments. These advantages reinforced the library’s position as an educational and recreational locus for community activity. Across the province, centennial libraries were a visible symbol of local pride, the growth of national identity, the democratization of culture, and the utility of shared federal-provincial programs for the public benefit.

Initial Centennial exuberance, the outpouring of national identity, and the potential of the new Public Libraries Act imparted an air of confidence and progressivism in library ranks.³ The new regional systems were expanding the range of services begun in the predecessor co-operatives. Film service was a natural extension of the regional system concept. In 1967-68, six film federations dissolved: Northwestern Ontario, Central Ontario, Southwestern Ontario, Blue Water, and Niagara and District, and Toronto and District. Regional library systems assumed their assets. John Dutton, North York’s chief librarian, counted area-wide film service and bookings as one the new Metro Library’s chief successes, building on the Toronto film council’s desire for a new arrangement.⁴ A few regional boards commissioned studies to help plan and coordinate services based on perceived regional needs. Midwestern emphasized developing a processing centre built around displays from Canadian publishers. Its growth was spurred, in part, by an agreement for purchasing and processing with the Central Ontario region libraries in 1969. A second Midwestern study confirmed the viability of the processing centre’s operations, its general acceptance by client libraries, and its potential for expansion. With ten staff at Kitchener, Midwestern began a successful operation that issued almost 60,000 volumes in its first year of operation.⁵

Although 1967 was a year of library renewal through legislation and physical expansion in many communities, broader trends began to impinge on library decision-making. Plans for regional development and provincial coordination through the Ontario Provincial Library Council were continually buffeted in the ensuing half-decade. A steady stream of major provincial reviews on municipal reorganization, commissions on education and civil rights, and efforts to rationalize government and finance programs unfolded after the Centennial celebrations. Libraries large and small, the OLA, PLS, and the OPLC would have to respond both to external recommendations and

announcements from Queen’s Park. The Province was searching for enhanced protections for personal freedom, education, citizens’ rights, and more efficient municipal and school structures. Several major provincial initiatives would constrain agendas for future library service and librarianship.

- 31 Aug. 1967 Ontario Committee on Taxation (Smith Report) released
- 5 March 1968 first McRuer Report released (Royal Commission Inquiry into Civil Rights)
- 12 June 1968 Provincial Committee on the Aims and Objectives of Education in Ontario report, *Living and Learning*, made public (Hall-Dennis report)
- 2 Dec. 1968 12 future regional governments and public reviews announced by the Dept. of Municipal Affairs
- 9 May 1969 Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario (Wright Commission) created for universities, colleges, and continuing education
- 23 Dec. 1969 Committee on Government Productivity appointed to examine structures and savings
- 17 Dec. 1971 Select Committee on the Utilization of Educational Facilities formed

In many cases, public libraries would participate in these reviews, usually from a protective or reactive stance. The decade of library growth following the inauguration of the regional systems was to be a search for purpose and definition.

Reorganizing Local Government

Niagara was one of the first library regions affected by municipal area restructuring of older counties. Its board assisted the Welland County Library Co-operative by studying a potential changeover to a county system; however, libraries in Welland (and adjoining Lincoln) became part of twelve area municipalities in a new regional government structure on 1 January 1970. The county co-operative’s assets became part of the Welland County Board of Education that dispersed books to public and school libraries later in 1971.⁶ The Niagara board designated St. Catharines as its primary resource centre with reference collections in Niagara Falls, Welland, and Port Colborne. For participating libraries, it developed a film service, contracted with St. Catharines for catalogue card sets, and began compiling a regional union list of non-fiction. After enlisting a study by the new firm Information, Media and

Library Planners, the region established its cataloguing and processing centre in 1971.⁷ Niagara's early development paralleled most southern regions, except it had no county or upper-tier systems. Southwestern, by contrast, saw all its older library co-operatives (Lambton, Essex, and Kent) transformed into county systems before 1970.

All regions were early adopters of telex and teletype equipment offered by Canadian National and Canadian Pacific. Communication was a vital component in shaping efficient interloan systems at designated resource centres. Until the mid-1960s, interlibrary borrowing between different libraries was confined to larger urban libraries via TPL or the National Library. Slowly, with designated workspace, staff, and equipment, the regional systems fostered more localized sharing of resources. The first year the PLS tabulated activity, in 1971, there were just more than 20,000 loans, a figure quickly dwarfed by the mid-1970s when 300,000 total items were exchanged annually.

<i>Region</i>	<i>Items lent – 1971</i>	<i>Items borrowed – 1971</i>
Algonquin	6	429
Central Ontario	390	1,577
Eastern Ontario	648	392
Georgian Bay	19	1,361
Lake Erie	249	2,581
Lake Ontario	33	1,719
Metro Toronto	3,720	715
Midwestern	55	225
Niagara	10	1,006
North Central	36	807
Northeastern	0	412
Northwestern	113	568
South Central	2,418	509
Southwestern	557	1,457
<i>Totals – 1971</i>	8,254	13,758

Loan requests between library systems, even within a region, usually involved some delays, but the potential of computers and telecommunications meant that cooperative use of resources would become speedier. Reducing delays was imperative. In Southwestern, a study recommended replacing telex with teletype so that messages typed on any one machine would instantaneously appear on the others without the need to dial the receiver.⁸ Some systems also began purchasing special delivery vans to replace mail and bus parcel

deliveries. Two systems found daily deliveries advantageous to link their decentralized film services: Lake Erie, with film resource centres in London, Woodstock, and St. Thomas; and Central Ontario, with film centres in Oshawa, Richmond Hill, Brampton, Mississauga, and Chingaucousy-Bramalea.

In Metro Toronto, six new area boards and the regional system had to surmount distinctive challenges. TPL was willing to transfer its central reference library to the Metro board, but the new region struggled with the immediate reality of devising a budget, hiring staff, and developing policies.⁹ Establishing priorities was an urgent need: should equalization of services across Metro be a central need, or should information needs be addressed first? Deliberations on these issues came at a time when the wisdom of a two-tier library system remained unsettled, both in theory and practice:

The argument is made that local control alone is responsive to the needs of different neighbourhoods. Yet the library boards do have similar concerns, and it is hard to accept the idea that a single library authority for Metro, dealing with the common problems of all Metro, would be less responsible than six library boards.¹⁰

At the local level, Scarborough, which was expanding rapidly in shopping malls (Eglinton Square, Agincourt Mall, and Morningside Plaza), faced a 25% budget reduction to its 1967 proposals that hampered its planned growth, especially its recently opened Cedarbrae district branch with its distinctive vaulted roof design.¹¹ Etobicoke continued its development plans after opening a central library, Richview, which won a Massey Medal for architecture in October 1966. Because Sunnybrook Veterans Hospital (North York) affiliated with the University of Toronto teaching hospital in 1966, TPL's previous contract with the federal Dept. of Veterans Affairs expired. As a result, a temporary predicament occurred: Harry Campbell explained, “We are tapering off our staff and will withdraw them entirely in October.”¹² Sunnybrook's funding was resolved, but 1967 would be a year for library budgets to “mark time” while a Metro consensus on library priorities was pursued. There would be no successor to the Shaw report to chart the 1970s for the Metro Library's new director, John Parkhill, who officially took charge on 1 January 1968.

The primary issue for Greater Toronto revolved around TPL's central reference library resources. In 1967, the Metro Board tentatively indicated it would take over operation of the central library, but the details required elaboration and stretched over the financial years 1967 and 1968. This immediately led to problems as a newspaper editorial explained:

The Metro board has until October 1 [1968] to decide

whether to make the acquisition permanent and assume the costs of maintaining the collection. (It now contributes \$500,000 annually—about one-third of the total cost.) The city library cannot take so leisurely a view, however. When Board of Control voted this week for a city library budget cut of \$300,000 because of Metro's half take-over of the Central collection, the city board's chairman, J.S. Midanik, warned that this could lead to a reduction of library services.¹³

Eventually, the disposition of TPL's major resources was resolved. Metro assumed control of the central reference library, the music library, the languages and literature centre, and the business and municipal reference libraries, including their staffs, effective 1 October 1968.

Multilingual books were a feature in Metro. Leonard Wertheimer administered the Languages Centre at TPL's central library. He was renowned for finding books for users in their mother tongue. This Centre held almost 100,000 books in seventy languages, including small holdings in Urdu. It was a multicultural approach to languages that immigrants and native Canadians could utilize throughout the Greater Toronto Area.¹⁴ However, metropolitan library planning was contentious. TPL was so upset by some issues that it issued a brief to Premier John Robarts on the need to eliminate the two-tier library system and consolidate operations under one metropolitan board in 1970.¹⁵ North York replied with a seminar for trustees that concluded, "there hasn't been much attention paid to the idea of overall planning, action and commitment."¹⁶ Afterwards, TPL began reassessing its own regional branch structure: Parkdale, Deer Park, Bloor & Gladstone, and a proposed library for the city's east end. An extensive new collection, the Spaced Out Library, a 1970 gift of 5,000 science fiction books from author Judith Merril, was located beside a new smaller branch, Palmerston.¹⁷

The search for an agreed-on role by the Metro board left its director to admit that the two-tier system was "complex and complicated." In part, the suburban boroughs were absorbed in evaluating their services, especially North York, which had undergone a two hundred percent population increase after 1950. By the end of the 1960s, North York was delving into the type of community services it should provide, a wide-ranging review that including questioning its system objectives, community information needs, its services to industry and business, and its outreach services. "We must discover our community's needs and look around us for all the help we can get to meet that need or to refer that need. In some instances we might be the instigators of an action; in others, the resource people." The North York library could only emerge for the better.¹⁸ At the Metro level, the information and reference role

seemed to be justified, but, when the Metro board requested a study for a new \$17 million central library close to Yonge St., the area’s chief librarians warned it would be an “instant antique.”¹⁹ Nevertheless, the Metro Council approved a study for completion before the end of 1971. A new course of constructing Canada’s largest metropolitan reference library was underway.²⁰

Just as regional libraries were beginning to formalize their structures, institute programs, and improve services, the provincial government was focusing its attention on public reviews based on counties. A thorough re-evaluation of the delivery of provincial services in terms of providing apposite tax bases for government operations began in the late 1960s. The goals expressed in grander regional development plans of the late 1960s, like the heralded series of reports *Design for Development*,” were destined to be mostly unrealized. Libraries, for the most part, were unprepared for this sea change. When the final report of the Ontario Committee on Taxation, the Smith Committee (after its chair, Lancelot Smith), appeared in 1967 after four years of work, it categorized libraries as “amenities.” Further, its report argued that the schedule of legislative grants for libraries constituted “a degree of complexity that is out of proportion to its monetary yield, and that in any event mocks the fiscal principles of certainty and simplicity.” The temper of the report caught many in public libraries by surprise.

The frequency with which library grant regulations have been amended of late indicates not simply provincial willingness to experiment but genuine difficulties in constructing a satisfactory scheme. A consequence of recent revisions is that library grant regulations are beginning to rival those for schools in length and detail, with one important difference. School grants are gradually being simplified ... No such formula toward which library grants might evolve has yet appeared, nor is one likely to be devised.²¹

The Smith Committee favoured using municipal councils to direct grants to libraries based on per capita and population density variables.

The Smith Report envisaged twenty-nine future regional governments that would form the structure for local government in Ontario. The report recommended streamlining financial affairs by simplifying the library grant formulas and merging them with larger community enrichment transfers—an unconditional block grant—to the proposed new regional municipal councils. This was a procedure reminiscent of the recommendations by the provincial-municipal liaison group to Leslie Frost’s cabinet in the early 1950s. OLA’s initial 1964 brief to the Smith Committee mostly dealt with peripheral tax

concerns. The Association advocated support for the existing sales tax exemption on books and its extension to library furnishings. It declared that libraries “play an essential and basic part in the educational system” without persuasive effect.²² It became apparent Premier Robarts intended to implement major parts of the tax committee report after he handily won a second mandate for the Progressive-Conservatives in mid-October 1967.

The immediate reaction from libraries emerged from an Inter-Regional Library Seminar of trustees and librarians held in Toronto, where a lobbying effort to provide a unified voice was fashioned at the end of November 1967. The reply stressed the following counter-proposals to the Smith Committee:

- 1) that provincial money for regional library systems be paid directly to regional library boards and not through any intermediary such as a regional government;
- 2) that public libraries remain under the Dept. of Education directly linked with the PLS in direct communication with the Minister of Education;
- 3) that the present regional library system structure be retained;
- 4) that library board property and equipment be exempt from all taxes.²³

After a multitude of groups and organizations began flooding the government with letters and submissions, Premier Robarts appointed a Select Committee of the Legislature, headed by MPP John White from London, to study the Smith report’s recommendations. The OLA, led by President Margaret Whiteman from Etobicoke Public Library, presented another brief on 18 June 1968 rejecting the amenities argument by stating libraries “are a great deal more” and positing them as a major public resource on a provincial scale. OLA argued for larger regional groupings because the Committee’s proposed twenty-nine divisions were “not practical;” it defended the sales tax exemption on books; and agreed that grants should be simplified. When the Select Committee review appeared in September 1968, it recommended that libraries not be included in the regional enrichment transfers to new regional governments and that the sales tax exemption continue.²⁴ The most immediate impact of the Smith Report was to simplify the library legislative grant in 1970 by basing it on a per capita-area formula. Unquestionably, the Smith Committee’s decision to deconditionalize grants was unpopular, and the disposition of libraries within the projected twenty-nine regional governments uncertain. Both issues were to persist in the seventies because the Select Committee favoured an accelerated implementation of regional government across the province that was to restructure many local library boards across southern Ontario in the next several years.

In November 1968, the Premier announced a bold step: consolidation of existing school boards on a county basis commencing 1 January 1969, thereby reducing the number of education authorities to 76 at a time when there were still more than 300 library boards. The position of school trustee would continue as an elective office and have the power to raise tax levies directly. Enlarged school boards would continue to appoint library trustees in their respective areas. Subsequently, in December, the determined Minister of Municipal Affairs, William Darcy McKeough, announced twelve future regional government reviews with a timetable for implementation. In the main, Darcy McKeough’s department preferred to design municipal regions of at least 150,000 people grouped around larger urban centres. New school board boundaries for 1969 were not modified. Generally, specific government reviews sought to strengthen local government within county boundaries or to simplify the administration of provincial taxation and transfer payments. Larger structures were considered more fruitful ways to create an efficient government. In this environment, the emphasis lay on restructuring local boundaries, accountability to elected officials, and strengthening municipal powers rather than implementing cooperative plans with the more cumbersome regional development councils. Provincial financing for these councils ended in 1972 when the Department of Treasury and Economics amalgamated with Municipal Affairs under Darcy McKeough’s charge.²⁵ To strengthen the hand of elected officials *vis-à-vis* library boards, this new department held a preference for councils to make all board appointments, for council members to sit on boards and hold a majority of positions, and for the terms of trustees to coincide with council elections. Councils would control library budgets. These arguments would be repeated throughout the next quarter-century as the scope and size of local governments expanded.

Consequently, library service became part of recommendations about extensive area reports, hearings, briefs, and municipal reform. Frequently, long-standing legislative library-related concerns, notably board governance, the composition of boards, conditional grants, and appointments by municipal councils, came under review from different perspectives. A summary of regional reviews in Table 16: Local Area Governance Studies, 1965–1974 shows the variety of recommendations on the level of government responsibility and the status of library boards. In a few cases, the original commission recommendations were altered before the introduction of special legislation. The repercussions from these provincially sponsored studies were to disrupt planning efforts on the part of libraries and frequently redefine the library proposals during the next decade.²⁶ Partway through the process of area municipal reviews, the Ontario Provincial Library Council held a conference

on regional government and libraries in November 1970, but no definitive, unifying statement was issued because the status quo seemed preferable when there was “no one easy answer” to help create unanimity.²⁷ Distinctiveness and pluralism would continue to dominate library discussions during regional government reviews of the 1970s. Ultimately, the restructuring of local government into larger municipal or regional entities would lead to the establishment of larger library units. This was an outcome that had its origins in the older county library associations of the 1930s and the report, *Libraries in Canada*, which had encouraged regional library demonstrations.

Initial regional studies in 1965-66 for Ottawa-Eastview-Carleton, Niagara, and Peel-Halton set the tone for regional government observations on public library service. In Ottawa-Carleton, the report complimented the work of library boards but stressed that it was an area-wide concern for planning, not a specific local duty. In Niagara, Jessie Warren, the director of the Niagara Regional Co-operative, drew on her extensive thirty-year knowledge of Lincoln and Welland counties to emphasize the need for larger units of service in a brief to the commission that agreed with most of her points. Its commissioner, Dr. Henry Mayo, commented approvingly on the St. John report that had exposed deficiencies in library financial support, although Mayo strongly disagreed with St. John’s recommendation for the separate election of library board members while at the same time recommending retention of boards.²⁸ In Peel-Halton, the commission recommended an alternative policy: libraries should be run as a department within the regular municipal structure and advisory boards could be appointed to retain active citizen participation.²⁹ Obviously, in these four eventual regional government areas, there was no consensus on the structure of library service, partly because there were few library submissions.

Over the next decade, the relationship of boards within new regional areas led to solutions based mostly on local preferences rather than general administrative principles. In most cases, boards remained separate entities at the lower-tier level. This meant that municipalities would experience disparities until qualified staff, collections, and service points were equitably apportioned through a political planning process. Only two regions, Waterloo and Hamilton-Wentworth, retained responsibility for boards at the restructured county level. In both instances, a county operation existed prior to the passage of regional Acts in 1972-73.³⁰ In Waterloo, the county board was dissolved on 1 January 1973 and its assets vested in the new Region of Waterloo, which became the board for statutory purposes. In practice, a regional committee composed of the four township mayors was in charge. In Hamilton-Wentworth, the regional act allowed Ontario Regulation 805/73 to re-establish

the Wentworth Library Board on January 1, 1974, for all municipalities outside Hamilton and Dundas. The regional council then passed a by-law setting up a seven-member board composed of three regional councillors and a citizen from each of the four participating municipalities: Ancaster, Stoney Creek, Flamborough, and Glanbrook. In the other new regions, including Muskoka, older boards emerged in new area municipalities with larger population bases and more secure financing. The 1966 Public Libraries Act had anticipated the formation of many county boards, but the results of the regional reviews determined otherwise.

Schools and Libraries

Restructuring announcements by the Province preceded the furor over *Living and Learning*, the report of the Ontario Provincial Committee on the Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario (Hall-Dennis Committee), released in June 1968. The controversial report made more than 250 recommendations to prepare children for the future and to loosen educational shackles, such as grades and examinations. One underlying philosophy of the Hall-Dennis Report was to integrate school and public library resources in communities, an issue the St. John survey had opposed three years before. Five recommendations “more or less in passing” triggered a chain reaction in the library community about closer ties between school and public libraries.³¹

In a brief section lacking background, *Living and Learning* made these recommendations (p. 183):

37. Enact enabling legislation which will place all libraries under the jurisdiction of a board of education in areas where the board of education and existing library boards mutually agree that this action should take place;
38. Where no county or regional library exists in an area which is under the educational jurisdiction of a board of education, place the power to develop a regional library program with the board of education;
39. Integrate the development of school libraries with community library services;
40. Create local school policies which will provide greater access to school libraries in other than school hours;
41. Remove restrictions which link grant reimbursements for the construction of libraries to schools of specific size, and place all decisions regarding the need for and location of libraries with the school board concerned.³²

A political arrangement of this type, together with this statement by William

Davis earlier in June, produced unease:

I should point out that we have discussed this in the past couple of years, here in the House, with respect to combined facilities. This has been done in some communities, and we have encouraged it, although we have a report from a Mr. St. John who recommended, very strongly, that they were two separate functions, that is, the public library and the school library. I am not sure that I share this point of view necessarily...³³

During summer and autumn, through the receipt of hundreds of letters, William Davis and departmental officials became all too aware that public libraries were vehemently opposed to control by boards of education.³⁴

Though the St. John report urged all libraries to work together, it was evident by 1968 that school services and public libraries were on separate paths. School libraries, notably secondary ones, were developing more rapidly in some communities than public library service. As a result, discussion began on a contentious policy decision to eliminate public library service to schools, especially in the north. Some surmised that a disproportionate effort, especially film service, was expended on school students, a legacy from county and district co-operatives. It was an issue differentiated by geography and demographics. Discussions began in earnest by 1968 to discontinue services to secondary schools; to increase fees to elementary schools; to designate a phase-out period for elementary and separate schools in places with public libraries; and only to continue service to schools in places without public libraries. Yet, because evidence was required to support these judgements, it was difficult to effect change.

For the most part, generalizations were impossible to apply from locale to locale. One brief to Ontario's Royal Commission on Book Publishing explained, "library collections in elementary schools under Lakehead Public School Board range from excellent to virtually non-existent."³⁵ In addition, the timing of such initiatives was inopportune. At a time when submissions to the Hall-Dennis Committee engaged public attention, the elimination of cooperative ventures was by no means a priority. There were also financial and policy considerations to weigh; for example, Georgian Bay headquarters contracted with the Simcoe County Board of Education for \$17,612 in 1970 to provide in-school film service with 1,950 films, while teachers in adjacent county school boards continued to book films for their pupils through public libraries.³⁶ In effect, two conflicting film services were operating within the same region. The vexed issue of school use of films would not be addressed adequately until the mid-1970s.

The Hall-Dennis recommendations to integrate school and public library

services were essentially optional and indefinite. Nor did they refer to the Department’s recent studies and standards. The subject of library facilities in schools (p. 89) was typically nebulous—it raised the question about combining public and school libraries without detail. In just over 80 secondary schools, only about five percent of the libraries were open to residents on a regular basis in 1967-68. In about 280 elementary schools, ten percent of school libraries offered non-school public access.³⁷ The Hall-Dennis report recommendations were suggestions for debate and refinement. Charles Kent, in a lengthy analysis, concluded that the report was “noteworthy for what it omits about public libraries in the educational process.” Kent judged there was too much stress on primary and secondary libraries and not enough attention to integrating the resources available in university, college, and government libraries, which could be used to serve the cause of life-long education.³⁸ For Kent, the entire Hall-Dennis focus was too limited for public libraries. Underlying the rhetoric about *Living and Learning* lay differing philosophies and constituencies. Public libraries remained committed to children’s and adult learning, not formal education. They were better suited to join forces with other libraries on a regional (even national) basis to develop children’s and young adult services outside the curriculum and to expand services to non-users using a broad range of community programs.

Some educators believed the goals of school and public libraries were too dissimilar for consolidation. For example, adult use of curriculum materials was unlikely, and classroom requirements or hours of service would restrict public access to school collections.³⁹ A timely review from South Central Regional Library at Hamilton by Ida Reddy about school-housed public libraries reaffirmed the St. John position that combined services hindered the growth of good school libraries and short-changed public requirements, notably for adult learner resources, accessibility, and space for programs.⁴⁰ In reply, a *Globe and Mail* editorial looked ahead not to the past: “...as ancient catalogues of books give way to province-wide systems for retrieving information by computer, will not the separation of facilities lose nearly all importance? With facsimile offprints, what will it matter if one collection is ‘suited’ for adults, another for children? The future of libraries is not an open book.”⁴¹ But there were still many years to travel to reach the future which the *Globe* editors envisioned.

The main advantage of placing libraries under new county boards of education, which were scheduled to commence operation in January 1969, lay in being part of a larger service unit with direct taxing powers. The disadvantage lay with the dissection of the *Public Libraries Act, 1966*. The Act likely would have to be repealed and rewritten into sections of the provincial

Education Act. Assets would have to be transferred, the older board structures replaced by advisory committees, and regulations about grants, certification, standards for service reworked. The retention of the regional library systems, the development of resource centres, and provincial networking remained unknowns. Studies on the usage of libraries, collections, rural public library and school library relationships, and regional boundaries would be necessary. All this work would transpire against the backdrop of school boundary transformations as well as new pedagogical and administrative changes stemming from Hall-Dennis. Naturally, there were legislative constraints. The Minister, William Davis, was occupied with many complicated issues, such as transferring teachers' colleges to universities, requiring elementary teachers to hold degrees, and reining in post-secondary spending.

The PLS, under W.A. Roedde, did prepare an advance confidential departmental memorandum report on Hall-Dennis for discussion in May 1968. Although not a preferred option, the feasibility of placing libraries under boards of education involved presenting a case to test reaction to the administration of municipal and county libraries by county boards of education in 1969-70. Concomitantly, new library regulations could discontinue existing library grants for municipal and county libraries and readjust regional system boundaries with the administrative boundaries of community colleges. After four years, all provincial library grants could be channeled through the regional systems. Local libraries could raise revenue through the boards of education. This concept would keep library service decentralized and clarify the provincial, regional, and local roles.⁴² But the Department did not act on this advice—there was some fatigue with the library “regional jungle” that was developing from municipal restructuring studies and consolidation of school boundaries.⁴³

After many considerations, in spring 1969, William Davis stated, “Nothing concrete or specific is emerging, related to what might be the future structure for library development here in this Province.”⁴⁴ Then, on 6 May, he announced the formation of a Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario (Wright Commission) to study issues related to universities, colleges, and continuing education. A short time later, two sessions on the Hall-Dennis Report held at OLA’s annual meeting in Sudbury attracted 300 attendees. No resolutions or decisions were adopted at Sudbury because OLA, librarians, and trustees were now more interested in preparing input for the Wright Commission.⁴⁵

The Department of Education, however, felt a review of undigested opinions about school use by the public would be beneficial. Consequently, a follow-up from Hall-Dennis appeared, the Select Committee on the Utilization

of Educational Facilities formed in 1971. Many school facilities had been completed or renovated using improved building standards. In Greater Toronto, for example, the Metropolitan Separate School Board had hired a director in 1964 and begun an extensive program to upgrade almost 100 elementary schools with better collections of at least 3,000 books, improved space, and trained teacher-librarians. Current departmental elementary library school standards covered space, seating, storage, holdings, and staffing for enrolments between 350 and 840 students. There were no references to non-school adult usage.⁴⁶ It was argued that library space in schools, especially in rural areas, sometimes was much more appealing than older public library buildings and might be used by citizens who had a right to access taxpayer resources. The Select Committee carefully issued interim reports before releasing a final report in 1975.

The Select Committee’s first report (June 1973) made two general recommendations on school library usage by the community:

Rec. 16 — Minister of Education compile data to evaluate the effectiveness of library resources in Ontario’s school system to serve the needs of both students and community;

Rec. 17 — local communities should accept responsibility for deciding what kind of library is needed in schools and how it should operate.

There were, of course, already examples of cooperative use of facilities in a few municipalities where studies had looked at the rationale and feasibility of cooperative usage. The Oakville Public Library Board and Halton County Board of Education opened a successful joint facility at the White Oaks Secondary School in 1973 while the review was in process. In many other parts of Ontario, book deposits in schools continued. Local arrangements allowed students enrolled in district schools to use public libraries.⁴⁷ The main issues were public access, nature of collections, hours of opening, staff financing, and administration. OLA’s School Libraries Division organized a town hall meeting connecting fourteen groups with 200 participants via telephone conference on 3 November 1973; it followed with a written brief.⁴⁸ Naturally, OLA was supportive of cooperation; but it noted that the quality of research and conclusions drawn by the Select Committee was questionable. Increased funding for school libraries was required. Following the Ontario Library Association teleconference and the receipt of scores of critical briefs, the Select Committee concluded that further study was necessary to evaluate the adequacy and effectiveness of school library resources for the wider community.⁴⁹ The Committee’s legacy seemed to be that library cooperation was not easy to forge across public sector ranks because opinions varied about

the primary role of school libraries.

Regional and Local Roles

Throughout this period, the Ontario Provincial Library Council, which first met in June 1967, maintained a low profile. It began modestly under its first chair, Dr. K.G. Booth, from the new Sheridan Park research centre. One feature of the OPLC's early years was its focus on public libraries rather than inter-organizational coordination of "library service in Ontario" with all libraries as the St. John survey had envisaged and its legislative mandate suggested. In response to the Ontario Committee on Taxation, the OPLC rejected proposals on the enrichment grant transfer. Other initial discussions revolved around regional planning. In terms of continuity, the department's Certification Board became one of the OPLC's permanent committees.

After a year, the Council managed to compile a document in June 1968, "Plan Summaries Submitted by Boards of Regional Library Systems," after soliciting input from the regionals. Because program planning by libraries was at an early stage, for 1969, the PLS offered assistance for regional boards.

Plans should begin with problems, and indicate the steps to be taken in the calendar year to solve the problems; the goal and accomplishment of the previous Plan and previous year should be included where applicable; responsibility should be clearly indicated, e.g. whether successful fulfillment is entirely the responsibility of the regional board, largely that of the regional reference and resource library, or requiring collective effort on the part of all libraries in the system, etc.; the Plan should be quantitative where possible, e.g. "We estimate that circulation of books among Indians on the reserves will increase by 25% to ...,"⁵⁰

The OPLC focused on establishing priorities across regions, a challenging task even with annual plans.

There was one unforeseen outcome of regional planning. By the end of 1968, a group of administrators, Directors of Ontario Regional Library Systems (DORLS), had been formed to manage activity and develop policies. There was already a CLA-ACB group, Administrators of Large Public Libraries (est. 1953), that met on matters of interest to libraries over 100,000 population. In the 1970s, an Ontario component of these chief executives began to meet separately (now known as CELPLO, Chief Executives of Large Public Libraries in Ontario). Both groups began to engage in many issues by establishing various working groups (e.g. DORLS Technical Standards and Audio-Visual committees), funding projects, and presenting briefs to the

government. As a result, a range of opinions began to emerge on matters amongst these two groups and the PLS, OPLC, and OLA.

One development the OPLC was particularly interested in was the creation of resource centres, a network of larger libraries building collections for information and interloan purposes. In the north, for example, Port Arthur, Fort William, Sault Ste. Marie, Sudbury, North Bay, Timmins, and Kirkland Lake quickly became active centres. In Eastern Ontario, Ottawa, Kingston, Belleville, Peterborough, and Cornwall received grants for this service. The promotion of county demonstrations was another priority for the OPLC. In Lake Ontario, a strong effort in Frontenac led to a new county library serving 35,000 people under Barrie Robinson in 1969.⁵¹ Another successful campaign led to the formation of the Lennox and Addington County Library centered at Napanee by January 1972.⁵² In Eastern Ontario, the region spent a considerable amount of money and effort beginning in May 1968 to offer service for the rural counties of Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry in association with Cornwall’s Centennial Library. In 1971, one county system was created for these united counties and a partnership with Cornwall, the “Seaway Valley Libraries,” launched with the direction and energy of Anne and Herman Nyland.⁵³ These county systems emerged in eastern Ontario where there were few major resource centres in less populous rural areas. Following the pattern of DORLS, the county librarians formed an official group of their own and began meeting regularly in 1970 to look at county initiatives. CARML, the new group of County and Regional Municipality Librarians, administered one project, the Ontario Joint Fiction Reserve, beginning in 1973. The Fiction Reserve stored the last copies withdrawn from libraries at multiple locations across the province. It started with thirty-six independent libraries.⁵⁴

The OPLC was watchful on the issue of grants. With grant totals set at about \$6.5 million in 1968 and virtually no increases slated for 1969 due to government austerity, the Council asked the Minister for a 25% increase at the end of 1968 with modest results.

1966	\$ 4,755,810	
1967	\$ 5,919,021	24.5% increase
1968	\$ 6,439,764	8.8% increase
1969	\$ 7,237,188	12.4% increase
1970	\$ 7,550,740	4.3% increase
1971	\$ 8,552,795	13.3% increase

The total grant after the introduction of the *Public Libraries Act, 1966*, had almost doubled during a period of 20% inflation; yet, it seemed insubstantial to the task at hand. Ontario’s population had grown from 6.1 million in 1960 to

7.6 million in 1970, almost a 25% increase. During the same decade, libraries had increased their percentage served from 68% to 88% (from 4.2 in 1960 to 6.7 million in 1970), the largest such increase in any ten years during the century. It seemed the desire to reach everyone—the “extension work” vision frequently expressed since the Depression— was about to be achieved.

The OPLC and PLS were working to change the grant formula while keeping in mind the Smith Committee’s notion of simplification. During the 1960s, the basic conditional grant had varied inversely with equalized tax assessment per capita from 8% to 80% of approved operating costs. In 1970, Regulation 298/70 introduced a simplified per capita rate of 65 cents per capita for municipal libraries and Indian bands; and for regional systems 35 cents per capita and \$1.50 per sq. mile (not to exceed 100,000 sq. miles). All the older features, for example, equalized assessment and qualifications for librarians, disappeared. Unanticipated consequences emerged from simplification and removal of earned grants. Small municipalities without libraries began to form boards for the specific purpose of receiving the per capita grant without the need to raise local revenue or employ certified staff. These *pro forma* boards presumably would arrange some sort of service by some method, usually by contract. Consequently, the trend of reducing boards and establishing county systems came to a halt. Small boards began to proliferate again in the early seventies. “Non-operating boards” were criticized for providing a token book service by contract with adjacent libraries. Yet, some argued, as had many Association Libraries prior to 1966, that they were a preparatory step in developing public library service in rural townships.⁵⁵

Because libraries remained a municipal concern, for the most part, the inter-relationships between the province, regional systems, and local libraries received more recognition at library conferences and in publications. What were their respective roles? Ontario’s 1966 legislation was of little assistance. In the absence of legislative direction for public libraries, trustees and administrators looked back to *Public Library Standards* published by the CLA in 1967-69. These national standards were very helpful but tended to take a broad view about public library roles—1) encouraging continuing education; 2) promoting enlightened citizenship; 3) organizing materials for education, culture, and recreation; 4) providing information; and 5) working with kindred groups.⁵⁶ Across a spectrum of local and regional libraries, these roles were generally accepted. Continuing or adult education and an informed citizenry might involve literacy classes, reading non-fiction, retrieving data in different forms for projects, or readers’ advisory work. The latter service was re-examining its rationale now that different formats and ‘pop’ literature were consuming a greater portion of library budgets.⁵⁷ Craft demonstrations, adult

film nights featuring Leni Riefenstahl’s *Olympia*, televised children’s *Sesame Street* programs, and book talks all could fulfill a recreational role. General reference, business departments, community information centre work, local history collections, or bibliographic instruction could deliver information. The cultural role was present with gallery space, lectures, recitals, and joint programs with groups, such as genealogists, who were energized in the late 1970s by the phenomenal success of Alex Haley’s *Roots*.

Discussions at the start of the seventies about the library and its societal role came about at OLA conferences where catchy themes generated ideas ranging from the conservative to pioneering efforts, for example, “Task’70: Information” at Toronto’s Inn on the Park (1970) or “The Library at the Centre of Arts” at London (1971). By the early 1970s, public libraries were examining their goals and services more systematically in relation to other agencies as well as typical and prospective users. Regional workshops for librarians and trustees were potential incubators for consensus. One northern action group led a full-scale debate on the role of the public library in April 1972 at the Mary J.L. Black branch in Thunder Bay.⁵⁸ What were the goals of public libraries? This workshop presented four primary concepts. The library a) as an agency that gives the public what it wants, a public demand model; b) as a multi-purpose agency serving many needs for recreation, information, culture, and education; c) as a cultural centre; d) and as an information centre.

Libraries, of course, often fulfilled more than one of these roles, including education, but the suggestion from workshop leaders at Thunder Bay echoed other voices. Libraries needed to be more realistic in attaining and assessing their roles. Tax-supported library services should meet basic needs. Goals must be realistic, and the image of the library must reflect the services it provides to receive funds to achieve its goals. However, the workshop ended without consensus. Its leaders acknowledged there were some formidable barriers to overcome the lack of management acumen: the tendency to shape library services around present public demands rather than long-term goals; conservative traditional service (“more of the same,” the library faith in the power of librarians and book provision to improve society); and the desire to provide everything (the universal approach) without adequate resources. Less ambiguity about goals was becoming essential at the provincial and municipal stages. Setting priorities about services and adopting new funding concepts, e.g., program or zero-based budgeting, would soon be accepted practice.

On a provincial scale, the OPLC issued a statement on the three levels of library responsibility along with recommendations to William Davis in 1970 that tried to delineate and clarify roles. The OPLC identified specific roles:

- *Local libraries* would be responsible for all educational, information,

and recreational services, facilities, staffing, and basic financial support.

- *Regional libraries* would emphasize support for broader informational and educational programs; would provide professional assistance for programs, planning and developing new services; would support interloan, centralized cataloguing services, and specialized services (e.g. audio-visual, foreign language collections, demonstrations); and would provide educational programs within the region.
- *Provincial agencies* would stress overall assessment, financial support, legislation and regulations; achievement of integrated plans; statistical information; research projects to analyze improvements; and library education requirements and standards.⁵⁹

These responsibilities were a way to build consensus, possibly by the OPLC. However, the regional role was a crucial linkage. The authority and financing for regional services were lacking, and their geographic-demographic variations difficult to bridge. Midwestern's director, Clinton Lawson, assessed their performance as a "qualified success" in 1973: regional libraries were "a kind of substitute for genuine planning; they were given a mandate that said in effect, 'help the libraries work together'! And they were provided with enough funds to develop a few second-rate programs ..." Similarly, W.A. Roedde predicted a restructuring of regional libraries by 1983 into larger systems based on five provincial planning regions.⁶⁰

Inequality in Ontario service was also deemed a problem. The Dept. of Education and the PLS began to focus on disparities among regions and to promote special projects which suited provincial goals. The most glaring inequality was the number of qualified librarians with A, B, or C certificates tabulated for 1970.

Metro Toronto	364	Niagara	26
South Central	58	Lake Ontario	24
Lake Erie	51	Northwestern	15
Central Ontario	47	Georgian Bay	14
Southwestern	45	North Central	11
Eastern Ontario	41	Northeastern	2
Midwestern	35	Algonquin	1

A *Globe and Mail* editorial stated that northern staffs were often "underpaid, under-utilized, and often lacking in general education" and that neglected readers were the result.⁶¹

Library buildings were another leading indicator of disparity between north and south. Low municipal assessments and smaller populations often curtailed building projects in the north. Large-scale northern library projects, such as the fictional *Knowledge Park* (1972) created near Cochrane by the

writer Stephen Franklin, were fanciful, atypical notions. In the Northwestern region, only eight of fifteen libraries under 10,000 had separate quarters in 1970. Seven were Centennial libraries: Atikokan, Emo, Fort Frances, Geraldton, Marathon, Nipigon, and Sioux Lookout. Fort Frances and Kenora were the only libraries with meeting rooms. All were below minimum space standards. Six were approximately the size of a school portable—Emo, Ignace, Manitou, Nipigon, Red Rock, and Schreiber.⁶²

While the PLS was anxious to reduce disparities among regions, a method of providing applicable training programs, for example, was not readily at hand. In-service staff development was a key concern. There were many small northern and southern libraries managed by “community librarians” without library degrees or diplomas that were in obvious need of systematic, certified courses, especially in Northwestern where the director, Alan G. Pepper, worked to rectify the issue.⁶³ Courses in community colleges were often time-consuming. No shorter training periods, that is, in the summer, or correspondence courses were devised. Instead, small grants were dispersed across the province. In an activity such as data processing, small grants of \$5,000 could launch services such as the Tri-Regional Catalogue, a computer catalogue of holdings housed at Sudbury. It could be produced inexpensively and then distributed to all libraries for interloan use. Larger libraries could use it for coordinated collection development: Timmins, Sault Ste. Marie, Sudbury, and North Bay.⁶⁴ Although this inter-regional endeavour utilizing new computer programming proved to be quite successful, the net effect of small grants directed to diverse regions was problematic in terms of reducing library disparities in Ontario.

Reaching New Publics and Partners

There were few contemporary assessments of public libraries in this period. What standing had the public library achieved in postwar Ontario? One government background paper for the Royal Commission on Book Publishing focused on library-publisher relations. It reported library efforts would continue to center on information services, closer cooperation with other agencies, public relations, and determination of community needs.⁶⁵ Generally, there was no authoritative voice to speak for libraries. The OLA was preoccupied with an organizational restructuring begun in 1966 under the President, Albert Bowron. A working committee established guidelines for transforming OLA, now grown to about 2,500 personal members, into a more effective body and presented its findings at the 1967 conference in Fort

William. Three possible structures were posited: 1) a geographic or regional basis; 2) an institutional or type of library basis; or 3) a service basis with two major groupings on information-learning and community planning. Finally, at Hamilton, in 1968, OLA adopted the institutional model after a considerable debate consuming most of one day. Three new divisions formed: Trustees and Employers; Regional and Public Libraries; College and Universities; with subsequent additions of School Libraries and Special Libraries.⁶⁶ All older Sections, some dating to the 1930s, disappeared. The effect, of course, meant that OLA's influence on the implementation of the St. John report was muted at a critical period. Too often, when the government introduced changes, its voice in government policy-making was ineffectual. Administrative groups, such as DORLS, began to fill the void; for example, the DORLS technical services group worked to develop uniform standards for cataloguing, classifying, and processing acquisitions.⁶⁷

Across Ontario, there were many library studies in the late 1960s and early 1970s to explore local services or to reach new publics. Despite broadening collections, even large libraries were open to criticism: Toronto's black literature resources were said to be "scare and scattered," leading two determined women to form a small separate library in downtown Toronto.⁶⁸ Many new studies utilized social science methodologies. Not surprisingly, costs and internal processes came under scrutiny. Hamilton commissioned a study on the feasibility of using machine-readable records for cataloging to improve its technical services functions.⁶⁹ Regional and commercial vendor operations were examined with an eye to standardization and the development of regional processing systems. Midwestern, the largest provider, extending services beyond its membership, was one model.⁷⁰ Some reports related to emerging communities planned by developers or regional restructurings, such as Bramalea, Erin Mills, Whitchurch-Stouffville, Markham, or Richmond Hill.⁷¹ Some reports focused on patron use: Scarborough released a study in July 1972 showing the use of records or cassettes varied from 42% to 17% in its branches.⁷² Some reports related to federal government support for multiculturalism: the Lake Erie region received a \$7,000 Local Initiatives Grant to investigate the cultural and ethnic composition that surveyed 33 language groups finding that 53% of sampled respondents held library cards.⁷³ Community outreach programs were another source of analysis. In Scarborough, the library conducted a brief survey of senior citizens to determine their needs and to provide much-needed books for a variety of institutions and housebound seniors.⁷⁴

A vital area of study reached new publics, i.e., people or groups hitherto unserved or regarded as lesser priorities. In larger urban centres, studies were

conducted on handicapped users and nonusers who were frustrated with access to libraries and did not visit libraries. Progressive librarians said libraries should become more attuned to the needs of the disadvantaged. There were physical barriers to access because older libraries predated new building code specifications mandated by the province. A national 1971 analysis that received 51 Ontario library responses over eight thousand population revealed:

- 25 provided home delivery service
- 11 used books by mail
- 36 had deposits in senior citizen centres
- 16 had deposits in hospitals
- 21 had deposits in nursing homes
- 14 had wheelchair ramps and elevators
- 10 had programs for the disabled
- 48 had collections of talking books
- 27 promoted handicapped services
- 6 worked with the CNIB
- 2 cooperated with Gyro Clubs
- 2 worked with Kiwanis Clubs
- 2 worked with Lions Clubs
- 5 used volunteers in their programs.⁷⁵

Outreach service to ‘shut-ins’ and hospitalized patients was now well established in many more populous libraries, especially at TPL under Virginia Felicy Ludlow and her staff. Volunteers often delivered materials to homes.⁷⁶ To expand its service, North York completed an extensive report in 1969 on needs and methods to reach homebound persons. Dundas, which had moved from its undersized Carnegie to a new 1970 building for adults, operated a similar service and established its “Live Long and Like It” club.⁷⁷ Obviously, service levels were improving throughout the province, but much work remained, especially for physical arrangements to permit direct access to buildings and collections.

The National Library’s Task Group on Library Service to the Handicapped also investigated services for handicapped persons thoroughly between 1974 and 1976. This group recommended that a coordinated national program be undertaken for visually, physically, and perceptually handicapped persons unable to use conventional print materials and facilities in older buildings.⁷⁸ It surveyed Canadian libraries serving over 100,000 people and received ten replies from Ontario public and regional libraries. The respondents indicated lending of tape cassettes and large print books to the disabled was at an elementary level for a province of more than seven million. Surprisingly, cassette tapes were in short supply, although recorders had been on the North

American market for a decade. The facts spoke plainly, progress had been made, but there was much work to be done across Ontario:

<i>Library</i>	<i>Large Print Books</i>	<i>Cassettes</i>
Elgin Co	733	
Toronto	16,000	1,635
Kingston	?	104
Hamilton	15,150	
London	2,750	35
Kitchener	1,000	707
Mississauga	360	3,360
York	6,625	
Lake Ontario Region	1,000	40
Lake Erie Region	5,000	

Despite this promising start, library services for the disabled and access to buildings would remain deficient for years to come. Not until 1981, the United Nations International Year of Disabled Persons, would Ontario public libraries intensify efforts for disabled children and adults.

New services revised existing organizational arrangements. The combination of formal community services within local branches began to be explored. In London, the Crouch Neighbourhood Information Centre and Crouch library branch along Hamilton Road provided the surrounding area with consumer, family, and recreational information on a drop-in basis with significant support from Family and Children's Services. At Crouch, it was difficult to convince residents that librarians could help with their problems. For their part, librarians were accustomed to doing things "for patrons" rather than working with them. Librarians slowly assimilated with other team members, which included social workers and police.⁷⁹ Studies on service to aboriginals in Greater Toronto discovered native peoples had an "abysmal ignorance" of the range of library services, were reluctant to use libraries, and seldom requested special programs because they were infrequently approached. Generally, these findings applied across Ontario. TPL financially assisted the creation of a Native Canadian Centre in 1976 to hold a central collection on native literature under the directorship of Roger Obonsawin.⁸⁰

Library service to Indian bands across Ontario had advanced slowly after its inception in the early 1960s.⁸¹ Despite the efforts of Angus Mowat, the idea of public library service on or off reserves was still in its infancy. There were

only a handful of libraries when the 1966 Public Libraries Act authorized provincial grants for Indian bands. Regional system professional assistance became one measure of success, yet work to establish libraries often elicited surprising or prejudicial responses.⁸² It would take Harold Cardinal’s 1969 bestselling *The Unjust Society* to reveal the injustices and neglect aboriginals suffered in contemporary Canadian society. By 1970, a handful of band councils had taken advantage of provincial grants to establish small libraries, for example

- *Moose Factory*: first opened in 1958, the Angus Mowat Library dedicated in 1969 with support from the Northeastern region;
- *Curve Lake*: opened November 1963 with assistance from Oshawa Public Library in the basement of its Day School;
- *Golden Lake*: library opened on June 1967 with assistance from the Eastern Ontario region;
- *Walpole Island*: the previous library became a branch in Lambton County library, November 1967;
- *Whitefish River*: opened October 1967 in the basement of community hall at Birch Island;
- *Thames Indian Band*: converted trailer by Oneidas for service by Middlesex County library in 1967;
- *Oshweken*: official opening of the Six Nations Public Library in June 1969 in a converted home with donations from South Central libraries [board est. in 1966];⁸³
- *Cape Croker*: previous small library joined Bruce County in 1969 after a study by Georgian Bay Region;
- *Kettle Point*: service established in a school with assistance from Lambton County library in March 1969.

By the mid-1970s, thirty band libraries were serving about forty percent of the estimated aboriginal population (60,000) in Ontario.⁸⁴ When Ontario established a 1974-75 Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples, it received numerous recommendations to improve collections and staffing. These included bookmobile service in rural areas, recruitment of natives for information training, and more emphasis on native media centres.⁸⁵

The informational role libraries played began to be redefined with the appearance of local information centres, community activists, and national agencies. At the federal level, Information Canada came into being in April 1970 after the Task Force on Government Information tabled its extensive report in 1969. The Task Force study indicated the public had difficulty accessing federal information. A coordinating agency to publish and disseminate news and information would be helpful.⁸⁶ Information Canada

recognized the need for closer work with public libraries and the National Library in the distribution of government documents. It also suggested establishing regional inquiry centres and connecting via telex to libraries to collaborate on complicated queries. From the outset, the suspicion that it would disseminate “propaganda” plagued Information Canada. Newspapers were particularly guarded in their assessments.⁸⁷ Despite the potential for overlapping services, many libraries found the distribution of federal government publications and the production of checklists more efficient. An added feature, government bookstores within libraries (e.g. Windsor Public Library), was also welcome. Information Canada and the CLA also reviewed the depository status of more than a thousand libraries receiving government publications to improve efficiency.⁸⁸ But Information Canada was a short-lived agency; eventually, suffering from poor public relations and criticism of financial excesses, it disappeared in a 1976 federal cost-cutting exercise.

By 1970, community information centres were appearing in cities with financial assistance from the Province. A 1971 Ontario study, *Partners in Information*, investigated fifteen provincially supported centres to determine their role. These busy agencies commonly dispensed information and referred persons to all types of community resources. Although two Toronto information centres were located in libraries—TPL’s Earls court and North York’s central Willowdale—the report revealed library locations were not ideal by any means because,

Although libraries have traditionally serviced a valuable role as a repository of information, at least in middle class communities, there is considerable evidence that many residents of low-income and immigrant communities will not presently make use of their services for meeting informational needs. Present trends suggest that libraries are aware of this difficulty and are beginning to change their image.⁸⁹

The North York project, “LINK,” which allied the library and the North York Mental Health Council, was conceived to be an innovative 24-hour by 7-day service staffed with enthusiastic volunteers to answer basic questions and get assistance for persons.⁹⁰ As a result of the provincial study, the government stepped up its efforts to support community or neighbourhood information centres by providing grants to a maximum of one-third of costs.

By 1975, more than fifty centres across Ontario were providing referrals, information counselling, and all-purpose reference. Generally, libraries and information centres coexisted because they serviced different clientele. Referral services in centers often involved extensive personal contacts.⁹¹ A mid-1970s Canadian study on access to law confirmed that centres were better

at referrals and libraries had better resources for printed legal information, but both required more training and resources to offer federal and provincial laws to the public effectively.⁹² Because many centres operated with volunteers and inadequate budgets supplemented by transitory federal or provincial programs, their existence was often precarious. Activists aided by federal grants through the Local Initiatives Program promoted information through projects such as the Women’s Liberation Bookmobile, a converted bus named CORA (after the Canadian women’s rights reformer Ella Cora Hind) that travelled through southwestern and south-central Ontario during the summer of 1974.⁹³ Libraries, of course, stocked second-wave feminist literature, such as Kate Millet’s landmark *Sexual Politics* (1970) or Germaine Greer’s polemical *Female Eunuch* (1970), but the crucial steps of promoting these materials to people who were unaccustomed to attending in-house programs or registering to borrow materials were difficult to surmount.

By the end of the turbulent 1960s, attention in the Progressive Conservative party was turning to the results (and problems) of government intervention into an array of socio-economic activities. The Committee on Taxation had claimed libraries were amenities in 1967. Subsequent government studies had scarcely touched on libraries. Plans for further public sector expansion were mostly on hold as the resultant costs of the merger of a government health insurance plan and hospitalization scheme, along with the expansion of nuclear energy at Douglas Point, signaled a need for cost containment. The Ontario government was becoming more reliant on increases to its personal income and corporate taxes via federal collection agreements (1962) and its own retail sales tax (1961) to finance its ambitious agenda. A provincial Committee on Government Productivity (COGP) was appointed at the end of 1969 in recognition that government activity at all levels was becoming increasingly interdependent (a “marble cake”) and difficult to finance, even with increased federal transfers. For almost three decades after its election victory in 1943, the party of Drew, Frost, and Robarts had successfully harnessed the power of government to manage the economy and to establish basic welfare programs. Now, change was brewing.

Although accepting a constructive role for government, conservative thinkers in the United States, the UK, and Canada began to reemphasize the limits of government intervention, the role of free markets, and the role of individual rights and initiative. This change came in response to increasing rates of unemployment, higher inflation, the oil crisis of the early 1970s, and declining rates in the national gross domestic product. Policies to promote private sector partnerships, stimulate innovation and new technology, and be competitive on a global scale became central. Serious efforts to reduce the

scale of government growth accompanied these policies. Public sector efficiency was a keystone in this process combined with a continuous cycle of reviews leading to new priorities to maintain services. It was a fundamental shift sweeping across western democracies that, in subsequent decades, would reshape public policy away from the welfare state to neo-liberal thought. Citizens, who were developing more skeptical attitudes toward government, would have more economic choices but less security.

After William Davis succeeded John Robarts as leader of the Progressive Conservatives, the party swept to another election victory in October 1971. Shortly afterward, the COGP recommended the establishment of broad policy sectors—social development, resources, justice, and economics—composed of several ministries, formerly called departments (e.g. Education, Municipal Affairs) that would be regrouped and work together after 1972. In one report on government communications and information services, the Committee stated it “would endorse any effort by the Government that looked to greater involvement with libraries in its effort to disseminate information to the public.”⁹⁴ The COGP’s fundamental arguments about restructuring the public service affected libraries immediately because the idea of adjusting to a new policy sector appealed to some librarians. At the OLA conference at London in 1972, the Regional and Public Libraries Division debated the issue of creating a “Ministry of Culture” and relocating public libraries and the PLS within its responsibility. There were some recognizable refrains. It was said the Department of Education was a “vast kingdom” where libraries received little attention. It was said the PLS was ineffective because it was understaffed and had few resources at its behest. “What is needed is a completely new Act which will establish, by mandatory legislation, the standards of service and level of funding needed for adequate library service.” As a remedy, OLA endorsed the idea of asking the government to appoint an assistant deputy minister for public libraries.⁹⁵ However, the government was awaiting the report of the Wright Commission, which was holding public hearings throughout 1971 and stimulating discussion about the concept of continuous learning at different stages of life after high school.

OLA’s January 1971 brief to the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario (COPSE) highlighted the need for networked information among libraries and the public library’s place in this information environment.

The public library offers the ideal environment for non-institutionalized study and research at all levels to all ages. Maximum support would allow public libraries to develop collections and programmes for the unstructured education of the public at large, and participate more extensively in the

national and provincial library information network.⁹⁶

One of the background studies for the Commission suggested the creation of the “Ontario Corporation for Information” to administer a province-wide bibliographic information system for all libraries that would provide acquisitions, cataloguing, and information searching. Administrators understood that networks were inexorably built on accurate bibliographic standards that facilitated exchanges: “No adequate public library will be able to stand apart from this development.”⁹⁷ Although previous support for this type of facility appeared in St. John’s survey, no recommendation materialized in the Commission’s final report because the background study was general, not specific.⁹⁸ Various ideas about post-secondary education, adult education, and informal learning emerged during the COPSE hearings. When the *Draft Report* appeared later in 1971, many librarians were enthused that COPSE supported extending post-secondary education to cultural institutions like museums, theatres, and libraries in an “Open Academy” administered by a provincial board. Unfortunately, the other two proposals for administrative boards, for universities and community colleges, were utterly unacceptable to their respective participants and dominated discussion of the COPSE draft in 1972. As for the Open Academy, some feared that it might lead to the unnecessary “manipulation by Queen’s Park with the ease of a puppeteer.”⁹⁹

The overall impact on libraries of all the commissions, committees, task forces, local government reviews, and individual studies after 1967 is difficult to assess. In the Department of Education, caution dictated that action should be delayed pending each new report. At the regional and local levels in the populous southern counties, reviews often meant having to defend the status quo rather than chart new courses. Public library service often was perceived to be behind the times. As all the reviews cycled through various phases, it became clear that public libraries had altered their general perspective. The idea of an artistic-recreational “cultural sector” with overview and support from the Province had emerged to supplant the library’s educational role. To commence the fiscal year and realign libraries in the Social Development sector, the COGP recommended the PLS be transferred in April 1972 to the Ministry of Colleges and Universities (MCU), thus ending a ninety-year association with the Department of Education.

The Learning Society and Cultural Affairs

When the final COPSE Report, *The Learning Society*, appeared in late 1972, it had much to say about the salutary role of libraries in the field of continuing

education. The COPSE recommended better access to all publicly supported libraries, better services for native peoples, and more French language materials; further, “Library boards in areas of French-speaking concentration should include an adequate proportion of Franco-Ontarians in their membership.” It also stressed improvement for a “library informational network and distribution system,” especially with regard to improving technology in library operations.¹⁰⁰ A perceptive observation in *The Learning Society* concerned improved finances. Briefs to the Wright Commission from the OLA and individual libraries had repeatedly requested more money; indeed, trustees from the Eastern Ontario region immediately approached the Minister, George Kerr, on this point.¹⁰¹

The MCU’s interest in an Open Academy of cultural institutions reinvigorated library discussions about roles and organizational designs for a short time. The stereotypical “supermarket model” library—shelves with classified sections for patrons to select books and borrow at the checkout point augmented with an information desk—seemed a bit staid. New programming, services, work with other agencies (e.g. neighbourhood information centres), and provision of computerized information held by remote databanks projected images of a different type of library and librarianship.

The experiments in library community-relations work points a new direction in professional training requirements. To be successful in this area the librarian must not only be a highly motivated community worker, flexible in approach but skilled in working with groups, in interviewing, in acting as a catalyst, in the fine art of withdrawing services when groups become self-sufficient.¹⁰²

The traditional conservative nature of librarianship was waning; a search was underway to escape older beliefs and explore new perspectives.¹⁰³

In the 1960s, librarians had embraced the status of professionalism.¹⁰⁴ However, they were less outspoken about controversial issues.

Finally, we have the professional libraries. These people have to be as well qualified as high school teachers, but they have a mistaken idea that professional ethics in the book field requires them to preserve a discreet silence, or at any rate, a virtual inaudibility. There are a few welcome exceptions to this generalization, but what librarians need more than anything else is a new concept of dignity. Dignity is not submission; it is pride. It is not a masterful withdrawal, it is an absolute determination to be heard and respected.¹⁰⁵

Through the boisterous 1960s, the desire to embrace innovation and variation

and to reorient librarianship to the needs of many types of users, communities, and groups would lead public libraries in new directions in the 1970s. Younger librarians were part of the expansion of Ontario’s graduate education that led to the MLS degree replacing the BLS as the professional standard. With more diversified extensive education, library personnel in many communities were ready to accommodate technological change. An extensive 1970 North American study revealed that Metro Toronto librarians ranked quite high in positive responses to technological innovation and change compared to large American cities.¹⁰⁶

In terms of finances, the MCU acted promptly by raising the conditional grant for library boards in 1973 by more than fifty percent from 65 cents to \$1.35 per capita (Ontario Regulation 446/73). As well, the Ministry immediately authorized specific funding for new projects, such as \$45,100 to the Northeastern Regional Library for purchase of French-language books and periodicals. NERLS had a particular need to develop collections and staff for Franco-Ontarians clustered in groups over 1,000 people.¹⁰⁷

<i>Community</i>	<i>Percent French-speaking population, 1971 Census</i>	<i>Percent collection in French</i>	<i>No. of bilingual staff</i>
Cochrane	44.5	36	1
Haileybury	38.3	28	2
Iroquois Falls	48.8	29	3
Kapuskasing	57.7	46.6	4
Kirkland Lake	20.2	3.5	1
Matheson	36.7	1.7	0
New Liskeard	25	4	1
Timmins	37.4	18.4	4

These measures were an immediate positive consequence of *The Learning Society*. The report offered encouragement to libraries of all sizes. However, as the government continued to restructure, public libraries remained for only a short time in the newly created Cultural Affairs Division of the MCU.

The OPLC realized the move to a new ministry required a different focus to address post-secondary learning issues. The MCU formed a Cultural Affairs Division in 1973 to administer cultural programs and transferred various institutions to it (e.g. the Royal Ontario Museum, Art Gallery of Ontario, Ontario Arts Council, and Ontario Science Centre) to address planning and funding issues. Identifying new goals and objectives for public libraries would require broad consultation and research, requirements the OPLC needed

ministerial authorization to undertake. Beyond new inter-organizational affiliations, it pondered several challenges facing libraries:

- determining roles and responsibilities for the province, regions, and local libraries;
- the continued exponential growth of information and data and resultant move to an online environment;
- the economic challenge of “stagflation” and resultant “flat-line” budget increases from funding authorities;
- the need to provide services for unserved groups, e.g. aboriginals, low-income areas;
- the changing concept of communities by identification, age or other social attributes;
- funding for library automation studies for acquisitions, circulation, and cataloguing.

One immediate change after the move to the MCU was the disappearance of certification of librarians (begun in 1946) working in Ontario. With the expansion of library schools and community colleges, the MCU acknowledged programs accredited by ALA/CLA for university graduate schools and the standards adopted by CAAT’s college boards for library technicians.¹⁰⁸ Support for certification remained, especially in IPLO, which realized it was an essential element in the argument for professional status; however, without government endorsement, the issue was lost. The OPLC’s certification process officially ended in 1972.

Nor did IPLO itself survive. Many librarians considered it outmoded, an aged remnant of efforts to achieve independent professional standing. The original thrust by the Institute to legislate recognition for professional librarians had been thwarted by the Royal Commission Inquiry into Civil Rights (1968-71) chaired by J.C. McRuer.¹⁰⁹ A series of reports by Chief Justice McRuer sought to protect individual rights by discontinuing the province’s practice of establishing legislation to allow bodies to regulate professional activity through self-governance. Justice McRuer set a new standard by asking, “Is self-government necessary for the protection of the public?” For librarians, the answer was negative: the public was not jeopardized by library activities. Library professionalism would have to develop outside a public Act. Librarians would need to accommodate potential conflicts between professional ethics or norms and organizational values or practices; and to balance professional autonomy with bureaucratic controls. As well, there existed the possibility of internal polarization amongst the “rank-and-file” and administrators within the profession itself.

For IPLO, the legislative door to establish itself as a major provincial

agent representing librarians effectively was closed by the early 1970s. The Institute persistently lost membership even though it rebounded by organizing a successful workshop on censorship and issuing a Statement on Intellectual Freedom (1972), Guidelines for Grievance Procedures (1972), a Code of Ethics (1975), and Guidelines of Employment and Working Conditions (1975).¹¹⁰ At the end of June 1976, IPLO dissolved after three consecutive annual deficits. IPLO's fading influence on professional matters in many ways mirrored the Library Association's withdrawal of its national examination scheme for the UK during the late 1970s. In IPLO's place, the Canadian Union of Public Employees (est. 1963) was actively forming bargaining units in local libraries. By the mid-1970s, CUPE represented librarians independently or by grouping librarians, clericals, and maintenance workers for negotiating purposes at East York, Hamilton, Hawkesbury, Metro Toronto, North Bay, Oshawa, Peterborough, Port Colborne, Scarborough, St. Thomas, and Thunder Bay. Hamilton librarians first resisted entering CUPE by forming their own small, “white-collar” professional union, the Association of Professional Librarians of the Hamilton Public Library, in March 1972; however, the union decertified, and librarians chose to amalgamate with CUPE in 1975.¹¹¹

Why was CUPE, the largest union organization in Canada, so successful in organizing public libraries during this period to the detriment of IPLO and the idea of an autonomous profession? Salaries and benefits were obvious inducements to form a union in the economic uncertainty of the early 1970s. Working conditions, poor management practices, lingering paternalism of library boards, grievance procedures, and changing attitudes toward union representation on the part of librarians also were grounds for unionization. Ontario library workers could not have failed to notice that London Public Library's striking union in 1970 had achieved a 13 percent wage increase, enhanced maternity benefits (6 months leave of absence and reasonable assurance of resuming former position), and inclusion of 3 department heads in CUPE as a result of its short strike in June 1970.¹¹² In the same month, the issue of gender flared up at CLA's Hamilton conference. The President, Bruce Peel, remarked that women were partly to blame for difficulty in filling management positions with talent “from the ranks” because they placed their personal life first.¹¹³ His statement reinforced the observation that women often were passed by when senior appointments became available, raising the issue of systemic gender discrimination.

Because women predominately staffed libraries, issues on equality came to the forefront. The 1970 *Report* of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada heightened awareness on issues that would reverberate throughout the workplace during the 1970s and 1980s: equal pay for work of

equal value, maternity leave, daycare, pensions, and part-time work. CLA's 1975 conference theme at Toronto during International Women's Year was "The Four-Fifths Minority." Three librarians—Sherrill Cheda, Phyllis Yaffe, and Barbara Clubb—had already established *Emergency Librarian* in 1973 to provide a feminist viewpoint on professional concerns. With the demise of IPLO, unionization continued throughout into the 1980s, even though research indicated librarian-only unions had the potential to attain greater professional style working conditions.¹¹⁴ CUPE was flexible; it could form a bargaining unit of professionals alone and had experience with gender issues. Gradually, it became the 'union of choice' for library employees. With the demise of IPLO, the professional aspirations of Ontario librarians in the late 1950s and early 1960s had succumbed to the practical realities of contemporary labour relations in the 1970s. A new model of professionalism would be needed to supersede previous efforts to organize around a professional body, certification, academic status, expert knowledge, and altruistic service. One emerging possibility was additional information technology expertise (i.e., automated applications of information) and closer ties with IT professionals. Strengthening a client-librarian relationship was another, traditional option.¹¹⁵

In late autumn 1973, the MCU sponsored a general conference at the Ontario Science Centre to bring together Ontario's cultural agencies, trustees, and administrators with Ministry officials to conceive and standardize ideas about promoting the post-secondary world of learning. With the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Book Publishing still relatively fresh, assistance for Canadian publishers was one priority that quickly came to mind. OLA had supported closer library-publisher ties in its short brief to the Commission and CLA's 1972 Regina conference theme, "The Canadian Book," had featured a two-day symposium on book authorship, production, and selling.¹¹⁶ The establishment of the federal government's Canadian Book Publishing Policy in 1972 to provide aid to Canadian majority-owned publishing companies through the Canada Council no doubt spurred a response at Queen's Park. A major outcome of the MCU initiative was the creation of the government's Outreach Ontario program that channeled funds directly to artists or through regional libraries to purchase Canadian books or promote Canadian authors. Libraries were natural places for this type of exposure. Advertising Canadian books was a long-standing theme for libraries, tracing back to the 1920s Canadian Book Week and TPL's *Canadian Catalogue*.

Renewed cultural nationalism sprang from many sources. Midland's inspirational librarian, Helen Delaney, frequently hosted author's nights for Don Harron, Margaret Laurence, and many other authors, as well as taping

writers to broadcast on local radio.¹¹⁷ A Canada Council inspired survey on literary criticism and book reviewing, which librarians responded to, led to the publication of *Books in Canada*, edited by Val Clery, in 1971. One Ontario librarian emphasized, “Our desperate need is for reviews of Canadian publications! There are plenty of reviews of US and UK publications.”¹¹⁸ Regular reviewing sources, such as the *Canadian Reader* issued by the Reader’s Club of Canada, were limited in scope. From the MCU point of view, directed funding for Canadian publications combined with program planning was preferable to increasing formula conditional grants to libraries because it served more than one purpose.

Libraries were also presenting an improved public image concerning the complexities of censorship and literacy. An extensive 1974 study on intellectual freedom as a concept and censorship as an activity in six Ontario cities serving between 50,000 and 150,000 had shown libraries were not particularly censorious but understood that intellectual freedom had realistic public limits, namely materials dealing with children and juveniles.¹¹⁹ Half the libraries held Henry Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* (1961). In one library without *Tropic*, a librarian stated that the library could not have purchased it when it was popular or, if purchased then, it could not freely circulate. Some recounted the practice of ‘restricted circulation’ or ‘book infernos’ but felt contemporary permissive attitudes gave them more latitude. Some books still had symbols on circulation cards or book pockets to indicate potentially offensive sections. “If the borrower is ‘a little old lady’ or a young child,” circulation staff could alert them that the item might cause offence; however, despite the precaution, patrons could take home whatever items they selected. Political materials were generally well represented, but some popular books—Xavier Hollander’s *Happy Hooker: My Own Story* (1971) and Alex Comfort’s *The Joy of Sex* (1972), were in short supply. The six libraries in the study all supported the cause of intellectual freedom and were relatively liberal in their holdings.

Most librarians, administrators, and trustees were quite mindful that issues related to controversial holdings could situate libraries in the spotlight. Many adopted the 1974 intellectual freedom statement that the Canadian Library Association had redrafted at Winnipeg in a renewed effort to strengthen library responses to challenges centred on controversial books and films.¹²⁰ It referenced the Canadian Bill of Rights (1960) and included employers as well as employees, not just librarians. In many ways, it improved and simplified both the OLA 1963 statement and the previous CLA effort adopted at Calgary. The revised statement identified four basic responsibilities:

- it is the responsibility of libraries to guarantee and facilitate access to all expressions of knowledge and intellectual activity

including those which some elements of society may consider to be unconventional, unpopular or unacceptable. To this end, libraries shall acquire and make available the widest variety of materials;

- it is the responsibility of libraries to guarantee the right of free expression by making available all the library's public facilities and services to all individuals and groups who need them;
- libraries should resist all efforts to limit the exercise of these responsibilities while recognizing the right of criticism by individuals and groups;
- both employees and employers in libraries have a duty, in addition to their institutional responsibilities, to uphold these principles.¹²¹

The "Winnipeg Manifesto" served as a support for responses to challenges to library materials throughout the 1970s and, indeed, into the next century.

There were fewer controversies in the seventies and early eighties, as libraries positioned themselves within a national and provincial legal framework that ensured civil rights. The Church of Scientology served writs on both Hamilton and Etobicoke in 1974 because these libraries refused to remove books critical of Scientology, such as Cyril Vosper's *The Mind Benders*. It was a successful defence: months later, the Church withdrew its civil action.¹²² There were disappointments, too: both the Mississauga Public Library and Mississauga Council ruled that the BBC television film, *The Naked Civil Servant*, based on the life of the homosexual Quentin Crisp, would not be shown in a library film series in early 1978 even though its content conformed to library policy.¹²³ Yet liberal values were prevailing. Later, in 1980, North York trustees resisted an effort to remove the gay magazine, *Body Politic*, from two branch libraries when an alderman raised complaints because he felt "The lifestyle it's promoting is contrary to the moral fibre of our society."¹²⁴ In summer 1981, the ready availability of *Playboy* and *Playgirl* in the Deer Park branch of the Toronto Public Library generated controversy about the library's commitment to endearing literature—Jane Austen vs. Harlequin novels. Columnist Michele Landsberg asked,

What is the purpose of spending public money on libraries if they are only to provide a stream of ephemeral schlock? Can librarians show that disadvantaged children, lured to the library with disco music and comic books, will linger on to read Treasure Island? Does it matter if they don't.¹²⁵

The response from Deer Park's branch head, backed by TPL's chief librarian

E. Les Fowlie, was, “We must demystify the library. Anyway, old-style librarians who knew all the books on the shelves ... well, they’re gone.” Landsberg understood the notion of having entertaining, ephemeral works in the library, but she had misgiving about children reading lighter fare who might graduate instead to *Playboy*. It was a question of balance in collections.

Innovative library programmers welcomed the MCU’s broad interpretation of cultural outreach. Equipping libraries with video players and arranging performances or exhibits by Canadian artists was a welcome stimulus. Traditional in-house speakers and lectures for gardeners, crafters, hobbyists, pet owners, and a host of other learning and leisure activities could be promoted with provincial funds. Some libraries maintained the customary reading function in different forms; for example, there was a good attendance at Brampton’s a ten-week summer creative poetry workshop in 1974.¹²⁶ Musical entertainments with regional touring groups through Outreach Ontario offered a rich source for artists. The idea that libraries should be a “people place” was now less contentious. OLA’s annual 1973 conference theme posed the question, “Libraries for Librarians or the People?” Austin Clarke, an author and trustee, replied at the banquet: “I do not feel that a wide enough cross-section of the community does in fact use the facilities of the public libraries. In certain areas, the public library reflects the economics standards of the middle class.” It was a difficult image to overcome when users could find books on the shelves by D.H. Lawrence but not by Harold Robbins. Nonetheless, librarians and trustees were striving to be more diversified.¹²⁷

Because some librarians devised programs in the broadest sense, novel ideas challenged current service norms. In the three years (1972-75) that libraries were aligned with the MCU, libraries began experimenting with lending toys and games. After a federal grant financed Toronto’s Toy Lending Centre and the Canadian Toy Library Association organized in 1974, a few libraries (e.g. Jane-Dundas branch in Etobicoke) soon began to offer toys and games to young children and preschoolers to stimulate creative development. Woodstock also began lending toys in 1974 and usually spent \$250/year for a small and manageable program.¹²⁸ However, later a South Central review in the first part of 1977 indicated just less than one-third of the respondents rated toys for preschoolers “important” or “essential” while about two-thirds considered toy lending either “inappropriate” or “low priority.” The surveyor found, “Some respondents wrote comments deploring the use of library resources for toys.”¹²⁹ Toy and game lending would remain a secondary but popular feature in libraries.

Inside libraries, collections were noticeably less print reliant. There was no quarrel that the public recognized the library as “a good place to find a

book.” But entertaining, educational programs broadcast by TV Ontario after 1970 had influenced learning in the “open sector” beyond classrooms where public libraries concentrated their efforts.¹³⁰ The use of cable television programming in libraries was also becoming more prevalent.¹³¹ Now, in response to changing patterns of usage, the public was finding a greater breadth of library resources, especially audiocassettes introduced in the mid-1960s.¹³² An extensive 1975 study of 14 regional systems and 32 Ontario public libraries over 40,000 population revealed many features of non-print usage. In terms of collections, three-quarters of the libraries offered from six to ten different formats with microform, records, 16mm film, and audiocassettes the most frequently held. Phonograph records, the oldest major non-print resource dating to WWII, ranged in size from 200 discs to more than 6,300, with the average being 2,100 discs in smaller urban libraries between 40,000 to 95,000 population. Film use by individuals and groups was particularly well established. Library programming, public relations, and library orientation utilized various formats. Talking books for partially sighted and physically disabled readers was a popular feature after the Canadian National Institute for the Blind began recording commercial cassettes with inexpensive playback machines. A quarter of the 32 libraries had “become involved with cable companies in producing programs on library activities for showing on community television at regular intervals.”¹³³

In some cases, regional systems were a primary non-print provider, especially for 16mm films. On occasion, these services might be unusual. South Central fixed up a tractor-type bookmobile, christened “Library 5,” that included a-v equipment, films, records, a screen for movies, microphones, and speakers to travel about the region. The van’s carnival atmosphere attracted many children.¹³⁴ Service to schools continued in most regions, although a few regions limited services to teachers for classroom use. The DORLS Audio-visual Committee released a broad survey on films in 1975. Although two regions, North Central and Northeastern, did not provide a service, twelve regions and libraries within their areas had substantial film holdings but still normally less than school boards within the same operating areas.¹³⁵

Algonquin	1,022	Metropolitan Toronto	4,000
Central Ontario	1,819	Midwestern	1,900
Eastern Ontario	400	Niagara	1,237
Georgian Bay	1,600	Northwestern	1,922
Lake Erie	1,600	South Central	2,000
Lake Ontario	1,664	Southwestern	1,600

By studying usage by the public and by schools, the DORLS committee

recommended that libraries should be serving informal educational and personal study through individuals or groups rather than continue with school services. It was a policy that DORLS accepted and gradually adopted in Ontario almost a decade after the idea was first broached.

Larger libraries were also adding video resources on the eve of the introduction of the Sony Betamax and Japan Victor Company VHS (Video Home System) ½ inch tape systems in the late-1970s. Video would become a staple in terms of handling and price over the next fifteen years, eventually supplanting 16mm film as the most important media item and changing the face of library film departments. Nonetheless, as one report observed: “even though libraries have for the past forty years included ‘good films to watch’ and ‘good recordings to hear’ in their catechism of materials to acquire, organize and deliver the public has not generally integrated non-print materials in its image of the public library.”¹³⁶ Libraries, of course, had faced similar difficulties forging identities and roles with adult education organizations and with the continuing education sector during the same forty years. The ingrained stereotypes of the library as a quiet repository for books and of librarians as book-lovers seemed indelibly etched in people’s minds despite motion pictures that conveyed perceptive attitudes and liveliness in library work, such as *Goodbye, Columbus* (1970) and *Foul Play* (1978).

The visual impression of libraries was also changing along Ontario streetscapes. Carnegie facades perpetuated a classical stereotype in small villages and towns, but in suburban areas and busy cities, this monumental-classic style burdened with interior hindrances had become an anachronism. After the Centennial Year surge of building in smaller locales, new libraries in rural areas were atypical events for several years. King City (1970), a small rectangular block, was one exception. Its first Librarian, Marjorie Jarvis, OLA’s President 1935-36 and a former TPL librarian, had established a firm foundation for service when the library first opened in 1947. A dozen years later, it became a free public library; then the main branch of the new municipality of King Township in 1969. Sometimes, new quarters were dependent on donors, for example, in Orono (Clarke Twp.), where a two-storey century house became home to the library in 1970 through a bequest of Lena Renwick. At Rouge Hill, a vacant church became the main library housing central administrative services for the newly formed municipality of Pickering in 1974. In small communities, library facilities were improving their familiar, comfortable atmosphere in diverse ways by inventive funding.

In urban centres, open interiors and daring modernist styles, including the Brutalist style geometric concrete central library in Ottawa (1974), sometimes were startling successors (Table 17: Major Public Library Buildings, 1968-

1995) to library users unaccustomed to innovative space design. Larger structures, such as the 26,000 sq. ft. Albert Campbell district library, often comprised multi-level interiors with staircases deliberately offering people a visual impression of boldness.¹³⁷ In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the cost of major construction rapidly escalated as space requirements for expanding collections, staffing, and programs multiplied. A large central library without an auditorium, audio-visual department, ample parking, or suitable office area for special services was flawed planning. Burlington, opened by the Governor General, Rolland Michener, on a snowy day in November 1970, exemplified the new type of building.¹³⁸ Interiors suited users' preferences; designs went beyond pedestrian control. According to Philip R. Brook, who designed many libraries, there was no average user, thus:

In consideration, the character, scale and atmosphere of spaces in the library should vary as widely as its users, each should feel that it has been created for him personally. In the large library it requires a particular effort not to lose human scale. Large areas can be reduced with screens, planting, ceiling drops and made human with materials such as wood, leather, brick, furniture with colour and texture, and lighting of varying levels and character.¹³⁹

Some architects and firms began to specialize in libraries: knowledgeable observers could differentiate a Raymond Moriyama library from one designed by Phillip Carter or Philip Brook.

Many buildings, for example, the central libraries in Metro Toronto or St. Catharines, featured modernist styles that swept back from the street level, which reduced the scale of the building to visitors. Some, like Galt, opened by Sheila Egoff in 1968, included an art gallery. Some, like the Chingacousy library (1972), became part of a new civic-shopping complex in Bramalea. Some, like Owen Sound (1973), were artful additions to an older Carnegie that continued its useful life.¹⁴⁰ Some, like St. Thomas-Elgin County, were a joint effort for central quarters that continued the International Style graced by the statue, "Mother and Child," created by Jiri Hanzalek.¹⁴¹ After Centennial year's smaller conventional projects, larger complex buildings or additions with inviting interior arrangements were a welcome arrival for users. Libraries were places where architects utilized space to create an experience for users. The recurrent inclusion of multi-purpose civic space harked back to the London Public Library and Richard Crouch's cultural theme. Features that had made London unique in 1940 now seemed standard. In terms of beauty, Niagara Falls (1977), with its pool, fountain, attractive plants, natural wood, and curvilinear pathways, was a quiet haven that would retain its charm into the next millennium. Windsor's new central library, opened in November

1973, spearheaded by chief librarian Fred Israel, featured a bookstore, family reading centre, language centre, and rooms for 300 persons to meet. The facility’s major drawback—operating funds! Its proposed budget was slashed, a practice that would be repeated in other communities opening new libraries.¹⁴² Improved entry for disabled persons using rampways and elevators and more accessible interior design for access to book shelving and washrooms was becoming mandatory.¹⁴³ As libraries began to prepare for automation, the emphasis shifted to layouts with computerized equipment for circulation, public, and technical processes.

While libraries resided within the MCU, the public library’s versatile roles came to the fore, sponsored with the use of special provincial funding. Thus, the OPLC continued to request special funding and was successful in securing major grants for talking books, outreach programs, automated projects, and the development of the Joint Fiction Reserve. It also requested funding for a new Ontario survey of libraries. The 1965 St. John report was now outdated, and it was apparent that differing philosophies of resource sharing had created barriers between types of libraries. Eventually, in June 1974, James Auld, the MCU minister, approved a research study. By autumn, the OPLC commissioned Albert Bowron to complete a general investigation. He was well qualified for the task, having worked in Ontario libraries for almost three decades. The proposed survey was quite broad in conception. It was to encompass societal features relevant to the future development of libraries; to assess the quality and variety of library services; to evaluate legislation and financial support; and to analyze government programs germane to library development. Finally, the OPLC wanted to receive recommendations regarding the organization, financing, and coordination of public libraries that would outline a plan for development for ten years.

The Bowron Report

This ambitious agenda narrowed when the MCU reduced its funding. As a result, the surveyor and OPLC reduced or eliminated some original aspects. Two additional factors also altered the OPLC’s commissioned study: one at the provincial level, the other in Metropolitan Toronto. At the end of 1974, a new Ministry of Culture and Recreation (MCR) was established. The idea of placing libraries in a “Ministry of Culture” had been debated at the 1971 OLA convention in London. Already, a cultural unit had operated successfully in the MCU. The news that the PLS would become a unit within the MCR’s Multicultural Development and Public Libraries Division in early 1975 came

without much consultation, even though the library component consumed about twenty percent of the new Ministry's total budget. In fact, the PLS was not mentioned when the new ministry was announced. The NDP member, Jim Foulds, noted this omission when the Minister in charge of the Social Development policy field, Margaret Birch, made known creation of the MCR in the Legislature:

I was surprised the minister doesn't seem to indicate in the statement that the library area will be under this ministry. It seems to me to be a natural for it. I know when they take things out from other ministries, hopefully at least, there are cross-ties within the branches of ministries.¹⁴⁴

For convenience, the MCR grouped its budget estimates for libraries and community centres, but operations remained separate.

For the Provincial Library Service, this move was the last in a series of shuffles that situated it in three different ministries in four years. The change also coincided with a dramatic shift in political fortunes. In the September 1975 provincial election, Premier Davis' hold on power evaporated. For the first time in three decades, the Progressive Conservative Party had to tread cautiously in a minority government. This electoral setback strengthened the Conservative determination to control spending in a brief recessionary period resulting from the mid-east oil crisis. Not surprisingly, when the government's *Report of the Special Program Review* appeared, it recommended no new MCR program initiatives and a five percent ceiling on its existing programs.¹⁴⁵ Costs savings and results-based management became fundamental bywords. The news came at a time when the staff of the PLS had dwindled from thirteen in 1965 to eight in 1975. The Special Program Review also advised against further regional restructuring unless requested by local governments.

Of course, the Greater Toronto Area was an exception to the rule. In September 1974, John Robarts became chair of a Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto to review responsibilities in the two-tier structure encompassing the six boroughs and city. As a result, Metro libraries became less interested in the Bowron study because the Royal Commission took precedence. In fact, in terms of consensus, the Metro library board and lower-tier boards had yet to agree upon a metropolitan strategy. Toronto's Bureau of Municipal Research studied future options with some recommendations about community programming in neighbourhood branches and expanding interloan across Metro, a popular option.¹⁴⁶ North York, led by John Dutton, had consistently advocated that the Metro library board support the technical services, research, and coordinated needs of borough and city libraries. The construction of the Metro Central Library, scheduled to open in 1977, had

always been a contentious issue. Even a few librarians questioned its utility.¹⁴⁷

By the early 1970s, Toronto was encountering budget difficulties, especially for capital projects. TPL found its neighbourhood branch libraries needed revitalization, although it was still wedded to a policy of creating larger district branches, a legacy from the 1960 Shaw report. TPL was more inclined to work on studies about system goals or internal management and to plan future projects within city limits. TPL’s activist board chose to seek advice from citizen advisory committees during this process.¹⁴⁸ The City of Toronto elections of 1972 and 1974 had returned a council with a majority of reformers (radical and moderate) led by a new mayor, David Crombie. In the subsequent years, TPL’s board appointments began to reflect the civic activism that had led to the stoppage of the Spadina Expressway in 1971 and curbs on developers in the downtown. Neighbourhood branches (not larger district libraries) and services for people (rather than collections) that were evaluated by local area constituents were priorities with reform board members, such as James Lorimer, who became TPL’s chair. Novel service points—possible subway stops or supermarkets—should be considered. Outdated, crowded branches required invigoration, particularly in the east end.¹⁴⁹

It was against this backdrop that the Bowron study began in 1975. There were some unknowns because the new MCR would be developing its own program priorities. At the same time, divisions became more apparent in the library community. The Administrators of Large Urban Centre Public Libraries in Ontario immediately came together in April 1975 to present the new MCR Minister, Robert Welch, with a short brief that indicated the OPLC’s proposed study did not sufficiently address broader library issues. Their brief requested added financial support for urban libraries that bore the burden of resource networking and for more representation in planning. The dozen larger Ontario libraries believed rural and regional representatives did not understand or sympathize with their problems.¹⁵⁰ A year later, in May 1976, another grouping of public libraries, Administrators of Medium-Size Public Libraries (AMPLO), formed to speak for its constituency. With DORLS, AMPLO, the County and Regional Municipality Librarians (CARML), and large urban administrators (CELPLO) now meeting regularly to discuss library development, the divisions within Ontario were apparent. To bring the groups together, the Ontario Public Librarians’ Advisory Committee (OPLAC), organized in spring 1976 to advise the OPLC. OPLAC was composed of members from all library groups, thus providing a professional administrative forum.

While Albert Bowron was composing *The Ontario Public Library*, the MCR Minister, Robert Welch, spoke to OLA’s annual convention at Windsor

in May 1975 about his new department and his perception of libraries' future roles. OLA was in the process of organizational change itself: this would be its final summer conference. The Minister explained the MCR's five divisions: arts support, multicultural support and citizenship, sports and fitness, heritage conservation, and libraries and community information. The libraries section composed the most substantial part of his ministry, and he considered libraries could assume loftier service levels. Library base funding in 1975 would reach \$19 million; in addition, the MCR would make \$400,000 available to regional libraries for its Canadiana stimulation program. Outreach Ontario would continue in the MCR, and a new program with \$234,000, Experience '75, would be available for summer student employment. Many were relieved to hear that the MCR supported conditional grants. Welch concluded by saying, "I am hearing many voices, many solutions, many opinions," and he hoped the ministry-library partnership would be successful.¹⁵¹

At its inception, the MCR continued to follow the logic and governmental policy decisions derived from the MCU and the COPSE report that had strengthened arguments to include libraries in a post-secondary sector with other cultural agencies. Practical demonstrations especially influenced Ministry funding decisions. One agency, the OECA (Ontario Educational Communications Authority), brought a new media format, the ¾" videotape, into play for libraries. Video had been part of collections in Metro Toronto libraries, e.g. Scarborough (especially at Cedarbrae) and Etobicoke, for several years. In 1974, the OECA and Chinguacousy Public Library experimented with lending video equipment and tapes to home users combined with instructional sessions. After a brief time, it became evident from a user, library staff, and technical standpoint that home loaning of portable video equipment and tapes was practicable. Because video had the potential to become equally valuable as a learning resource as film, the MCR began supporting educational video and equipment purchases.¹⁵²

For small-town Ontario, where facilities and budgets inhibited programming, regional systems hired coordinators to organize tour logistics. In Algonquin, a busy schedule of performances was supported by touring grants, ticket sales, and regional funds in 1974-75. There were repeated readings by novelists such as Marian Engel; theatre performances by Young People's Theatre; Dave Broadfoot's "Take a Beaver to Lunch" comedy revue; and flamenco dancing by the popular Paula Moreno Spanish Dance Company. Popular programs drew as many as 500 people.¹⁵³ In the countryside, library displays at county library fall fairs were standard long before 1976, but, in this year, CARML decided to organize a joint county effort for the International Ploughing Match held at Walkerton. These fall matches often attracted as

many as 200,000, and 1976 was no exception. By all accounts, the county library booth exhibit was a resounding success as Bruce County highlighted its new “Books by Mail” operation.¹⁵⁴ Not every program was successful or well attended, but hundreds of libraries were altering the public impression that libraries were just about books.

Throughout the year, the provincial government unveiled further plans for libraries as it developed its priorities. Wintario, a popular lottery begun in April, would provide funds for capital construction to municipalities, usually on a 1/3 basis, along with non-capital funds directly to libraries for Canadian books. With the introduction of reviews of new books in *Quill & Quire* (1969) and the publication of *Books in Canada* in 1971, librarians had better resources to acquire Canadian content. Many libraries began to apply to Wintario when they became eligible later in the fall. In October 1975, the Ontario Commission on the Legislature, chaired by Dalton Camp, issued a report on government information service; it proposed that the government and OLA consider establishing a network linking libraries by telephone and telex to furnish public information and referral service for six days a week. “Its purpose would be to give every Ontario citizen a source to call for information on anything to do with all levels of government, including immediate answers where possible, or forwarded to the appropriate source where it is not possible.”¹⁵⁵ The Commission requested library responses during 1976, while the Bowron report underwent review.

Albert Bowron, with assistance from the PLS, produced a general investigative report with forty-three recommendations covering ten key areas. In dealing with the provincial bodies, the OPLC and PLS, the report dealt with the segmented public library “system:”

Without a recognized, informed and, as far as possible, representative body to reconcile differences of opinions and to recommend actions which will meet the needs of the public for information and library resources, the Minister, the Cabinet, the Treasury Board, the Deputy Minister and the Provincial Library Service will continue to establish priorities, initiate programmes and fund the Ontario Public Library without consensus, without consultation, without acceptable guidelines and without long-range plans.¹⁵⁶

As a remedy, the report advised the Minister to appoint an Ontario Public Library Board to replace the OPLC. The Board would establish minimum standards, coordinate research, study financing, and establish province-wide policies for public library and information service (p. 65-68).

The PLS would be enlarged to develop provincial plans and be

responsible for community information centers (CICs), thus becoming a "Public Library and Community Information Services Branch." The branch would supervise library legislation and CICs; conduct research; support the proposed Ontario Library Board; and liaise with ministry officials. Additional staff for electronic data processing, networking, and CICs, was urged (p. 57-61) along with service to Franco-Ontarians (p. 155-158). It would also be necessary to study Ontario's aboriginal population to develop policies and programs. The six MCR regional field offices needed to establish closer cooperation with libraries at the local and regional levels. The CICs would benefit from recognized standards. A provincial policy about unconditional grants should be articulated. Because the Institute of Professional Librarians had raised the issue of professional library education and certification, the MCR was requested to work with IPLO to set government policy (p. 41-50).

For the fourteen regional systems, Bowron advocated better program budgeting and elimination of funding for library materials and equipment. Instead, projects with long-term possibilities should be a priority. Bowron summarized the main existing regional problems:

...little progress has been made toward a provincial network. Inter-library lending is inconsistently organized. There is no accepted plan for the exchange of resources or the routing of bibliographic information. Many libraries deal directly with the National Library or the Metro Toronto Central Library instead of centralizing requests through their regional headquarters. The development of communication systems, the use of teleprinters, etc., are uneven both within the regions and between them. Public relations within regions and communities is often incompetent. (p. 90)

Among the regions, there was a split between teletype and telex.¹⁵⁷ Centralized processing was only viable in Midwestern and Niagara. Co-operative processing among regions was needed to reduce independent operations. Bowron recommended greater use of the University of Toronto Library Automated Systems (UTLAS) that was already serving North York, Metro Toronto, Scarborough, and Mississauga. Participating UTLAS libraries could access each other's data files and receive individualized printed catalogues. Common goals were required to successfully direct a large public library group to manage acquisitions, cataloging, processing, circulation, and inter-loan. Thus, the report recommended the proposed Public Library Board investigate automation to devise a unified policy (p. 135-142).

Bowron approached municipal library boards intending to "reduce the number, the types of library authorities, the ways in which members are appointed, to change the term of appointment and other regulations" (p. 69). In

1975, 308 boards were serving less than 10,000 people, a Depression-era number despite thirty years’ counsel about the wisdom of larger units. There was an analysis of the issue of pro-forma (non-operating) boards. Their formation in the regions of Eastern Ontario, Georgian Bay, and Lake Ontario had effectively stalled the creation of union or county boards while at the same time increasing population bases to be served with minimal municipal support. Bowron recommended that a board serving less than 15,000 be required to exceed its provincial grant with local revenue after two years, especially if it chose to operate its own service point (p. 72-77). Payment to board members should be allowed, and all boards should be composed of nine members appointed by municipal councils to ensure accountability. Appointing bodies should exercise care to make boards more representative of their communities.

The composition and formation of boards also came under examination. In an analysis of 1,296 board members, Bowron found 19.2 % were housewives, 18.2% involved in education, 16.1% to be business persons, 12.6% were retired, 4.1% were farmers, 4% from skilled labour, and 25.8% “other:” Obviously, middle-income occupations predominated. There were only a few skilled trades, labourers, miners, social services or community workers. “The typical board member in Ontario in 1974 was a man, 30 to 50 years old, with a university or college education, who worked in the field of education.” (p. 80-82). Bowron urged greater efforts by the MCR to form county libraries. Library service in newly restructured regions or counties should become the responsibility of the upper-tier. Special funding for initial development was necessary because the report criticized county development:

Physically the county libraries have changed little from the co-operative days. There has been some centralization of administration and services. Forms and procedures have been standardized but performance is not much improved.
(p. 124)

With better funding, promotional efforts, and inclusion of all municipalities, new municipal county-region systems would progress more rapidly and reduce service variations between towns, villages, and rural townships (p. 127-28).

The report’s final chapter on provincial reorganization, limited to six recommendations, was its most controversial section (p.160-174). The report called for one “integrated public library system” in all the new thirteen local government regions (Metro excepted) and future restructured counties (cities and separated towns excepted). Upper-tier service should be the preference. Bowron recommended the reduction of fourteen regional library systems to seven “federated library systems” (based on the new MCR’s regional offices) administered by boards numbering nine to fifteen trustees. The federated

systems would coordinate network activities; provide central processing; liaise with other systems, the province, and the Public Library Board; and organize appropriate regional-based work. Resource libraries in federated systems should act as government depositories; develop collections to provincial standards, offer reference and information, and act as inter-lending centres. In return, they would receive provincial payment on a per capita basis. The MCR should develop a provincial plan for library growth, and the new Public Library Board should establish meaningful standards—qualitative ones based on consensus and quantitative ones for grants. The report concluded (p.174): “There will be a clear differentiation in the responsibilities between the local library, the resource library and the federated library system but anyone should be able to obtain in their own community, at less cost, library and information services relevant to today and tomorrow.” Copies of the Bowron report were issued in January 1976 across Ontario to stimulate discussion and, ultimately, for the OPLC to recommend changes to the MCR.

A variety of responses to the Bowron report surfaced throughout 1976, even extending into 1977. One weakness of *The Ontario Public Library* soon became apparent: a noticeable lack of public input into the original report gathering process. Fewer than forty briefs and letters were submitted during the survey; these were mostly from libraries, regional systems, or educational groups like the OLA. It was only with the appearance of the report that some municipal groups became aware of its significance. The OLA’s contribution had concentrated on funding, primarily increased provincial aid for assessment-poor municipalities as well as capital grants for construction.¹⁵⁸ Yet, there was little recognition of OLA’s specific funding suggestions in the final report. The MCR was prepared to receive post-report submissions, but the onus was on the OLA and the OPLC to assess library responses. Overall, there were issues the Bowron report either did not deal with, such as unionization, professional status, or organization in Metro Toronto. The surveyor also made judgements that were difficult to construct a consensus, i.e. the federated library systems. Current activities and events continued to unfold that diverted interest from the report or steered energies in new directions.

The OLA organized two major meetings on the Bowron report in February and April 1976. Four hundred registrants attended the first meeting, held at the Four Seasons Sheraton Hotel in Toronto, with Albert Bowron and the journalist Douglas Fisher, a former CCF politician and librarian at Port Arthur Collegiate and the Lakehead Technical Institute Forest Library squaring off.¹⁵⁹ Fisher was blunt: the report would have little effect on provincial politicians or ministry bureaucrats. The conference generally

reacted negatively to restructuring regions, criticized the lack of reference to capital funding, and decried the “bad score” on county libraries. As Ron Baker from Lambton County put it: “We’re a little upset with Mr. Bowron who keeps telling us what a deplorable job we have done, and then telling everyone they should form counties.” On some points, e.g. networking and infrastructure need, there was more agreement.¹⁶⁰ Two months later, about two hundred participated in the OLA Trustees division teleconference spotlighting recommendations about library boards. Many trustees felt Bowron’s report did not sufficiently strengthen the PLS or the OPLC and that his federated planning regions were not realistic. Larger units of service should be encouraged rather than legislated.¹⁶¹ At the end of October, the OLA’s Toronto annual meeting held a session, “Bowron and Beyond,” that agreed a strengthened provincial library board and the MCR’s lead in the development of networking was necessary.

Meetings within regions often produced ideas related to coordinated services or the value of centralized processing. Some issues, such as the need for standards or guidelines, were not contentious. In the newly formed Regional Municipality of Sudbury (1973), for example, the North Central system was encouraging elemental standards such as hours to improve substandard performance in six smaller municipalities outside Sudbury.¹⁶²

Place (branches)	1975 Hours open/week	Proposed Standard per week
Capreol (1)	20	30
Nickel Centre (4)	43	95
Onaping Falls (4)	25	60
Rayside/Balfour (2)	48	65
Valley East (2)	65	80
Walden (5)	65	105

In northern Ontario, the achievement of basic service needed proper funding to overcome distances and income disparities, not further study as Bowron advocated. To reinforce this alternative policy, the four northern regions submitted a joint brief directly to the Minister in 1976 that requested additional funding without regard to the OPLC information gathering process.¹⁶³ Individual boards, often in larger places, regretted their loss of regional representation in the enlarged federated structure or their lessened role as resource libraries. The lack of rationale for the seven federated regions and the complexities of board composition for the new regional entities puzzled observers who had spent the better part of a decade fostering closer

relationships in the existing regional environment.

Administrative groups also debated the report's merits. OPLAC's presentation to the OPLC in fall 1976 cited the lack of a provincial policy statement on libraries; the need for stronger leadership in the PLS; and a stronger OPLC with OPLAC as its professional official advisory arm. As well, OPLAC felt a province-wide organizational network linking libraries with resource centres supported by ongoing electronic data processing research to keep libraries current was a requisite. Improved funding would be necessary. OPLAC suggested a provincial policy statement on public library service:

- i. Every citizen of the Province regardless of where he lives has the right to ready access to information and knowledge to meet his individual needs;
- ii. The public library system must be an essential part of, and play an effective role in the process of disseminating information in the Province...¹⁶⁴

Finally, in November 1976, an OPLC conference in Toronto, chaired by Ottawa's chief librarian, Claude Aubry, finalized recommendations for the Minister. The OPLC mulled over advice it received there to build consensus. Compromise and unity were essential to both the OPLC and the MCR because the provincial government's precarious minority position was being tested in the Legislature regularly.

Some issues scrutinized in *The Ontario Public Library*, especially unconditional grants, drew attention outside library circles. As Bowron noted, after the 1973-74 Ontario budget statements proposed to deconditionalize grants to municipalities, trustees, the OPLC, and the OLA raised a predictable round of protest.¹⁶⁵ The Treasurer, John White, reluctantly postponed his plan. He appointed a Provincial-Municipal Grants Reform Committee (chaired by D.W. Stevenson) to review the issue. This committee began reviewing arguments raised in 1974 by local boards and library associations. A new municipal group formed in 1972, the Association of Municipalities of Ontario (AMO), also weighed in with its preference to deconditionalize grants. The Association believed that municipalities should have the right to appoint all board members and have the option to dissolve a board and to make it a committee of council. Further, the AMO rejected most of the Bowron recommendations on county libraries and insisted that the OPLC remain an advisory board.¹⁶⁶

Robert Welch met with municipal representatives in April 1977 to hear these views directly before William Davis' minority government was defeated and a general election called for June. Given the current political uncertainty, Welch declined to make any commitments. Later in the year, AMO's position on unconditional grants was supported by the Stevenson Committee report. It

reviewed library board protests: “They argued that local councils attached a low priority to library activities and would reduce their financial support if specific Provincial grants to library boards were terminated. The evidence suggests that this would not likely be the case.”¹⁶⁷ The Stevenson Report recommended eliminating grants to municipal library boards and the transfer of library services to municipal councils. The AMO remained vigilant on library questions by issuing reports countering ideas that library groups proposed.

Another deficiency raised in the Bowron review was interconnection with federal libraries and organizations outside the MCR. Public libraries across Canada were seeking new services supported by the National Library and the new \$15 million national science library erected in 1974, CISTI (the Canada Institute for Scientific and Technical Information). CISTI was particularly active in providing an online enquiry system, CAN/OLE, and extending the National Research Council’s scientific databases to universities and larger public libraries.¹⁶⁸ The National Library continued to plan a Canadian library network based on national bibliographic standards. It judged that cooperative library networks were on the “verge of realization.”¹⁶⁹ The range and size of circulating national language collections also expanded. After the National Library established its Multilingual Biblioservice in 1973, it was possible to receive books at centres across Canada. This collection was primarily non-scholarly: 40% fiction, 30% children’s reading, and 30% subject-oriented non-fiction. The Biblioservice soon built a clientele of Ontario libraries through regional systems. DORLS created an advisory committee on Multilingual Library Services in 1976.¹⁷⁰ Ontario officially adopted a multicultural policy in May 1977 to promote equality amongst its citizens, to protect freedom of access to public facilities and services, and to ensure the right of individuals and groups to maintain their ethnocultural heritage.

As 1976 gave way to 1977, the OPLC members weighed all the contributions made on the Bowron report and prepared recommendations for the MCR. However, a May-June provincial election campaign delayed presentation to Robert Welch until later in July 1977. The well-known politician had been re-elected, but the Progressive-Conservatives, headed by Premier Davis, remained in a minority position. After fifteen months of work, the OPLC underlined agreement about the need for:

- 1) a statement covering the extent and objectives of library service;
- 2) a new Ontario Public Library Board with its own funds and staff;
- 3) amendments to legislation to eliminate branch libraries if all parties agree, especially in counties;
- 4) status quo for existing operation and appointments to library boards;

- 5) status quo for existing conditional grant scheme until reasonable access to library service could be assured;
- 6) status quo for regional boundaries unless changes requested by affected board(s);
- 7) increased funding for automated systems work;
- 8) a study to improve service to Franco-Ontarians;
- 9) research to improve the state of Canadian resources in libraries;
- 10) increased funding for studies on library service.¹⁷¹

The OPLC report often favoured further study or existing conditions, a hesitant, incremental approach.

As consideration of the Bowron Report closed, it seemed a decade of indecision might end. The sixties and seventies had been a search for general purpose, structure, and role definition. Support for more socially responsible advocacy, imaginative outreach efforts, or community involvement had faltered in the face of administrative discord and the need to address rapid technological change. A decade of growth had slipped by marked by discord and division even as circulation surpassed fifty million and almost eight million people were reached.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Boards</i>	<i>Total Expenses</i> <i>\$ 000's</i>	<i>Volumes</i>	<i>Total Circulation</i>	<i>Pop. Served</i> <i>000's</i>
1967	322	\$ 25,302	10,434,865	46,460,076	5,848
1969	313	34,258	11,951,475	49,540,140	6,197
1971	343	43,094	13,313,394	50,062,186	6,861
1973	390	57,308	15,412,524	48,863,557	7,361
1975	463	80,979	17,644,695	53,128,079	7,937

Perhaps now provincial leadership in cultural affairs could do what divided library leadership had failed to achieve. The Minister already had promised further Wintario library funding and ministry support at the opening of the St. Catharines Centennial Library in June 1977; thus, the MCR partnership with libraries might have a promising future if policies for roles and responsibilities could be resolved.

CHAPTER 6 NOTES

1. “Mimico Centennial Library,” *Canadian Architect* 12 (June 1967): 55-58; Brian Cruchley, “Mimico Celebrates with a New Library,” *Toronto Daily Star*, 24 May 1967: 51; and “Oakville Centennial Project, Oakville, Ontario,” *Canadian Architect* 14 (Feb. 1969): 45-52.
2. Patrick J. Boyer, *Local Library, Global Passport* (Toronto: Blue Butterfly Books, 2008), 205.
3. Eric Moon, “Identity and Conviction [Editorial],” *Library Journal* 91 (Nov. 15, 1966): 5564 noted these qualities across Canada.
4. Status of Film Federations in the Ontario Film Association, Inc.; February 16, 1968, File: Film Councils, Correspondence Files of Director of Provincial Library Service Branch 1939-69, Dept. of Education, RG 2-229, box 1, AO; and John Dutton, “The Role of Urban Libraries in Co-operation,” in Ontario Resources and Technical Services Group, *Co-operate?? or Co-operate!!! A Symposium...* (Windsor: University of Windsor, 1968), 13-23.
5. Donald Hendricks, *Centralized Processing and Regional Library Development: The Midwestern Regional Library System, Kitchener, Ontario* (Kitchener: MRLS, 1970), 48-61; and C.D. Lawson, “Centralized Processing: A Report from Midwestern Regional Library System,” *OLR* 54, no. 2 (June 1970): 80-85.
6. Library Services in Welland County (c. 1968), File: Welland County Co-Op, Public Library Boards Correspondence Files, Dept. of Education, RG 2-230, box 2, AO; and *Regional Municipality of Niagara Amendment Act, 1968-69*, 17-18 Eliz. II, chap. 107, sec. 172.
7. Albert Bowron, *A Study of the Niagara Regional Library System* (Toronto: Information, Media & Library Planners, 1970), part 1.
8. Albert Bowron, *A Study of Library Service in Southwestern Ontario* (Toronto: Information, Media & Library Planners, 1972), 45-47.
9. “Library Board Chief Finds Task Hampered,” *Globe and Mail*, 5 June 1967: 5.
10. “One Metro Library Board” *Globe and Mail*, 14 April 1967: 6.
11. “Scarboro [sic] Library Board Slashes Budget by 25%,” *Globe and Mail*, 11 April 1967: 13; and “Cedarbrae Regional Library [Opens],” *Quill & Quire* 33 (Jan. 1967): 21.
12. Ron Haggard, “Half-time Library for the Old Sweats,” *Toronto Daily Star*, 7 June 1967: 7.
13. “How to Wreck a Library,” *Globe and Mail*, 9 May 1968: 6.
14. Joe Serge, “You Can Find Even Urdu Books in Metro’s Libraries,” *Toronto Star*, 9 Dec. 1972: 27. Leonard Wertheimer, “We’re Filling the Gap Left in Bilingualism Policy,” *Toronto Star*, 9 Dec. 1972: 27; and Wertheimer, “Multiculturalism and Public Libraries,” *CLJ* 30 (May-June 1973): 243-45.
15. *A Brief to the Prime Minister of Ontario from the Toronto Public*

Library Board on the Consolidation of Public Library Services in Metropolitan Toronto Under One Jurisdiction (Toronto: TPL, 1970).

16. *Public Library Service in Metropolitan Toronto; Report of a Seminar, Attended by the Trustees of Public Libraries of Metropolitan Toronto* (North York: NYPL, 1970), 18.

17. Grace Buller, "Toronto's Spaced Out Library" *OLR* 57, no. 3 (Sept. 1973): 167-70; and Lisa Betel, "Spaced out: A History of the Merrill Collection of Science Fiction, Speculation and Fantasy, 1968-1979," MIST thesis, Faculty of Information Studies, University of Toronto, 2009.

18. Laura Murray, "(1) Re-examination of Objectives," *International Library Review* 3 (1971): 309-14; Dorothy Chatwin, "Information Services," *IRL* 3 (1971): 315-21; Leonard Chester, "(3) Library Service to Industry," *ILR* 3 (1971): 323-31; and Anon, "(4) Out-reach Services for Libraries in North York," *ILR* 3 (1971): 333-38.

19. Alden Baker, "A Library's Search for its Role," *Globe and Mail*, 30 Nov. 1970: 5; and James MacKenzie, "Proposed New Library Labelled an Instant Antique," *Globe*, 8 Dec. 1970: 5.

20. Raymond Moriyama, Albert W. Bowron and Jack Barry Ellis, *Metropolitan Toronto Central Library Programme and Site Selection Study* (Toronto: MTL, 1971).

21. Ontario Committee on Taxation, *Report* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1967), vol. 2, 435.

22. *Brief Submitted by the Ontario Library Association and the Ontario Library Trustees Association to the Ontario Committee on Taxation, March 1964* (Toronto: OLA, 1964), 2-3.

23. See library board letters to the department of education in File: Ontario Committee on Taxation, Correspondence Files 1939-69, Dept. of Education, RG 2-229, box 1, AO.

24. Select Committee of the Legislature on the Report of the Ontario Committee on Taxation, *Taxation in Ontario: A Program for Reform* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1968), 126.

25. N.H. Richardson, "Insubstantial Pageant: The Rise and Fall of Provincial Planning in Ontario," *Canadian Public Administration* 24 (1981): 563-86 reviews this period; along with C.R. Tindal, "Regional Development in Ontario," *Canadian Public Administration* 16 (1973): 110-23.

26. Stephen Cummings, "Public Libraries as Part of Ontario's Regional Reform," *CLJ* 43 (Feb. 1986): 39-47.

27. Albert Bowron, "Focus on Regional Government," *OLR* 55, no. 1 (March 1971): 4-7; and Susan J. Dolbey, "Libraries and Regional Government," *OLR* 55, no. 1 (March 1971): 8-10.

28. Niagara Region Local Government Review, *Report of the Commission* (Toronto: Dept. of Municipal Affairs, 1966), 35-36.

29. Peel-Halton Local Government Review, *Report* (Toronto: Dept. of Municipal Affairs, 1966), 80.

30. *Regional Municipality of Waterloo Act, 1972*, 21 Eliz. II, chap. 105,

sec. 169; and *Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth Act, 1973*, 22-23 Eliz. II chap. 74, sec. 138.

31. Susan Anderson, “The Lesson on Libraries in the Hall-Dennis Report,” *Globe and Mail*, 8 July 1968: 7.

32. Ontario Provincial Committee on the Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario, *Living and Learning* (Toronto: Queen’s Printer, 1968), 183. William G. Fleming, *The Provincial Library System* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 24-33, reviews Hall-Dennis.

33. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 6 June 1968, 4085.

34. Letters from protesting boards are scattered throughout the Public Library Boards Correspondence Files, Dept. of Education, RG 2-230, boxes 1 to 4, AO.

35. Sonja Sinclair, “Public and School Libraries,” *Royal Commission on Book Publishing: Background Papers* (Toronto: Queen’s Printer, 1972), vol. 2, 239-242.

36. Albert Bowron, *Library Service in the Georgian Bay Region* (Toronto: Information, Media & Library Planners, 1971), vol. 4, 31-33.

37. Brian Burnham, *The Secondary School in Ontario, 1966-1969* (Toronto: OISE, c. 1969), 42; Brian Burnham, *The Elementary School in Ontario, 1966-1969* (Toronto: OISE, c. 1969), 43-44.

38. Charles D. Kent, *Ryerson Cake with Dewey Icing: Some Reflections on Living and Learning* (London: London Public Library and Art Museum, 1969), 6-12.

39. Catharine Barker and Brian Burnham, *The New School Library* (Toronto: OISE, 1968), 10-11.

40. Ida Reddy, “The School-housed Public Library: An Evaluation,” *OLR* 52, no. 2 (June 1968): 82-84.

41. “To Unity,” *Globe and Mail*, 6 June 1968: 6.

42. “Public Libraries under County Boards of Education: A Feasibility Study,” File: Provincial Library Service Branch Part I, Public Library Boards Correspondence Files, Dept. of Education, RG 2-230, box 4, AO.

43. “The Menace of a Regional Jungle,” *Globe and Mail*, 12 March 1969: 6.

44. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 1 May 1969, 3826.

45. *Proceedings of the OLA, 1969*, unpagged.

46. Ontario Department of Education, *Library Resource Centres for Elementary Schools* (Toronto, March 1968).

47. Kitchener Public Library, *Public Libraries and School Libraries: Their Roles and Functions* (Kitchener: KPL, 1970); Albert Bowron, *Coordination of Public Library Service and Secondary School Service in Mississauga* (Toronto: Information Media & Library Planners, 1972); also see Doris P. Fennell, *Survey of School and Public Library Co-operation in Ontario* (May, 1974) for a geographic review.

48. “Brief to the Select Committee on the Utilization of Educational

Facilities," *OLA Newsletter* 12 (April 1974): 16-17.

49. Ontario Select Committee on the Utilization of Educational Facilities, "*What Happens Next is Up to You*" (Toronto: the Committee, 1975), 55-57.

50. W.A. Roedde to Regional Library Systems Directors, 17 Oct. 1968; File: Regional Development Part A, Correspondence Files 1939-69, Dept. of Education, RG 2-229, box 2, AO.

51. Barrie J. Robinson, "Frontenac County Public Library," *OLR* 55, no. 3 (Sept. 1971): 167-70.

52. Bruce Geddes, "Lennox & Addington County Public Library," *OLR* 59, no. 1 (March 1975): 33-35.

53. Herman Nyland, "Bookmobile Service—the United Way," *OLR* 53, no. 3 (Sept. 1969): 138-41; and Herman Nyland, "Stormont, Dundas & Glengarry County Public Library," *OLR* 58, no. 4 (Dec. 1974): 246-48.

54. Ron Barker, "Ontario Joint Fiction Reserve," *OLR* 57, no. 1 (March 1973): 30-32.

55. Louise Schryver, "How Much Money Should Libraries Get?" *Globe and Mail*, 11 August 1972: 7.

56. *Public Library Standards; Appendix* (Ottawa: CLA, 1969), 2.

57. Ma[r]y Shortt, "Advisers Anonymous, Arise!" *OLR* 49, no. 2 (May 1965): 81-83; and Darlene Money, "Whatever Happened to Readers' Advisory Service," *OLR* 55, no. 1 (March 1971): 14-16.

58. Beckie Barber and Frank Obljubek, *The Role of the Public Library in the Community: What Should It Be and Do?* (Thunder Bay: Northwestern Ontario Library Action Group, 1972), 5-16.

59. "Positive Recommendations Regarding Public Libraries in Ontario," *OLR* 43, no. 1 (March 1970): 91-92.

60. Clinton Lawson, "Regional Library Systems in Ontario: Past, Present, Future," *IPLO Quarterly* 14 (Jan. 1973): 98-103; and W.A. Roedde, "Public Libraries: The Next Ten Years," *IPLO Quarterly* 14 (Jan. 1973): 96-97.

61. "The Neglected Reader," *Globe and Mail*, 8 May 1972: 6. The editorial reacted to the northern article by Frank Obljubek, "Only When You Know Where You Stand" *OLR* 56, no. 1 (March 1972): 5-12.

62. Frank Obljubek, *Report on a Survey of Public Libraries in Northwestern Ontario* (Thunder Bay, Ont.: NRLS, 1974), 33-37.

63. See Alan G. Pepper, ed., *Seminar on Training for Community Librarians, 1974. Proceedings, Held at the Prince Arthur Motor Hotel, Thunder Bay, Ontario, 30th September-2nd October 1974* (Thunder Bay, Ont.: NRLS, 1975), 7-12.

64. Peter Hallsworth, "Tri-Regional Computer Produced Book Catalogue," *OLR* 57, no. 1 (March 1973): 18-20.

65. Sonja Sinclair, "Public and School Libraries," *Royal Commission on Book Publishing; Background Papers*, vol. 2, 224-42.

66. *Report of the Re-Organization Committee, Ontario Library Association* (Toronto: OLA, April 1967), unpagged; also *Proceedings of the OLA, 1967*, 37-41, and *Proceedings of the OLA, 1968*, 28-34.

67. Kathy Weatherbe, “DORLS Technical Services Committee,” *OLR* 56, no. 1 (March 1972): 14-15.

68. “2 Wives Set Up Negro Library to Show Democracy at Work,” *Globe and Mail*, 17 Jan. 1966: 12. Cynthia Jack, “The Library of Black People’s Literature,” *OLR* 58, no. 1 (March 1974): 20-23.

69. Library Systems Consultants, *Final Report to the Hamilton Public Library: Preparation of Machine-readable Records* (Toronto?: HPL, 1968).

70. Eric C. Bow, *Book Processing in the Public Libraries of Ontario* (Toronto: Ministry of Colleges and Universities, 1972), 79-90.

71. Albert Bowron, *Libraries & Information Resources for Erin Mills* (Toronto: Information, Media & Library Planners, 1970); Bowron, *A Plan for Library Service in Bramalea and Chinguacousy Township* (1970); Bowron, *The Development of Public Library Service in the Town of Whitchurch-Stouffville* (1972); Bowron, *Public Library Service in Whitby* (1969); Bowron, *A Study of Library Services in the Towns of Markham, Richmond Hill and the Thornhill Areas of Vaughan* (1973); Bowron, *A Public Library Programme for the Township of Gloucester* (1970); and Bowron, *The Public Library and Urban Change in the Township of Nepean* (1970).

72. James G. Montgomery, *Scarborough Public Library User Survey* (Scarborough, Ont: SPL, July 1972), 19-23.

73. Joan Talbot and Mel Liversage, *Lake Erie Regional Library System Regional Cultural Survey* (London: LERLS, 1972), 9-14 for main findings.

74. Sita Dhawan, *Survey of Senior Citizens and Handicapped* (Scarborough: SPL, 1972).

75. Brian Dale and Patricia Dewdney, “Canadian Public Libraries and the Physically Handicapped,” *CLJ* 29 (May-June 1972): 231-36.

76. Henry Campbell and Virginia F. Ludlow, “The Canadian Library Scene [IFLA Hospital Section],” *International Library Review* 1 (1969): 213-23; and V. Felicy Ludlow, “The Toronto Public Library’s Service to Shut-ins,” *CLJ* 29 (May-June 1972): 237-41.

77. *Public Library Service to the Shut-in in Institutions and Community: A Survey* (North York, NYPL, 1968); Darlene Money, “Volunteers Help Librarians to Serve Shut-Ins,” *OLR* 56, no. 3 (Sept. 1972): 151-54; and Dawn Bryden “Services to Senior Citizens and Handicapped People in the Dundas Public Library,” *OLR* 58, no. 3 (Sept. 1974): 198-99.

78. Task Group on Library Service to the Handicapped, *Report Presented to the National Librarian, Dr. Guy Sylvestre* (Ottawa: National Library, 1976), xvii-xxv and Table IX.

79. *Crouch Neighbourhood Resource Centre 24 Month Report: Individual Perspectives* (London: Family and Children’s Services and LPL, Nov. 1972), 10-12. Also, Pat Dewdney, “The Crouch Experience; an Inter-Agency Approach to Neighbourhood Services,” *CLJ* 36 (April 1979): 5-14.

80. Richard Ficek, “Information Needs of Native Peoples in the City of Toronto” (Toronto: Faculty of Library Science, 1974), 23-24; and Ann Farrell,

“Library of Native Literature to Be Housed in New Centre,” *Toronto Star*, 29 June 1976: F2.

81. Edith Adamson, “Public Library Service to the Indians of Canada,” *CLJ* 26 (Jan.-Feb. 1969): 48-53.

82. Judy Richardson, “Libraries! On Indian Reserves?” *OLR* 51, no. 4 (Dec. 1967): 241-43.

83. Alison Frayne, “A Study of Six Nations Public Library: Rights and Access to Information,” PhD diss., London, Ont., Faculty of Information and Media Studies, Western University, 2018) studies its development.

84. For a list of band libraries, see Grace Buller, “Native Peoples and Library Service in Ontario,” *OLR* 59, no. 1 (March 1975): 4-9.

85. John Marshall, *Library Services for Native People: A Brief to the Ontario Task Force on the Education of Native Peoples* (Toronto: Faculty of Library Science, 20 Nov. 1975), 1-15.

86. *To Know and Be Known: The Report of the Task Force on Government Information* (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1969), vol. 1, 55-60.

87. See “A Potential for Danger,” *Globe and Mail*, 7 Jan. 1970: 6.

88. Elizabeth M. Dolan, *The Depository Dilemma* (Ottawa: CLA, 1978), 91-100.

89. Wilson A. Head, *Partners in Information: A Study of Community Information Centres in Ontario* (Toronto: Provincial Secretary and Citizenship, 1971), 23.

90. Phyllis Goldman and Joan Fulford, “Link Information and Referral Service,” *OLR* 60, no. 3 (Sept. 1976): 166-71.

91. John Berry, “The Contact Centre [Owen Sound],” *Library Journal* 97 (15 Dec. 1972): 3955-3959 outlines differences.

92. Martin L. Friedland, Peter Jewett and Linda Jewett, *Access to the Law: A Study Conducted for the Law Reform Commission of Canada* (Toronto: Methuen, 1975), 42-56.

93. Lynda Hurst, “Bookmobile Takes Word to Small-Town Feminists,” *Toronto Star*, 30 May 1974: E6.

94. Ontario Committee on Government Productivity, *Report to the Executive Council of the Government of Ontario on Communications and Information Services* (Toronto: Queen’s Printer, 1972), 29.

95. *OLA Proceedings, 1971*, unpagged (3 p).

96. “OLA Brief to the Wright Commission,” *OLA Newsletter* 9 (April 1971): 9-10.

97. E. Stanley Beacock, “Library Networks in the ‘70s: Public Libraries,” *CLJ* 31 (May-June 1974): 192-95.

98. Kates, Peat, Marwick & Co., *Libraries and Information Storage and Retrieval Systems* (Toronto: Queen’s Printer, 1971), IX-4 to IX-7; and Ronald Baker, “Provincial Cataloging—Dream or Reality?” *Quill & Quire* 35 (Nov. 1969): 5.

99. Kenneth Bagnell, “Wright Report,” *Globe & Mail*, 21 Feb. 1972: 27.

100. Ontario Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario, *The*

Learning Society (Toronto: Government Services, 1972), 46-47, 62, and 89.

101. The OLA brief to the Wright Commission reprinted in *OLA Newsletter* 9 (April 1971): 9-10. The brief from the Eastern Ontario Regional Library System to George Kerr, the Minister of the MCU, also reprinted in *OLA Newsletter* 11 (Nov. 1972): 13-14.

102. Leslie E. Fowlie, “The Public Library’s Future,” *IPLO Quarterly* 14 (Jan. 1973): 91-95.

103. Samuel Rothstein, “In Search of Ourselves,” *Library Journal* 93 (Jan. 15, 1968): 156-57.

104. John Marshall, “The Search for Status [Library Profession],” *Library Journal* 91 (Nov. 15, 1966): 5556-63.

105. J. Bascom St. John, “How to Get Better Libraries,” *Globe and Mail*, 10 April 1962: 7.

106. Robert V. Presthus, *Technological Changes and Occupational Responses: A Study of Librarians; Final Report* (Washington: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1970), 92-107.

107. Albert Bowron, *Regional Public Library Service in Northeastern Ontario* (Toronto: Information, Media & Library Planners, May 1974), 34-48.

108. W.A. Roedde, “Certification in Ontario,” *IPLO Quarterly* 14 (Oct. 1972): 82-86.

109. Susan Walker, “IPLO Disbands,” *Quill & Quire* 42 (Aug. 1976): 31; and Greg Linnell, “The Institute of Professional Librarians of Ontario; On the History and Historiography of a Professional Association,” *Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science* 30 (Sept.-Dec. 2006): 175-199. For censorship, see *The Librarian, the Library, and Censorship: Proceedings of IPLO Workshop, Toronto, Wednesday, Feb. 9, 1972* (IPLO, 1972).

110. See Lloyd Houser, “The Institute of Professional Librarians of Ontario. An Analysis: 1954-1975,” *IPLO Quarterly* 17 (July/Oct. 1975): 87-101 for these statements.

111. Joanna B. Curtis, “Professionals Form a Union,” *IPLO Quarterly* 15 (Jan. 1974): 89-99; and Judy Capes, “Unions in the Public Libraries of Ontario,” *IPLO Quarterly* 17 (Jan. 1976): 125-54.

112. Patricia Dewdney, “United We Stand: London’s Library Strike,” *OLR* 54, no. 3 (Sept. 1970): 159-61.

113. “Male President Says Women Share Blame in Canada’s Library Leadership Crisis,” *Globe and Mail*, 23 June 1970: 13.

114. Charlotte R. Mudge, “Bargaining Unit Composition and Negotiation Outcomes: A Study of Academic and Public Library Personnel in Ontario,” PhD diss., Faculty of Library and Information Science, University of Toronto, 1984, 165-73.

115. Andrew Abbott, “Professionalism and the Future of Librarianship,” *Library Trends* 46, no. 3 (Winter 1998): 430-43; and William F. Birdsall, “Librarians and Professionalism, Status Measured by Outmoded Models,” *CLJ* 37 (May-June 1980): 145-48.

116. "Brief to the Royal Commission on Book Publishing, April 27, 1971" [3 pages], Ontario Library Association fonds, Action Groups, Committees, Task Forces Files, F 1195-8, box 11, AO; and Basil Stuart-Stubbs, ed., *Books in Canada 1972; Papers Presented at a Symposium on the Canadian Book at the Canadian Library Association Conference, Regina, 13-14 June 1972* (Ottawa: CLA, 1972).

117. Shirley Whittington, "Helen Elizabeth Carr Delaney," *Globe and Mail*, 16 Nov. 1999: A30.

118. Val Clery, *Promotion and Response: Report on the Media Response Survey of Trade Book Publishing* (Toronto: Canadian Book Publishers' Council, Dec. 1970), 47.

119. Claire St. Clere England, "The Climate of Censorship in Ontario: An Investigation into Attitudes Towards Intellectual Freedom and the Perceptual Factors Affecting the Practice of Censorship in Public Libraries Serving Medium-Sized Populations," PhD diss., Faculty of Library Science, University of Toronto, 1974, 195-202.

120. Steven Horn, "Intellectual Freedom and the Canadian Library Association," *CLJ* 35 (May-June 1978): 209-15.

121. "Winnipeg Manifesto: Intellectual Freedom," *Feliciter* 20 (July 1974): 18.

122. "Scientology versus the Public Library," *Quill & Quire* 40 (June 1974): 28; and "Scientologists Withdraw Suits against Public Libraries," *Quill & Quire* 41 (Jan. 1975): 15.

123. "Homosexual Film Ban Appalling," *Toronto Star*, 28 March 1978: A4.

124. Marina Strauss, "Access to Body Politic Probed by Librarians," *Globe and Mail*, 27 Dec. 1980: 5.

125. Michele Landsberg, "Why do our Libraries Buy this Schlock," *Toronto Star*, 1 June 1981: D1. Her interview: "They're out to 'Demistify' the Library," *Toronto Star*, 2 June 1981: E1. Also, "There's Life in the Library Yet, Thanks to Spunky Staff," *Toronto Star*, 12 June 1981: C1.

126. Jane Crozier, "Children Enjoy Poetry in the Library," *OLR* 59, no. 1 (March 1975): 41-43.

127. Austin Clarke, *OLA Proceedings, 1973*, 37-38; and David Lancashire, "Pop Seen Menace to the Library," *Globe and Mail*, 17 March 1978: 7.

128. Irma K. McDonough, "Toronto's Toy Lending Centre," *OLR* 57, no. 2 (June 1973): 102-103; and André Gagnon, "Toy Lending in Public Libraries," *In Review: Canadian Books for Young People* 13 (Oct. 1979): 13-15.

129. Adele M. Fasick, *What Should Libraries Do for Children? Parents, Librarians and Teachers View Materials and Services in the South Central Regional System (Ontario)* (Hamilton: SCRLS, 1978), 5 and Table C-4.

130. Elwy Yost and Bob Cholette, "OECA [Ontario Educational Communications Authority] and Public Libraries," *OLR* 58, no. 1 (March 1974): 17-19.

131. Brian Dale, “Cable Television and Large Public Libraries: The State of the Art in Canada—1971,” *CLJ* 29 (March-April 1972): 97-103.
132. Noel Ryan, “Will You Have Cassette Tapes in Your Library?” *CLJ* 28 (March-April 1971): 106-09 [Brampton Public Library].
133. Isabel K. McLean, *Non-Print Resources: A Study of Ontario Public and Regional Library Systems* (Ottawa: CLA, 1975), 41.
134. Ida Reddy, “Beyond the City: Library Service to Children in Rural and Dispersed Communities,” *International Library Review* 7 (1975): 293-300.
135. “16 mm Film Service to Schools by Regional Public Library Systems in Ontario,” *OLR* 59, no. 3 (Sept. 1975): 160-66.
136. Albert Bowron, *The Ontario Public Library: Review and Reorganization* (Toronto: Information, Media & Library Planners, 1975), 5.
137. “Albert Campbell District Library, Scarborough, Ontario,” *Interior Design* 44 (April 1973): 120-23.
138. “Burlington Public Library, Ontario,” *Canadian Architect* 17 (Aug. 1972): 46-51.
139. Philip R. Brook, “Library Design for Today’s User,” *Canadian Architect* 23 (Jan. 1978): 30-35.
140. Matthew R. Griffis, “Living History: The Carnegie Library as Place in Ontario [Owen Sound],” *Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science* 34, no. 2 (June 2010): 185-211.
141. *Official Opening of the New Facilities Erected for the St. Thomas-Elgin Library, St. Thomas, Ontario, Friday, October 4, 1974 2:00 p.m.* (St. Thomas: the Library, 1974).
142. “The Windsor Public Library: Fred Israel, the Librarian’s Librarian,” *Windsor Star*, 4 Aug. 1990: E1 & E8.
143. David R. Conn and Barry McCallum, “Design for Accessibility,” *CLJ* 39 (June 1982): 119-25.
144. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 20 December 1974, 6822.
145. Ontario Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, *Report of the Special Program Review* (Toronto: Queen’s Printer, 1975), 321-25.
146. Bureau of Municipal Research, “The Future of a Two-tier Urban Library System,” *BMR Comment*, no. 140, 26 Feb. 1973: 1-18.
147. For example: “Library Boards Need to Co-operate More,” *Toronto Star*, 12 Oct. 1972: 6; and Jack M. McCart, “Why Build a Library that Doesn’t Lend?” *Toronto Star*, 5 April 1976: C3.
148. *Toronto Public Library Management Study* (Waterloo, Ont.: Beckman Associates Library Consultants, 1975); *Goals, Objectives and Priorities, Options for a Long-Term Plan* (Toronto: TPL, 1975); and John Marshall, *Citizen Participation in Library Decision-Making: The Toronto Experience* (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1984).
149. “Your Next Library May Be in a Subway or a Supermarket,”

Toronto Star, 12 Sept. 1975: B1. Barbara Schon, comp., *Goals, Objectives and Priorities, Community Response* (Toronto: TPL, Nov. 1975); and B. Schon, "Community Participation and Library Planning," *OLR* 60, no. 2 (June 1976): 76-82.

150. Administrators of the Large Urban Centre Public Libraries in Ontario, *Brief to the Minister of Culture and Recreation on the Present Crisis in the Large Urban Centre Public Libraries in Ontario* (April 1975), 8-12; and John Marshall, "Big-City Libraries Going After More Provincial Attention," *Globe and Mail*, 18 April 1975: 12.

151. "Text of the Speech by Robert Welch," *Focus (OLA)* 1, no. 2 (June 1975): 6-7.

152. John Henderson and others, *A Report and Evaluation of the OECA-Integrated Projects V.T.R. Project at Chinguacousy Public Library in Bramalea, Ontario, January 1974-June 1974* (Toronto: OECA, 1974), 27-30.

153. Geoffrey Butler, "Algonquin Sponsors Cultural Events," *OLR* 59, no. 2 (June 1975): 84-87.

154. Elgin Wells, "Out of the Closet," *OLR* 61, no. 1 (March 1977): 29-32.

155. Ontario Commission on the Legislature, *Fifth Report* (Toronto: the Commission, 1975), 34-38.

156. Albert Bowron, *The Ontario Public Library*, 64.

157. "Ontario Regional Library Systems Inter and Intra Communication and Delivery Network 1974," *OLR* 59, no. 1 (March 1976): 28-31.

158. "The OLA Brief to Al Bowron for the Ontario Public Library Study," *Focus (OLA)* 1, no. 4 (Sept. 1975): 8-10.

159. Fisher had noted that librarians failed to vigorously advance the potential of libraries: see Douglas Fisher, "On My Mind: Reflections of an Ex-Librarian," *American Libraries* 5, no. 4 (April 1974): 169.

160. For the entire session see Terrence B. Verity, *Libraries at the Crossroads: Proceedings of a Workshop on the Report the Ontario Public Library, Review and Reorganization* (Toronto: OLA, 1976). Also, "Bowron Report under Fire at Toronto Workshop," *Feliciter* 22 (May 1976): 4; and "Librarians React to Bowron Report," *Feliciter* 22 (June 1976): 1.

161. Maurice Price, "The Wired Province: TeleContact, the OLTA and the Bowron Report," *Focus (OLA)* 2, no. 4 (May 1976): 3-5.

162. *Public Library Needs in the Regional Municipality of Sudbury: A Preliminary, Quantitative Survey* (Sudbury: NCRLS, 1975), 7-8.

163. *Problems Affecting Public Library Service in Northern Ontario: A Brief Presented to Honourable Robert Welch, Minister of Culture and Recreation* (Kirkland Lake, Ont.: NRLS, 1976), 11.

164. Ontario Public Librarians' Advisory Committee, *General Comments on the Recommendations of the Recent Ontario Public Library Study: Review and Reorganization, Presented to the Ontario Provincial Library Council, Sept. 25th, 1976*, 5-7.

165. "The Learning Society Brief to the Minister of Colleges and

Universities; Subject: Deconditionalized Grants for Public Libraries,” *Newsletter (Ontario Library Association)* 12 (Jan. 1974): 7-8.

166. “Association of Municipalities of Ontario Response to *The Ontario Public Library*,” [adopted 8 Jan. 1977] *Focus (OLA)* 3, no. 5 (May 1977): 16.

167. *Report of the Provincial-Municipal Grants Reform Committee* (Toronto: Ministry of Treasury, Economics, and Intergovernmental Affairs, 1977), vol. 1, 110.

168. Brian Steeves, *A History of CISTI/Une Histoire de L'ICIST* (Ottawa: National Research Council, 1993).

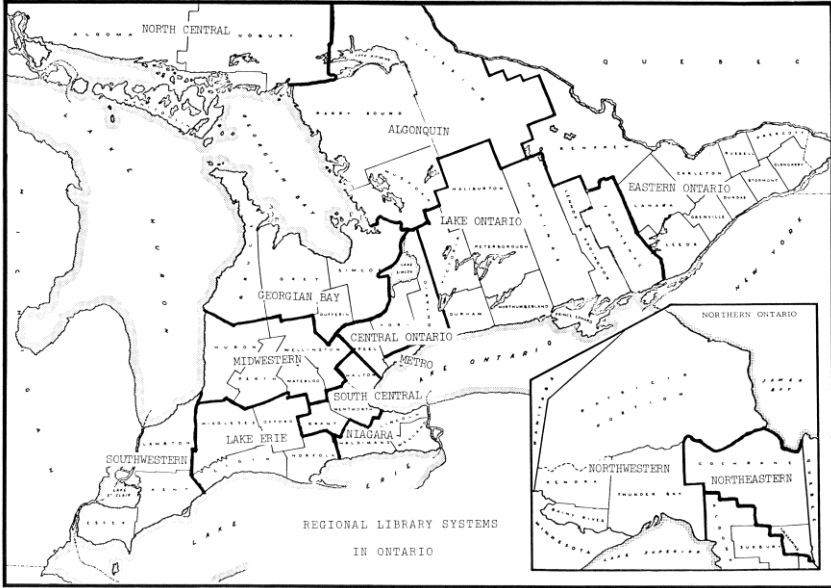
169. Hope Clement, *The State of Planning of Automation Projects in the Libraries of Canada* (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, Nov. 1974), 3-13.

170. Marie Zielinska, “Public Library Services to Canadian Ethnocultural Communities: An Overview,” *Library Trends* 29 (Fall 1980): 275-92.

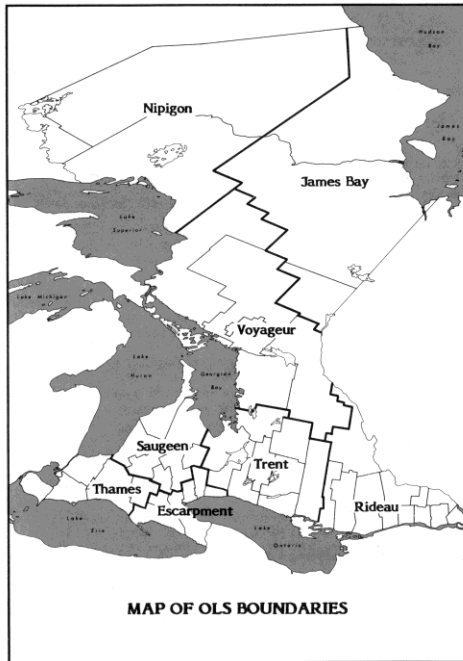
171. Summarized in “Ontario Provincial Library Council,” *OLR* 61, no. 3 (Sept. 1977): 231.



7. Look up! Dino, a ten-foot papier-mâché dinosaur, looms large at York Woods branch of North York Public Library, 6 Oct. 1971



8. Ontario regional library schemes in 1970 (above) and 1984 (below).



REVIEW AND REORGANIZATION, 1976–85

The protracted deliberations on the study by Albert Bowron and divergent views about local, regional, and provincial roles prompted some fresh thinking about public libraries, but no consensus. Ten years after the 1966 *Public Libraries Act*, it appeared amendments might clarify roles and improve service, perhaps even induce healthier funding. If the proposed Ontario Public Library Board possessed sufficient power and authority, then progress on automation, coordination of resources, networking, and funding would be possible. This hopeful frame of mind also prevailed with organizers in the province's oldest library organization, the OLA. The association had been flirting with deficits in the mid-1970s and experiencing declining membership; however, it remained sounder than smaller groups, such as IPLO. To revitalize itself, in 1974-75, a planning group began a reassessment of OLA's annual conference, which had been held between Easter and late spring for almost seventy-five years. As a result, the next conference—"Towards the Year 2001"—was scheduled for October 1976 in Toronto featuring multiple sessions combined with social activities. A record attendance, more than twelve hundred, easily surpassed the largest gathering in 1963 at Kitchener.¹

There were 125 speakers and panelists at 47 OLA sessions that attracted library workers, trustees, and related professions to the Toronto conference. The OLA was beginning to experiment with different venues to attract delegates, to provide more opportunities for socializing, and to link its membership more explicitly with groups involved in library-related issues. A luncheon at the impressive new CN tower, the world's tallest freestanding building, was very popular, as were the exploits of Sherlock Holmes in *The Seven-Percent Solution* film night at the Ontario Place Cinesphere. Avid Sherlockians could investigate the extensive Arthur Conan Doyle collection, the best in Canada, at TPL'S central library.² Raymond Moriyama, an architect of libraries, called for more humanistic approaches to library design: "The building will have to be a better tool in the hands of the users, rather than a machine which often control them."³ The 1976 conference was followed by another exceptional one in 1977—"Between Friends"—held on both sides of the border at Niagara Falls in conjunction with the New York Library Association. It, too, had a large registration, just under a thousand. Despite the tourist city's end-of-November silent streets, border travel delays, and organizational problems that left conventioners watching mime theatre at the

Shaw Festival Theatre after midnight, the fresh, engaging format permanently changed OLA's annual conference. Throughout the year, the Association began making use of teleconferencing to link people together and to facilitate decision-making. An all-day teleconference on the federal government's new copyright legislation in September 1977 proved to be very successful. For job seekers, OLA launched a 24-hour telephone hotline. The 1975-76 president, Larry Moore, from Queen's University, was an enthusiastic leader during this period who became OLA's indefatigable executive director, 1984-2008.

The buoyant mood did not extend to the PLS, which remained understaffed. Its transfer to the Arts Division of the MCR did not result in any substantive changes but signalled less emphasis on its customary educational role. This second transitional period in three years led to new administrative alignments at its home in the Mowat Block, Queen's Park. In the first years of the MCR, libraries were associated with other cultural agencies, but no strong ties were forged. The cumulative effect on library planning of all the administrative changes at different government levels was predictable. At a time when public administrators were emphasizing the need to view government activity as a "marble cake" of interdependent actors rather than the hierarchical "layer cake," public libraries were jostled in various directions. The OPLC and the PLS lacked an effective central voice to withstand conflicting philosophies in public administration or a clearly defined place in the educational bureaucracy or cultural sector. Librarians used the analogy of a duck in a family of swans to describe the relationship of libraries within the Dept. of Education in 1971.⁴ Neither the PLS nor the OPLC was positioned to speak authoritatively for public libraries under the legislative provisions of 1966 that now seemed less germane. The OPLC's major initiative, the Bowron Report, had offered new directions, but there was uncertainty about what the MCR would do. The Ministry insisted on general agreement with municipal bodies before initiating change, something that was difficult to achieve within the public library community itself.

Nor did the buoyant mood extend to some municipal library workers. Public-sector employees were in the grip of the *Anti-Inflation Act, 1975*, designed to curb high inflation rates. This federal measure established a three-year control system after 1975 on wage guidelines—10, 8, and 6 percent increases—that were binding on large businesses, federal, provincial, and municipal employees until 1978. Although staff was severely restricted in their ability to negotiate for wages, union activism in libraries continued. TPL quickly formed a union in May 1976 with about 350 staff from the old Toronto Public Library Staff Association that had existed since 1910. Its first contact was struck a year later.⁵ The new CUPE local was partly a response to

management and policy changes at TPL. Because TPL's reform board members were eager to promote more responsive neighbourhood services, they were not necessarily attuned to staff concerns and the pace of union activity. The board had commissioned a 1975 study on management structure, especially the introduction of senior-level positions, as well as improved communications and coordination among the branches. There was a strong desire for meaningful staff input into these processes because many staffers were disgruntled. Although the consultants felt "the strength of the Toronto Public Library resides in its branches and the branch librarians, and that any new structure must provide them with the authority which they require in their daily work with the public."⁶ TPL's new arrangements did not seem to improve meaningful exchanges between the board and personnel. There were reports of staff morale problems due to budget shortages and the manner in which policies were implemented. Eventually, in fall 1980, the librarians and clericals struck for 17 days, primarily for salary improvements and the lack of respect by board management.⁷ Job classification, annual increments, merit systems, technological change, and policy statements on employment by boards were becoming standardized through union negotiation and bargaining by the late 1970s.⁸ One casualty of TPL's shifting administrative policy was the chief librarian, Harry Campbell, who tendered his resignation in February 1978 after more than two decades of service following his arrival after Charles Sanderson's death.⁹

"Canadian Libraries in Their Changing Environment"

The two Toronto OLA annual conferences in 1976-77 offered visions of the future, some fanciful, others conventional. But the general financial library environment was by no means plentiful despite the popularity of Wintario. After the June 1977 election, the MCR delayed action on the Bowron Report and continued directing funds for specific priorities. Outreach Ontario approved transfers through the regional systems for \$105,000 for performing arts; \$71,000 for large print books, talking books, and tape playback machines for the handicapped; and \$44,000 for videotape services. The Canadian National Institute for the Blind was offering four-track cassettes to public libraries, a better technology and easier to use: "The future of the talking book in public libraries is assured," its director declared.¹⁰ The Metro library board received a special one-time \$90,000 grant that it used to compile and publish a standard catalogue of Canadian books with the assistance of the University of Toronto Centre for Research in Librarianship. At a time when authors and

publishers were aggressively promoting Canadian books, the resultant work of more than a thousand pages, *Canadian Selection*, which appeared in 1978, became a basic public library guide to the selection of books and periodicals.

Slowly, evolving government structures and priorities set in the early 1970s were affecting library service. Some issues raised in the Bowron Report began to receive consideration on a provincial basis by the MCR at the start of 1977. In February, the Select Committee of the Legislature dealing with the Camp Commission reported on the role of public libraries, government information services, and depository privileges. Ontario had instituted a depository system for its publications in 1971 and was reaching about thirty-five public libraries by the mid-1970s.¹¹ In its final report, the Committee strove to improve public access to government information. But it did not break new ground: it rejected the Bowron Report recommendation to unite the public libraries branch and community information services.

The major role which the Committee foresees for public libraries in the provision of government information should be based upon their acquisition and presentation of materials published and/or distributed by the Publications Service of the Ministry of Government Services. ...

The Committee recommends that selective depository privileges be extended to all public libraries in the Province. This would enable libraries to receive, at no charge to a reasonable limit, those government publications that are relevant to the needs and interest of the area. Hansard should also be available to these libraries, free of charge.¹²

The Select Committee urged greater provincial encouragement for community information service, where it believed citizens could receive more in-depth assistance with personal queries. This was a setback for consolidating libraries and information centre work, but by no means a final verdict since both reported to the MCR.

The Select Committee's report was overshadowed by a noteworthy three-day library conference, "Canadian Libraries in Their Changing Environment," held in Toronto at the end of February 1977. The overarching theme of the conference encapsulated many contemporary currents. It attracted two hundred attendees from across Canada. Unionization, current library management theory and practices, library usage, technological change, professional education, library recruitment, and the changing face of publishing were important aspects dissected by practitioners and academics. Some sobering truths surfaced. Public libraries had long tried to attract more clients, but the public profile of its typical users in the mid-1970s was all too familiar:

The individual library survey findings in Canada reveal remarkable similarity to one another and to those in the United States. The public library user is the better educated, the student, the middle class citizen. This traditional 'public' still makes the greatest and most repeated use of the public library, and tends to be self-perpetuating. It is generally accepted that between twenty and thirty per cent of the population uses the library over a stated period of time. Roughly another thirty to forty per cent have never used, do not wish to use, and see no reason to use the public library facility in their community.¹³

Top-down library management came in for criticism. The public library was an insulated agency, often divorced from critical political decision-making levels in government. Challenges often elicited "middle-of-the-road" solutions, a typical response from an institution prone to middle-class values. Library boards, like their other municipal brethren, too often clung to the centre of the political spectrum where liberal values and private business concerns could monopolize local affairs and dictate the pace of development.

Notwithstanding the criticisms, there were encouraging contemporary developments that conference-goers were able to take in. Information from user surveys could be used to identify library visitors and to measure their needs more objectively. Public library users, although casually categorized as middle-class at the Toronto conference, spanned the ranks of students, homemakers, unemployed, seniors, and professionals, as a survey of four smaller cities released later in September showed.¹⁴ Social science methodology was helping to corroborate or alter traditional subjective views of "good service." One extensive Brampton survey identified 115 occupations, the most frequent being teachers, office and sales clerks, secretaries, engineers, managers, accountants and auditors, salespersons, mechanics and repairmen, supervisors, nurses, civil servants, machinists, marketing service reps, police officers, bookkeepers, and computer programmers.¹⁵ Children's services were measured extensively in the Southwestern region in 1979, indicating that the region best served the age groups 3-5 and 9-11 years and that children's use correlated to moderate use of time spent watching television.¹⁶ More sophisticated market survey techniques to determine services and to identify community needs yielded better information to reach potential users. In South Central, a report selectively surveyed population segments across the region in Hamilton, Georgetown, and Burford (Brant Co.) to identify types of information needed for its resource network. Respondents ranked in order personal information needs—public affairs, medical, self-improvement, family life, legal, and religion. Generally, respondents indicated the library as a

source of information was not well known.¹⁷

“Canadian Libraries in Their Changing Environment” recognized that collaboration was progressing as libraries adapted the methodologies of urban planners and social activists. Neighbourhood advisory committees were helpful when library studies or building programs were undertaken. Toronto was a leader in this regard, but other libraries were also utilizing citizen groups in new ways. In London, in the northeast Huron Heights, it was evident in the early 1970s that an older area branch situated in the Northland Mall shopping centre did not have adequate facilities or space. In a move to better serve the northeast city quadrant, another location, Northridge, opened as an extension in a smaller plaza several minutes to the northwest. After consultation with the community and direction from a citizen advisory group, recommendations were prepared to improve services tailored for a proposed new branch.¹⁸ Several years later, in 1982, a larger Northland branch (renamed E.S. Beacock branch in 1985) was built across from its old location at the shopping centre. The power of partnerships and working with neighbourhood groups was a lasting legacy of library work in the 1970s. Liaison work with groups might take many years to complete but was worth the effort. Scarborough, for example, took a long time to implement change at one of its older residential neighbourhood branches in Birch Cliff, where shifting demographics and an aging building signaled the need for different services and facilities. Management and a citizen advisory group worked on new building plans for Taylor Memorial, which officially opened in June 1985. Much of the credit for its relocation went to the advisory groups and people who endeavoured to make the new 5,000 sq. ft. branch a success.¹⁹

There was no doubt that libraries were embracing technological change. The Niagara Regional Library began using the University of Toronto Library Automated Systems (UTLAS) in January 1976, and work towards a Niagara database for records for all public library purchases was well underway. Niagara was following the Bowron study by using bibliographic and coding standards established by the Ontario Universities Library Cooperative System that allowed file sharing with other UTLAS participants such as North York and Mississauga.²⁰ Automated acquisitions work using COBOL programming at Midwestern was making successful strides, in part because it was responsive to its clients. Its director, Clinton Lawson, explained,

This year, 1977, is the year of consolidation. All titles, old and new, have been brought under computer control. With the creation of PLUG (Participating Libraries Users' Group) a steady flow of helpful comments and criticisms continues to enrich the system. Under the aegis of PLUG, the Status

Report, one of the most recent products, is undergoing careful scrutiny. Preparations are well advanced for the completion of the acquisitions package.²¹

Midwestern's steadily improving service assured its clients that their orders would arrive quickly and economically. Both Niagara and Midwestern were shipping more than 75,000 books a year to about a hundred libraries by 1977. Computerized information banks were becoming commercially available to libraries. When the *New York Times* became available in a searchable databank, libraries such as North York became subscribers to expand their range of online information for patrons.²² By November 1977, the complete text of the *Globe and Mail* was being published online, Info Globe, the first major daily newspaper to do so.

Regional operations were becoming more systematized after a decade. The Lake Erie system director, Dan Sudar, surveyed all the southern regional libraries (except Metro) in 1977 to examine their organization, common problems, and policies regarding resource libraries. The consensus on regions emerging from the Bowron report was that they were a qualified success, each reaching its level of activity based on identifiable needs. The Lake Erie report summarized their principal problem, administration:

In looking at the organizational set-up without considering it in the context of the political structure, it is difficult to imagine a more complex organization for decision-making—a policy-setting Board made up of members whose individual primary responsibility may be once or twice removed; a director responsible for implementing the policy of the Board with no direct control of those who operate the system; and a committee or committees acting in an advisory capacity whose members are individually responsible to different agencies.²³

There were many variations across regional systems. Resource libraries ranged in size from Georgian Bay's Owen Sound, Orillia, and Barrie to large cities such as Hamilton, Ottawa, and London. Only two regions had written policies for this important role, and subject specialization schemes were lacking in most regions. Some resource libraries, following the Bowron report, made demands for direct payment by the province since their services often encompassed work outside the immediate region. Regional policy statements for interlibrary loan, film service, book ordering-processing, and promotion were at a more advanced stage. In terms of full-time equivalents, two regions employed ten or fewer staff; four employed 10 to 20 people; and two employed 35 to 40 persons. The Lake Erie report concluded on a serious note: "If there is a common ground among all regions, it must exist in the needs of

the people within the regions and this should be the major concern of a provincial library system” (p. 30). Yet, regions were ill-equipped to establish unified statements on contentious issues that would require ministerial authorization, perhaps even legislative amendments.

Increasingly, the cultural sector was becoming the source of government study, promotion, and subsidy. In some cases, for example, government publications, the federal government introduced reductions in its depository status program in 1978 that aimed to eliminate many selective depositories in smaller public libraries.²⁴ Programs to promote Canadian authorship were popular at all levels of government. The federal government, which was already supporting book publishing and distribution through the Canada Council, enlarged its assistance by creating the Canadian Book Publishing Development Program in 1979 to promote the industry in national and international markets. Authors and publishers were gaining recognition as content providers adding economic value to the marketplace. A year later, the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, headed by Louis Applebaum and Jacques Hébert, began its examination of Canadian culture and institutions. In the early 1980s, there was a heightened awareness of Canada’s need to patriate its constitution, determine its identity, and sweep aside older terminology, such as Dominion Day, which was linked with British customs and the notion that one government held sway from ocean to ocean. Now, federal-provincial conferences often decided new directions while the Ontario government continued to guard its traditional jurisdictions.

Like its predecessor, the Massey Commission, the Applebaum-Hébert Committee’s prime recommendations would impact libraries, leading to further government support for publishers and the public lending right for authors.²⁵ Generally, libraries and archives were grouped as information resource providers, summarized as an important role; however, the commission was more interested in the productive side of Canadian culture and its economic commodification. The *Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee* spent some time discussing the National Library’s activities, a review of the long-standing federal postal subsidy (the “library book rate” introduced in 1939), and the heritage-conservation aspect of libraries and archives. The book rate, in particular, had proved to be one of the most successful federal subsidies public libraries enjoyed in the postwar era. London Public Library presented the only brief to the Commission from a major Ontario public library. It stressed that the library was an important “community meeting place,” although remote, electronic information resources were assuming more importance.²⁶ However, municipal library service was mostly beyond the Commission’s mandate and some issues, such

as federal transfers to the new Canada Post Corporation to cover the subsidized postal book rate, were studied separately by the Department of Communications to determine actual costs. Thirty-two Ontario public libraries participated in a DOC sponsored 1982 survey that calculated the range of savings for Canadian public libraries was between \$1 million and \$2.8 million annually.²⁷

One lasting effect of the Applebaum-Hébert report released in 1982 was the acceptance of public lending rights by the federal government. The concept of payment for public use of the author's works owed much to The Writers' Union of Canada, which had waged a long campaign to implement a PLR scheme. The Ontario Royal Commission on Book Publishing had studied, but not endorsed, PLR in 1972.²⁸ Payment to authors was a contentious issue that many librarians had supported for a long time.²⁹ One author, Marian Engel, a TPL board member, sometimes critical of libraries, described public lending right as a moral right and pursued it as a passion. An OLA Action Group examining PLR convinced the Association to countenance payment for public use at the 1974 Toronto conference. After a hard-fought debate came approval for the resolution: "That the Ontario Library Association supports in principle the Public Lending Right for Canadian creative artists and that the matter be referred back to the Canadian Authors Public Lending Right Action Group."³⁰ Two years later, at Halifax, after some temporizing, CLA also supported the PLR concept with a position statement on "Compensation to Canadian Authors for Library Use" based on author rights and furtherance of national culture.³¹ The federal government in 1986 authorized Canada's public lending right program.

While author-publisher issues were frequent discussion points at library meetings, the complex relationships between libraries and the reading public were also coming under scrutiny at the national level. The Canadian Library Association formed a steering committee in 1973 to develop a national study of public library usage and to raise funds for this project. It was partly a successor to the national study, *Libraries in Canada*, but quite different in scope and purpose. The survey, *Project Progress*, would not materialize until the first month of 1981. The surveyors identified key problems that could be helpful to planners and decision-makers for understanding and dealing with current and future service roles. They flagged a lack of accountability of libraries stemming from vague definitions of library purpose in "standards" and the absence of convincing measures of performance to convey what libraries were doing. Indeed, there were ambiguities about organizing and delivering service in ten provinces stemming from the public library's imprecise societal roles. The report revealed libraries faced future

technological challenges that could facilitate cooperative ventures but needed adequate funding and public support from users, not simply techno-perceptive management. Library education programs would have to draw recruits from outside the traditional university reservoirs, the humanities and social sciences, to keep pace with this shifting landscape.³² The results of CLA's major public library endeavour could be applied locally to some extent and, more generally, on a provincial scale for planners. About thirty public and regional libraries in Ontario helped finance *Project Progress*, but no major individual library studies referred to the report in the eighties. It is difficult to judge the influence of CLA's national effort, but like *Libraries in Canada*, it stimulated some thinking about libraries. In Ontario, the practice of measuring services and evaluating needs rather than relying on dated library standards became one noticeable feature after 1980.

Statistics Canada had surveyed the leisure habits of Canadians in 1972 and 1975 without much appreciation from the library sector. The reasons why people read, what reading tastes they held, library use, and literacy issues were all subjects for library consideration. More extensive 1978 survey results appeared through a commissioned study by Abt Associates that showed the continuing importance of recreational reading. It also confirmed that readers were more likely to be female, to be younger rather than older, and to have higher educational levels. Throughout the population at large, library use was not insubstantial, and libraries made an important contribution to the literacy process. A visit to the library ranked fourth of ten activities among Canadian surveyed, behind attending a sports event, a visit to a bookstore, and going to a movie theatre.³³ Thus, the relevance of libraries in leisure activity was reinforced, something library planners often neglected. The Statistics Canada data of 1978 would be revisited in the early 1980s with additional study and comment. Readers' advisory services would regain lost ground in the 1980s.

The changing environment became evident in libraries, particularly in politics. After the inconclusive June 1977 provincial election that resulted in another Progressive-Conservative minority government, Robert Welch was reappointed as minister for the MCR. By now, he was conversant with library issues and divisions within the public library sector. Through the summer and fall, he met with many representatives and groups across the province but did not reveal any plans regarding the Bowron report. In November, four northern regional systems and the Grand Council Treaty #9 submitted a brief to him on the substandard conditions in Indian band libraries, stating that \$50 per capita would be needed for minimal service for one year.³⁴ In the same month, Welch unveiled a plaque at the Niagara-on-the-Lake library set in the "Old Town" that formally recognized it as the first circulating library in Upper Canada. No

new library initiatives were announced.

When the minister spoke later with the provincial Municipal Liaison Committee, he made a few statements that accorded with his previous comments. He began with the fact that the OPLC and MCR both agreed that regional libraries were deserving of more funding. In terms of conditional grants Welch said, "I have serious reservations about the deconditionalization approach at this time." Further, regarding all appointments by municipal councils and the possibility of replacing boards with advisory committees, he noted that there was no consensus, even within municipal groups. He would consider arrangements under special legislation or by amending the *Public Libraries Act* following "wide public discussion and unanimity or near-unanimity on changes." He finished by saying, "We in the Ministry of Culture and Recreation will certainly not stand in the way of any community, county or region which desires to make administrative or organizational changes for the purpose of improving library services for its residents."³⁵ At a December legislative committee session, he repeated his support for the principle of boards but offered a compromise about their composition that could involve the legislative route.

If I was satisfied that a county or region had arrived at some consensus with respect to that—involving as it would some discussion with the library board and school board and the council and other interested parties, and it wanted to come forward with a private bill indicating that type of consensus—that might be, at this stage, the best way to treat it.³⁶

Library trustees could feel reasonably secure because Robert Welch was an influential minister who carried weight both within the cabinet and with the Premier, William Davis.

“Entering the 80’s”

Towards the close of 1977, it was apparent that no library legislative changes were forthcoming from the MCR. Notwithstanding evolving conditions, the framework for public library policy and financing remained mostly unchanged from 1966. Throughout the next half-decade, the provincial scene would be crowded with library-council-regional disputes and problems. Naturally, as plans to eliminate or change conditional grants or to make boards committees of council came forward from municipalities, library boards across the province protested vociferously. Thomas Wells, the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, read a letter from the Scarborough Public Library

Board into the Legislative *Hansard* on 6 November 1978 that opposed deconditionalization. Wells stated that the Province's boards faced a quandary: "They are very worried that if their grants are deconditionalized their service will be somehow interfered with and perhaps will not continue at its same level." Later in the legislative sitting, the minister commented on municipal requests to change the status of boards: "our policy [Intergovernmental Affairs] is not to oppose any changes or to make libraries the operation of a committee of council."³⁷ Adding to the library argument was the municipal practice of reducing local levies when provincial grants were substantially increased. This practice, plus the refusal of some cabinet ministers, such as James Auld and Robert Welch, to allow any general change in the method of transfer payments to libraries, effectively allowed for the continuance of conditional grants, which remained stagnant for three years, 1977-80.

It was an astute policy because the political arrangements for library boards and accountability did vary by corporate municipal status and by region. From the MCR's standpoint, special regional legislation or local harmony was a legitimate alternative to general legislation. Over the next two years, this strategy would be played out in quarrels across southern Ontario. In Metro Toronto the two-tier structure was beset by difficulties. Many metro politicians begrudged the construction of a new central library building, which opened on 2 November 1977, because it came at the expense of coordinated library services for the benefit of everyone in the city and suburbs. The new building was impressive in size (more than 400,000 sq. ft.) and comfortable exterior style utilizing brick and glass. Its design by Raymond Moriyama featured a spacious inner atrium that exposed five floors to the viewer upon entry. Throughout the successive subject arranged floors, there was abundant seating, study areas, and service points for users to follow their interests. Naturally, there were contrasting views about empty space from library and architectural standpoints, but no one denied its breathtaking qualities.³⁸

Optimism that the Robarts Commission might find a solution to Greater Toronto's library impasse between central information and regional coordination briefly materialized with the publication of its background report on social policy that pinpointed the essential problem.

The Metro board has the power to give grants-in-aid to the area boards and to the development of any worthwhile library project or service. The area directors feel that this power is not exercised as it might be to assist in the solving of local problems. The planning and operation of a federation of libraries with an emphasis on communication and joint decisions has not yet been achieved in Metro and this is seen as one of the major weaknesses of the Metro

boards and the Metropolitan Toronto regional library system.³⁹

However, the Commission sidestepped this issue at the final stage. It recommended repealing the statutory requirement for library boards because they were less accountable to the electorate and vesting responsibility for area library services in the area municipalities at the councils' discretion. The Robarts Report favoured the continuation of a two-tier system but offered no direction and no basis for reviewing its accomplishments or failures.⁴⁰ The final report disappointed most trustees and politicians who had waited three years for recommendations.

The new Metro Library itself became an instant hit with its users. A spritely seventy-year-old started going to the library weekly to read up on Roman history because he had been watching the British Broadcasting Corporation's "I, Claudius" series on television. For him, Roman history was "the first serious thing I've read since I was a lad."⁴¹ Yet, success turned to concern when usage outpaced the board's ability to augment the staff component to deal with a 150 percent increase in people entering the library compared to the older College St. location. For 1979, the board tried to budget for a few extra staff members based on reports that the public was dissatisfied with slow service. Reducing hours was not a popular option just a year after a grand opening. When conditions worsened, the library explored charging to alleviate lineups for reference, stacks of unshelved books, vandalism, and slow response to telephone requests. The news was not entirely bleak because a study in April 1980 indicated that about 75 percent of users were at least partially satisfied in finding needed materials.⁴² Economy minded Metro politicians simply wanted the library to "keep its costs down" because they knew book thefts and vandalism were not just recent headaches. The library director, John Parkhill, had requested more than a hundred additional staff to secure the old central library two years before relocating near the Bloor-Yonge subway junction.⁴³ By the end of 1979, Metro Council's budget committee had begun a comprehensive review of the entire Metro Library operation under Metro's chief administrative officer. Council wished to settle financial, management, and policy issues to approach the province to amend the Metropolitan Toronto library legislation.

Outside Toronto, a flurry of private member's bills came forward in the Legislature during 1978-79 regarding control of library boards. In Lennox and Addington, the board was dissolved and the county council replaced it effective 1 January 1978. This bill succeeded because consensus existed after a county restructuring study in 1975.⁴⁴ Conversely, London's 1978 bill was unsuccessful: by its provisions, a six-member board appointed by council

could be given directives with which to comply. Both the MCR and the Ministry of Education (representing school appointments) opposed London's bill. The Association of Municipalities of Ontario held a lively session on the abolition of library boards at its August 1978 convention at which Scarborough's library director, Peter J. Bassnett, defended library boards but concluded they should be abolished.⁴⁵ AMO, of course, advocated calls for the dissolution of boards by its members. In summer 1979, two more bills pertaining to libraries received first reading before they were discharged. The Town of Aurora council tried to dissolve its board and establish the council as the corporate body. In the Ottawa-Carlton Region, an amendment to the regional act proposed the replacement of the Nepean and Vanier boards by the respective local councils before withdrawing this challenge.⁴⁶

Board and council disputes sometimes advanced to judicial proceedings for rulings because they involved community groups, directly or indirectly. In three cases, the Ontario Municipal Board decided zoning on land neighbouring library property or land designated as a potential site for a new library. In 1976-77, the King Township library opposed the re-zoning of a property for a lumber depot near its main branch. The municipal council and the library waged a protracted battle at two OMB hearings and an Ontario High Court of Justice appeal before the plan for a lumberyard was abandoned.⁴⁷ In the Town of Halton Hills, the council applied to the OMB to approve a capital expenditure to move to a new main library in Georgetown near a park but found itself opposed by local groups because expenditures had increased dramatically. The library trustees supported the council, but the OMB refused the request.⁴⁸ The Town reinitiated the entire process with new criteria that cleared the way for a library-cultural centre to open in October 1981 at the original site. When the Scugog Township council proposed the erection of a new library in Port Perry to replace the memorial building dedicated in 1935, the plan faced public displeasure. Townspeople felt the two-acre lakefront site was less central than the existing location. Although the trustees initially supported relocation, public opposition to the new \$325,000 project in 1979 forced the council to defend its position at an OMB hearing. After the OMB upheld the original by-law, the council eventually voted 5-4 to proceed with construction. The new library opened in May 1982 after more than three years of controversy.⁴⁹ At Aylmer, after ratepayers defeated a proposal, estimated at \$290,000, to renovate the historic town hall to house a library in November 1980, the council nonetheless decided to proceed with the project. When the public turned to the Supreme Court of Ontario to stop the project, the court dismissed objections. The Aylmer Old Town Hall Library, a branch of the Elgin County Library System, officially opened on 18 June 1982.

On the provincial planning front, the OPLC encouraged libraries to use “management by results” to further their work because it costed programs in accordance with provincial program budgeting.⁵⁰ Widespread usage of accepted management by results inventory of service roles and functions linked to expenditures could better identify how provincial conditional grants were expended and facilitate guidelines for achieving priorities on a provincial scale. At a period of government restraint, value for money was imperative. Grace Buller provided an MBR overview for regional boards with the twin goals: to develop comprehensive library services by supporting local libraries and to coordinate work with other agencies outside the regions.⁵¹ A 1979 financial pilot project involving Sudbury, St. Thomas, and Essex County did lead to the development of proposed generic budget formats with budget ratio measurements. While it did not become an authoritative budget model, this study influenced the collection of data on public libraries in the 1980s and helped standardize subsequent measurements, such as the number of program attendees.⁵²

The PLS did provide a nominal framework for planning and prioritizing with a short article in the *Ontario Library Review*, now more than sixty years in print, an elderly journal in a sea of contemporary library publications.⁵³ By 1977, ninety-eight percent of Ontarians were served by libraries or by contractual arrangement with adjoining libraries. Telex and delivery systems linked libraries through all regions to each other and the National Library. Meetings, newsletters, workshops, and conferences contributed to a flow of information about current activities for trustees and library workers. Midwestern, Niagara, and three northern regions were producing union catalogues of holdings for their clients. Metro’s Bibliographic Centre held a file of resources in the Greater Toronto Area that Ontario libraries could use. Ten regions published union lists of serial holdings within their boundaries. Resource libraries were operating in all regions, and twelve public libraries were reporting holdings to the National Library. Ten regions helped offer film services and produced film catalogues. MCR programs through Wintario and Outreach Ontario augmented ongoing local basic services. More than forty-five new buildings had opened their doors after 1970. Many were in combined municipal facilities, shopping plazas, or community complexes. On a provincial scale, the PLS judged that Ontario was doing relatively well: “every regional library system’s libraries in the province has holdings at the accepted (CLA) standard of 1 ½ to 2 vols. per capita per regional library system.” This synopsis was a very different, progressive library panorama from the one reported ten years previously by the St. John survey.

This positive general synopsis could be supported by examples of

dynamic municipal service. Mississauga, for example, a multiple branch system with an award-winning library, Burnhamthorpe, designed by Raymond Moriyama, had an integrated online acquisitions system based on UTLAS that allowed consolidated orders from its branches to be completed in a minimum of time. Further, this branch opened in 1976, conceptualized public space in a thoughtful, sophisticated environment where architecture and activity coexisted so that the library became “more than a library.”⁵⁴ Computerized online searching at larger libraries and computer-produced microform catalogues were now available to the public. Scarborough, under Peter Bassnett, was rapidly automating services and changing the nature of its reference service and public access tools.⁵⁵ Hamilton’s six-storey central facility was a typical success story. Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, officially opened it in May 1980 during a royal visit. The building came into service later in October within a busy location, the north side of the Lloyd D. Jackson Square, which featured access to shopping and the Hamilton Farmers’ Market. Five years’ planning the move and prioritizing public space over collections led to library entrances increasing from 1,000/day at the old Carnegie library to 4-5,000/day at Jackson Square.⁵⁶ Toronto continued its vigorous five-year branch renovation scheme by restoring older buildings designed by architects Alfred Chapman, Bloor/Gladstone branch (originally Dovercourt) in 1976, and Eden Smith, Wychwood in 1978 and High Park in 1979.⁵⁷ These refurbished buildings were part of TPL’s successful equalization scheme backed by public participation and user-friendly designs. Budgeting by TPL reform-minded trustees was not always easy; for example, the idea of selling collections was panned by one columnist.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, the new building program, coupled with a plan to emphasize popular culture in collections and active programming, proceeded in the eighties to open up interior space in timeworn buildings and to revitalize membership at older branches such as Deer Park.⁵⁹

In addition to its provincial synopsis, the Provincial Library Service Branch found the need to outline its role in the MCR’s Arts Division operations.⁶⁰ Low visibility in the public library community often obscured the role of the PLS, especially for trustees. It was no surprise that the Bowron report had disclosed, “In northern regions and in Metropolitan Toronto, librarians and trustees felt remote from the P.L.S.” (p. 51). The overall goal of the PLS was to improve and encourage public library service in Ontario. To this end, its professional staff, Irma McDonough (Coordinator of Children’s Library Services), Eric Bow (Coordinator of Technical Services), and Grace Buller (Coordinator of Public Library Services), and William Roedde (Director) advised the Minister. They worked on matters such as legislation,

grants, and policy; assistance to persons with improving libraries; service on the executive of the OPLC; collection and publication of statistics on library operations; and administration of transfer payments to all boards. The PLS published the *Ontario Library Review* and *In Review* for children's services. As well, it arranged workshops, seminars, and courses (e.g. one week for county branch staff each year) to keep persons informed and to assist personal development. Within the MCR, the branch liaised and oversaw Outreach Ontario grants, Experience student employment, Wintario project transfers, and cultural transfers by the Ontario Arts Council.

In its leadership role for planning and effective use of resources, the branch had facilitated the publication of *Canadian Books for Children/Livres canadiens pour enfants* in 1974 under Irma McDonough and supervised Canadiana grants to libraries. More recently, in July 1977, it had distributed a brief report, "A Public Library Automated Network," recommending provincial funding for the Metro Toronto systems unit to undertake electronic data processing studies on a provincial scale and to develop a provincial public library user group for UTLAS. This vendor had emerged as the "only realistic alternative" for larger public libraries that held about sixty percent of the total volumes in Ontario.⁶¹ Finally, PLS librarians often served on regional committees and attended conferences as advisors or speakers. Considering there were more than 450 library boards in Ontario in the late 1970s, it was a burdensome schedule for such a small staff component. Contacts with regional directors, the OPLC, ministry personnel, and administrative groups such as CARML were commonplace. As a result, in an era when the provincial public service actively conducted and developed policy proposals, PLS initiatives on policy, planning, and operational goals often trailed current political realities at the ministry level.

The PLS did wield modest influence beyond its regular functions. Irma McDonough's *In Review: Canadian Books for Children* had become critical reading for new Canadian children's books and authors. In the early 1970s, when Canadian trade books for children remained a publishing risk, McDonough supported the idea for a centre for children's books, similar to European ones, to promote children's literature amongst librarians, teachers, and parents.⁶² As the decade progressed, publishing for children became more viable because smash hits, such as Ann Blades' *Mary of Mile 18* (1971) and Dennis Lee's *Alligator Pie* (1974), encouraged authors and publishers to invest in Canadian content. Support for children's libraries came from the National Library in 1975 when it appointed Irene Aubrey to head up the Children's Literature Service to collect Canadian books and to offer bibliographic and reference services.

In Toronto, the Book and Periodical Development Council initiated funding to establish the Canadian Centre for Children's Books in 1977. With Phyllis Yaffe as its first director, the Centre resuscitated the Young Canada's Book Week. The revived November Children's Book Festival featured authors' reading tours and programs in libraries, schools, and bookstores that became a national event during the UNESCO International Year of the Child, 1979.⁶³ Parental groups continued to be important, and Ottawa's *Children's Choices of Canadian Books* (1979-91) became a model project to encourage young readers.⁶⁴ *In Review* stimulated interest in children's and young adult services until it ceased publication in 1982. By this time, in an era of scarcer resources and budget cutbacks, children's librarianship too was changing; now, there was less optimism about its future in integrated library management schemes.⁶⁵ There was an inclination by administrators across Canada to reduce departmental children's sections—they were too specialized, too expensive—a trend that continued after 1980 as older children enjoyed more freedoms and patronized libraries less. Yet, children's work continued in new and traditional ways. To promote the rights of younger persons, OLA's Children's Services Guild drafted a statement on children's rights which was adopted by the Association in 1982.⁶⁶ As well, with the establishment of the Toronto Festival of Storytelling in 1979 (an event Alice Kane, retired from TPL, helped inspire), storytellers began to reinvigorate this art form and the traditional story hour in the library with more energetic and theatrical performances.⁶⁷

The PLS also worked with DORLS to encourage electronic data processing and networking. By the end of the 1970s, experts were speaking at library conferences about the "wired city" and declaring, "what's coming is a Canadian Electronic Highway Network."⁶⁸ It appeared the concept of a network of libraries, first spoken about by E.A. Hardy at OLA's annual meeting in 1926, could be achieved through data communications and computers. Thomas Ide, executive director of the Ontario Educational Communications Authority, speculated on future library capabilities:

It may well be, then, that some time in the not too distant future, instead of the individual coming to the library for films, records, tapes, video cartridges and facsimiles, the library will be able to send these directly to the individual.⁶⁹

In the mid-1970s, cable companies were still using copper wire that could carry only about thirty channels to customers. Industry experts realized optical fibre presented the opportunity to carry vastly increased amounts of information. External interactive activity between users and librarians was an intriguing potential scenario. The National Library, University of Toronto, Midwestern, and Niagara systems were busily expanding their client bases,

forming user groups, and publishing reports on this nascent electronic highway. Observers external to the library profession, such as J. William Baker from Macmillan of Canada, often expressed an optimistic viewpoint that libraries would overcome technological and funding difficulties when they spoke to the question of public library obsolescence posed by critics.⁷⁰ Yet, there was no reliable coordinating provincial agency for public libraries or secure sources of funding to realize this futurist vision.

When special funds from the MCR became available to regional systems in 1978, a Network Development Office (NDO) opened at the Metro Library to examine existing systems (especially UTLAS) and to determine future data processing requirements for bibliographic utilities, circulation and interloan, acquisitions, and resource sharing. Some issues were not only technological: document delivery involved copyright, access, and distribution issues.⁷¹ The NDO's initial provincial assessment was to develop local networks utilizing circulation systems and to mount a demonstration project. Its report was distributed shortly after the government announced in August 1978 that Reuben Baetz, representing the riding of Ottawa West, would head the MCR. The new minister arrived at a time of financial restraint that could inhibit library networking. Frozen provincial per capita library grants were, as he explained in a committee hearing, a "flat line." He rationalized the austerity program by saying: "I have heard on many occasions my counterparts in other provinces say, 'I wish we had what Ontario has.'"⁷² During the next two years, he would hear that Ontario had room for improvement. The Chief Executives of the Large Public Libraries in Ontario were first in line to present their twelve-page *Brief* in 1979 that repeated issues presented to Robert Welch four years before. CELPLO's brief emphasized the dominant role, mostly unrecognized, that urban libraries played in delivering resources to Ontario residents and the need to fund these services adequately. This effort came at a time when the MCR and Wintario had chosen a public library relations slogan, "More than Meets the Eye," to use on billboards and radio.⁷³

Reuben Baetz's term as minister was punctuated by revelations about the Niagara Regional Library System's financial woes and a series of pronouncements issued by Ontario library administrators through OPLC's advisory committee, OPLAC. The Niagara processing scheme was subsidizing its client libraries to some extent by absorbing costs, such as transportation. Although it began to examine its charges more carefully, by November 1978, it was in serious financial trouble. A *Globe and Mail* story indicated it might go bankrupt. The MCR responded it would not assume Niagara's debt or take over the system.⁷⁴ After the board members and director Vincent Needham, who was in ill health, wrestled with painful budget cuts and fee increases for

1979, the restoration of financial integrity seemed likely. Unfortunately, a financial manager was appropriating funds without the director or board's knowledge. A decision was made to drastically reduce operations in September 1979, then close entirely in February 1980. The centre's debt was approximately \$750,000.⁷⁵ Niagara's cessation was a blow to its member libraries. It was a frequent corridor topic at OLA's Ottawa 1980 conference, "The 80s: Meeting the Challenge," held during Halloween. It became a major source of embarrassment for the government. When asked about resolving the bankruptcy in the Legislature, the Minister replied: "we realize that the situation in Niagara, while most unusual, has illustrated some possible weaknesses in the accountability. Along with the library council [OPLC] and others, we are considering changing legislation to block up any loopholes or to make the boards more accountable."⁷⁶ To resolve the crisis, the Niagara board decided to suspend operations for two years while it used its annual provincial income to repay creditors.

Towards the end of 1979, the MCR engineered another modest reorganization: the PLS became the Libraries and Community Information Branch (LCIB) in the MCR's Information Access Division. The decision to accommodate libraries and information centres together was not a response to the Bowron report. The union was terminology at work: the two units continued to function separately. Locally, the operation of information centres in libraries, such as the short-lived London Urban Resource Centre from 1974-77, was a viable administrative option according to the Bureau of Municipal Research.⁷⁷ Some community development theorists, such as David C. Smith, who had a long association with libraries stretching back to the 1940s in the Barrie area, felt information and libraries fitted together easily.

The result is to establish a library with an organic relationship to the community it serves in an intimate, daily, working practice, establishing and discharging its information-providing role and extending that role to formulate its educational role as a twin responsibility. The creative opportunities and potential for libraries in these circumstances are as exciting as they are profound.⁷⁸

At this point, many library administrators surveyed a Kafesque scene that seemed bereft of any systematic planning. There was faint optimism about regional or provincial leadership. Copies of the Bowron report were gathering dust. The Niagara region was collapsing. The position of library boards, even in major cities like London or Nepean, was precarious. The Metro Library was struggling to make ends meet, and its management structure under external review. It was evident that the MCR was not ready to amend the *Public*

Libraries Act without consensus, a daunting criterion. Frozen provincial grants were not keeping pace with inflationary pressures. The NDO was investigating network development and library automation on a short-term basis without provincial commitment or sanction.⁷⁹ All these pressing matters required immediate attention and long-term solutions, not tinkering at the edges.

To establish a basis for planning, the Ontario Public Librarians' Advisory Committee formed a long-range task force to prepare discussion papers that might lead to a revision of the 1966 Act. In concert with the OPLC (and its members in DORLS, CARML, CELPLO, and AMPLO), the task force expanded its mandate to include a blueprint for library development in the 1980s. The first four discussion papers, *Entering the 80's*, issued between autumn 1979 and autumn 1980, startled many trustees (and perhaps the provincial government as well) with statements that boards should be based on populations of 50,000 or more and that municipalities should be given a choice to select the type of administration preferred in their jurisdiction.⁸⁰ The fourth (and final) discussion paper contained recommendations such as southern counties being the basis for local service, provincial grant money directed entirely for library materials, and minimum municipal library support to qualify for a provincial grant. At the provincial level, there was an obvious need for a clear statement regarding library service for Ontarians. The MCR should directly fund resource libraries and bibliographic services. The rationalization of regional systems called for serious consideration because their coordination, communication, and advisory roles could be adjusted across larger population bases to achieve greater homogeneity.

OPLAC's discussion papers, intended for use by the OPLC, did not satisfy all concerned; it influenced other parties to submit proposals directly to Reuben Baetz. For example, Northern Ontario's smaller population, restricted economic base, special needs for aboriginal and bilingual services, and vast distances required additional regional support. The minister was approached on these issues in a June 1980 brief developed jointly by the northern regions "to prevent the destruction of library service."⁸¹ With prolonged disagreement on policy setting in Metro Toronto and lack of accountability in Niagara, it was evident a reassessment of the regional systems needed to be undertaken. DORLS took the initiative to issue a position paper presented to the Ministry in November 1980 stating four basic concerns requiring resolution:

- determination of a provincial policy that regional systems could work to achieve;
- proper funding levels for regional programs using management by results;
- a review of appropriate regional boundaries for service delivery;

and

- clarification of accountability of regional boards: possibly by direct election, or all appointments by the Ministry, or incorporating regional systems into the Ministry.⁸²

Faced with the prospect of multiple submissions, ongoing reviews in Metro Toronto and Niagara, and northern demands, the MCR finally acted in September 1980.

The Programme Review

Reuben Baetz met with the OPLC and announced a two-year Public Libraries Programme Review. Scarborough's chief librarian, Peter Bassnett, would be the director and work with a small intermediary group at the outset to plan the review process. The Minister believed a positive approach with abundant consultation would improve the delivery of library services throughout Ontario. To that end, he articulated his Ministry's framework for the programme review's objectives and its expected results.

Programme Review Objectives

- improved legislation
- clearly articulated policies
- effective program planning methods
- a flexible investment strategy for provincial funding
- responsive research & development capabilities
- organizational structure reflecting current service requirements for libraries and systems

Anticipated Results

- defined accountability for operations
- increased productivity
- improved service delivery at all levels
- policy and planning for program design and development focused on service outputs

The Review would commence immediately. Its chief focus would be the regional library systems—their ability to provide services, the adequacy of their financial control, and their boards' accountability. W.A. Roedde would assume the role of director of research and development for the Review. Grace Buller would replace him as Director of Libraries and Community Information on an interim basis. The minister closed by saying, "Let us also deal with our substantial backlog of issues in order that we may be more productive by projecting the many successes of our past into an even greater future..."⁸³ He repeated his support for libraries at OLA's Ottawa conference a month later by

declaring conditional grants would continue to be MCR policy. He followed this by announcing a 9.3% increase for grants at the start of 1981. By this time, Peter Bassnett and the review team had formed fifteen special task groups and scheduled hundreds of meetings that would reach an estimated 2,000 people and receive 368 submissions before the end of 1981.

One of the first major reports submitted to the Ontario Public Libraries Programme Review (OPLPR) came from the Metro Toronto Council chief administrator's office. In the second half of 1980, the powers of the Metro board; the role, goals and objectives of the library; its structure and committees; finances; management; staffing; and computerized operations all underwent close study. The Report called for clarification of legislation respecting the regional board. In this regard, it stated the general legislative problem facing all regional boards:

On the one hand there is the recognition of a need for coordination of certain library services and on the other the desire for area identification and autonomy. A clear definition of powers and responsibilities can assist in overcoming this dilemma. The legislation must clarify those areas which are to be accomplished through coordination and those the Metro Library Board has the authority to carry out.⁸⁴

Another recommendation made the case to refocus efforts on the formulation of regional goals for boards and submission of a final report to Metro Council on this controversial matter. On the operational side, the review team recommended that thirteen additional staff be added for 1981. Toronto's *Program Review* was less kind to senior management because it advised dismantling the executive team and reorganizing the library into three divisions: general resources; reference library operations; and administration and finance. By November, John Parkhill had tendered his resignation, citing differences with the board.⁸⁵ Lack of direction and lack of clear objectives for staff members was the main fault that the report team hoped to correct. Dealing with vandalism, theft, and vagrants was another matter. Despite efforts to "get tough" on thieves and troublemakers, it was not possible to secure the entire building when 10,000 people entered on a busy Saturday.⁸⁶

Another timely report for the Programme Review to digest was a French service study the OPLC had previously requested. *French Language Services in Ontario Public Libraries*, conducted by Louis Desjardins and Evelyn Gagné, was an examination of sixty major libraries available to Franco-Ontarians. The Bowron report contained useful observations concerning service to Franco-Ontarians that had not been implemented. The Desjardins

study echoed many earlier observations with more urgent prose in April 1980:

Nowhere can we find in the Public Libraries Act a reference to the French language; nowhere can we find a guarantee of French language services; nowhere can we find affirmation in regard to the necessity of assuring franco-phone or bilingual personnel. This means that from the starting point the terrain is unstable and uneasy. From a legal point of view, French-language services are not considered; consequently, francophones cannot demand but have to beg.⁸⁷

“Libraries Lag on French” began the *Toronto Star* June 3rd editorial that prescribed more leadership from Queen’s Park and criticized the permissive nature of library legislation. The report flagged the inconsistent collection patterns of French language materials across the province, citing Iroquois Falls’ equally French- and English-speaking population that had four books in English for each French one.

Desjardins and Gagné recommended legislative amendments to mandate Francophones on municipal library boards and representation on the OPLC. Bilingual library personnel in public services areas would reassure Francophone users. Enhanced education and training for personnel in conjunction with specific budgeting for French-language materials would spur improvements. Regional systems were encouraged to hire staff to liaise with municipal libraries and report to a provincial French Language Co-ordinator in the LCIB. The report urged the ministry to initiate a review of French language services and establish a suitable budget for an integrated municipal-regional-provincial effort to replace the prevailing patchwork service. In this way, the gap between the reported estimated million books required and the 650,000 books currently held by libraries might narrow.

By all accounts, OPLAC’s *Entering the 80’s* had stimulated thinking. But perhaps the most compelling reason for the MCR to embark on a comprehensive review of public libraries was the questionable role and leadership of the provincial government. The MCR was funding regional systems that were not ultimately accountable to it or any elected government agency. One of the main thrusts of the Programme Review would be to improve accountability at all levels and concentrate funding on key operations. The LCIB and OPLC lacked staff resources to administer new MCR programs, such as French languages and multicultural services. Some municipal entities, namely non-operating boards, were unsuited to perform meaningful library services. The MCR needed to assess its priorities for supporting public libraries. It needed to issue revisions to the *Public Libraries Act* and to institute regulations on funding controls. If the OPLPR was to chart an

influential cultural role within the ministry's operational framework, then new managers with new insights would need to be recruited for the LCIB and ministry divisions. Public input was important because the MCR wished to have many different viewpoints, not just professional or political perspectives. Even seemingly sacrosanct issues, such as charging for services—a topic Peter Bassnett was well acquainted with—would receive a hearing.⁸⁸ Free access based on public tax support was a cherished principle but not universally accepted. The cost of computer-assisted information and community programming combined with financial restraint naturally led to discussions on user fees. Reuben Baetz raised the possibility of instituting user fees at the provincial legislative Standing Committee on Social Development.

One of the services that has been the centre of controversy is the use of films. It's an expensive service, a very nice service, but I guess you get back to the question does the general public feel it can afford it? Are you prepared to increase taxes in order that you can provide a film service out of libraries?⁸⁹

The minister posed the question—what would the answer be?

The OPLPR established fifteen groups in search of consensus and solutions. Some groups explored general provincial concerns: policy and social purpose (1), general delivery of services (2), governmental liaison (3), provincial financing and accountability (4), and field services (5). Task groups on planning and development for technological potential (6), electronic information (13), and co-operatives and processing centres (15) addressed technical and networking questions. Special considerations for northern Ontario (7), publishing and libraries (12), and access to resources (14) required separate groups. Finally, four groups studied cultural identities and services for French languages (8), Native services (9), multicultural programs (10), and handicapped and disabled persons (11). Each group was responsible for a report and, in addition, the OPLPR received two 1981-82 reports from the Network Development Office (“Data Collection for Ontario Public Library Programme Review” and “Networking of Interlibrary Loan, Telecommunication and Surface Communication Services”) and a “Midwestern Regional Library System Analysis of Operations.”⁹⁰ A notable absence in the OPLPR groupings was recognition of Ontario's changing ethnic patterns or reference to concurrent studies on ethnic minorities, such as the black population in North York or the Black Heritage and West Indian Resource Collection Toronto was assembling.⁹¹

It was an extensive research and analysis undertaking, dwarfing previous efforts by Francis St. John and Albert Bowron. One major drawback was its

internal focus. There was little effort to identify public reading interests related to current societal issues, such as growing environmental activism highlighted by the celebration of “Earth Day” in the 1980s. Eventually, the Programme Review would lead to a government “green paper” for further study and to new legislation that would take effect in 1985. The OPLPR did avoid some issues, such as library-community information centre ventures. One noticeable omission at the outset, small libraries, led to the establishment of the Association of Small Public Libraries of Ontario (ASPLO) in May 1981 with membership from places such as Bradford, Fort Frances, Arnprior, Hanover, Prescott, Tillsonburg, and Strathroy. Small library administrators worried that their communities—libraries under 10,000 that comprised most libraries in the province—were not given thoughtful acknowledgement or representation in the review headed by Peter Bassnett. Automation of small libraries was a growing concern: could it best be achieved through administrative networks, standalone microcomputers, or sharing of equipment locally with municipal corporations?⁹² In essence, the formation of ASPLO signalled that a reconsideration of the traditional hierarchical leadership structure in Ontario’s public libraries was underway.⁹³

The OPLPR sets its course for a year-and-a-half with the knowledge that the Progressive Conservatives under William Davis had finally secured a majority government in a March 1981 election. Four years would be sufficient to develop new legislation for libraries. The OPLPR, in good time, submitted seventy-five recommendations by August 1982. At the OLA conference in October 1981, it became evident changes would occur before the OPLPR finalized its work. Reuben Baetz said the government was not satisfied with the present LCIB organization: “As part of the library review I therefore will be making some fundamental changes within my ministry’s library staff organization.”⁹⁴ A few months later, in February 1982, the MCR became the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture (MCZC) with the LCIB relocated in the Arts, Heritage and Libraries division. William Davis selected Bruce McCaffrey as the new MCZC minister. Grace Buller’s acting directorship ended in October 1981 and Irma McDonough retired in early 1982.⁹⁵ Brian C. Shannon, the new director of the LCIB, began the process of modifying its status and work after his appointment. Henceforth, the branch would stress that libraries be effective agencies in the delivery of provincial policies and services, a narrower leadership role, indeed, a significant change. In the 1980s and 1990s, as the government developed programs to emphasize the plural nature of society, public libraries joined a broader effort to encourage responsible citizenship by emphasizing values that all Ontarians were equal members living within a culturally diverse and inclusive province.

By mid-1982, the *Ontario Library Review* and *In Review* had ceased publication, and it was evident a new, reduced publications program would be implemented. Review publications were important, but the MCZC wanted to focus its publishing on specific topics and to promote library awareness of prominent provincial issues. Because divisive issues made unity difficult to achieve, a new body, the Association of Library Boards of Ontario, organized. ALBO's 1982 constitution created a membership and executive composed mostly of library board chairs and chief librarians. Initially, there were expectations that ALBO might become an effective political avenue for expressing the viewpoints of boards. Brian Shannon said, "There are too many fragmented voices, often at odds with each other. I'd like to see one organization created to represent the whole library community to the Ministry."⁹⁶ However, perhaps an executive group did not hold all the answers or have support from all quarters. Although ALBO grew to represent a hundred libraries, it did not become a larger or more effective organization than the OLA Trustees section, which continued to be the principal voice for trustee concerns throughout the Programme Review.⁹⁷

The OPLPR created a structure for broad discussion, *Ontario Public Libraries: The Provincial Role in a Triad of Responsibilities*, by autumn 1982 for review by library boards, politicians, and librarians. Over the life of the Review, the current provincial role performed by the LCIB or OPLC was found to be deficient (p. 68-71). The Report indicated more precise legislation and guidelines were required (p. 93). Lack of awareness about the LCIB and OPLC and their inadequate authority had stalled communication and led to ineffectual provincial leadership. A strengthening of provincial direction within the ministry through an enlarged staff component to plan and liaise with the library community was essential. A Public Library Services Division and a new advisory body would be required (rec. 7.72 and 7.73). Other recommendations for increased staff for data collection, French-language service, networking, services for disabled persons, aboriginal services, multicultural activity, management, and training responsibilities (p. 168-87) would permit the MCZC to deal with policies that it brought forward. Many of these ideas originated from background studies or were influenced by general developments such as the 1981 UN International Year of Disabled Persons theme "full participation and equality."⁹⁸ Assistance for non-professional staff, mostly untrained persons in charge of small libraries, was an important issue, the subject of one lengthy submission from an ad hoc group of consultants.⁹⁹ In one case, the Task Force on Native Services, the main thrust urging the formation of a Council to oversee library services for natives at an estimated \$290,000, was disregarded because the group insisted on working outside the

framework of the LCIB.¹⁰⁰ The OPLPR's recommendations on northern conditions mostly bypassed the ideas from its task own task group headed by Richard Jones, director of North Central region.

During the Programme Review, the regional role—now called the intermediary role—was gradually reshaped. The NDO at Metro library completed a series of working papers on library automation, the last being a guide to prepare for local networking based on a minicomputer system.¹⁰¹ Increasingly, commercial turnkey library systems were becoming available as the transition from mainframe systems developed. One Canadian company, Geac Computers, was developing library-automated products that enjoyed robust sales. The NDO (transferred to the Ministry offices in July 1981) and some LCIB staff worked on a provincial study of union products for resource sharing in regional systems. This report recommended the LCIB contract with Metro's systems unit to produce, print, and distribute regional catalogues.¹⁰² In Lake Erie, the NDO studied five options for utilizing database facilities at the London Public Library on a cost-sharing basis. London, under the direction of E. Stanley Beacock, the former Midwestern region director, had installed a Geac Computer Corp. circulation system that allowed barcoded materials to circulate rapidly. Because the technical aspects of establishing an information network were complex, the study did not examine administrative or contractual problems to extend networking at length.¹⁰³ The NDO also reported on vendors for Ottawa's half-million-dollar automated circulation system that became operational before the library's 75th anniversary celebrated in May 1981.¹⁰⁴ A 1982 report on coordinated networking by the NDO emphasized the regional role in telecommunications and surface transport, an essential policy the MCZC adopted for future development.¹⁰⁵

The OPLPR, mindful of the Niagara failure, was wary of regional processing centres and bibliographic databanks. Its task force (15) recommended Midwestern's centre become a Crown Corporation. Instead, the OPLPR (p. 164-67) followed the ministry's Ward Mallette report that recommended further study for Midwestern because the Midwestern brief indicated it was not averse to a separation of the processing centre from its jurisdiction. A new path was clarified: automation and cooperative area networks were to become local level responsibilities supplemented with planning and financial assistance offered by the Province. Centralized regional acquisitions and processing utilities would no longer receive support.

The Programme Review recommended intermediary involvement with basic services, such as rotating book collections, staff training, special collections, programming for groups, and direct service to municipally unorganized populations. Some briefs authored by administrative groups

emphasized long-standing issues such as resource libraries and centralized processing, but these positions were not conclusive.¹⁰⁶ The County and Regional Municipality Librarians' brief criticized the regional systems for partly dissipating the cooperative movement in Ontario in terms of creating larger governing units.¹⁰⁷ But the key point was the Review's statement that the intermediary role "is an extension of the Provincial Government's responsibility and role in the delivery of public library services across Ontario" and that there were currently three types of regional service, "the northern, southern, and Metropolitan Toronto area" (p. 147-48). Northern distinctions warranted provincial library intermediaries. The southern systems were more complex, so the review recommended a gradual phase-in over five years to one provincial agency with field offices, starting with Southwestern, Lake Erie, and Niagara (p.154-59). Metro Toronto required amendments to the *Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act* to repeal the MTLB's status as a regional library system and to authorize more sitting Metro Council members for the upper-level board. Provincial funding for the MTLB would need an examination to determine what special purposes the province wanted to accomplish with its legislative payments (p. 160-64).

At the local level, the OPLPR made forty-two recommendations that sought to clarify functions and management. Several recommendations would eventually make their way into the revised Act almost three years later in 1985. In place of standards, boards should embark on community analysis; boards should provide services their communities desired or needed; legislation for free entry to libraries and use of materials should be enacted; and services for particular groups (e.g. handicapped, Francophones) should be augmented with provincial assistance. Capital funds should be made available because only a few libraries had shared in the Wintario capital construction program before the government redirected it to other purposes. Funding from programs such as Wintario and the Board of Industrial Leadership was important but episodic. Special funding for the start of county-regional municipal systems and enrichment of per capita grants to northern libraries was a desideratum. Some recommendations addressed the composition of boards and their relationship with appointing bodies by affording municipal councils more control. The traditional board of nine members, with the majority composed of public and separate school appointees from larger county school boards, was a leftover from the 1960s restructuring of school authorities. In summarizing the provincial grant situation, the Review found little change over ten years: the 1971 grant had totaled \$8,552 million (20% of total support) and in 1981 \$25,279 million (19% of total support). The Bassnett report recommended continuing payment of grants directly to boards.

On the issue of non-operating boards, currently in 136 communities, the report recommended the grant be paid only if municipal revenue matched its grant (p. 132-35). This policy, along with the promotion of larger units of service in counties and upper-tier municipalities, might half the total number of boards.

The OPLPR concluded its report by drafting a policy statement regarding public library service (p. 188-92). Ultimately, provincial goals should be

- provision of public library legislation ensuring access and delivery of services;
- encouragement and support for municipal libraries;
- ensuring library collections reflect the population characteristics of their jurisdictions;
- encouragement and assistance for technological changes;
- development of a province-wide public information utility by networking municipal libraries; and
- provision of funding and staff support to achieve these goals.

The cost of expanding provincial support was not expensive: a task group (4) estimated a 10.5% increase from \$25.7 million to \$28.5 million (p. 194). At the former regional levels, expenses could be reduced by 40% and be redirected to augment the proposed public library service division. In terms of the *Public Libraries Act*, the OPLPR recommended a complete overhaul. In response to the OPLPR, Bruce McCaffrey announced at the November 1982 OLA conference in Toronto that his ministry preferred to issue a green paper for discussion without any specific commitment to action, *A Foundation for the Future/Réalités et Perspectives*. The green paper, released in December, would form the basis for legislative changes. In February 1983, Wil Vanderelst, from the MCZC policy secretariat, became the new director of the LCIB, now shifted to the ministry's Culture and Regional Services Division. The former director, W.A. Roedde, moved to the Ontario Archives.¹⁰⁸

A Foundation for the Future

The green paper distilled some of the Bassnett report recommendations into digestible segments for politicians, trustees, unions, and the public. The prose was flexible, allowing the MCZC to craft its options. For example, where the OPLPR had recommended specific appointments for French-language services, native resources, multiculturalism, and the disabled, the green paper suggested delivery of these program areas subject to available financial and human resources.¹⁰⁹ Caution on the part of the MCZC derived, in part, from its receipt of additional information, four studies by the Network Development Office in fall 1982. A study on the northern Tri-Regional Catalogue concluded

that it was a useful tool for libraries using UTLAS services and should continue to receive provincial funding.¹¹⁰ An extensive report on audio-visual services arrived at the same verdict: the province should assist with a variety of formats, especially 16 mm film; otherwise, these materials might become the preserve of larger libraries.

At the present time there is no substitute for 16mm film. Video is not yet an effective group medium; there are a great number of formats, all incompatible with one another (standardization of a yet to be developed ½" format by the major manufacturers is not promised until 1985 with no guarantees that it will remain a standard for any length of time); only a handful of libraries across the province are beginning to develop collections in the newer video formats, ½" VHS or Beta, or stylus type video disc;...¹¹¹

A third study of specialized products published by regional systems—union catalogues of films, periodicals, and talking books—recommended their continuance in association with the Metro Toronto Library systems support.¹¹² Regional systems originally had developed all these useful products and services. A final report on potential automated systems for collection management in smaller and medium-sized libraries revealed that current systems were expensive, although the advent of microcomputer technology might pave the way for progress in libraries under 100,000 people.¹¹³

The OPLPR reports, along with the data collection by the NDO, provided the MCZC with ample evidence about the current state of affairs. Statistical information in the Bassnett report gave an interesting profile of local library progress in Ontario during the 1970s (p. 282-85).

<i>Library variable</i>	<i>1971 000's</i>	<i>1975 000's</i>	<i>1980 000's</i>	<i>% Increase 1971 - 81</i>
Pop. served	6,861	7,937	8,524	27.9
Circulation	50,062	53,128	56,917	13.2
Book stock	13,313	17,645	23,291	86.4
Provincial grants	\$ 8,552	\$ 19,811	\$ 25,279	234.8
Local support	\$ 33,301	\$ 59,617	\$ 108,234	251.5
Expenditure	\$ 43,093	\$ 80,979	\$ 129,009	254.9
Professional staff	761	995	1,028	40.5

Given that inflation was 122% from 1970 to 1980, the tremendous increases in revenue and expenditures were less impressive but still adequate to manage

new resources, introduce new programs, and serve more people. The Bassnett report did not document the growth of regional systems, partly because their operations differed greatly in terms of activity, and their future life expectancy was limited. However, their financial development was impressive (Table 18: Provincial Expenditures on Regional Libraries, 1966–81) and represented a considerable provincial investment over the fifteen years after 1966 (excluding Metro Toronto local contributions). On a national basis, the Bassnett figures for 1978 showed that Ontario did well: compared to Canada, on a per capita basis, it held 2.4 books per capita (1.8 Canada), circulated 6.4 books per capita (5.0 Canada), and had 11.7 librarians per 100,000 pop. (7.1 Canada).

During the process of consultation on the green paper, the LCIB and regional systems conducted more policy studies. The MCZC new grant regulations in April 1982 stipulated that fiscal years for regional systems would conform to the province and that expenditures would concentrate on telecommunications, delivery systems, interloan, and county library development (Ont. Reg. 290/82). Separate regional processing operations were no longer supported after more than a decade of mixed results. The Midwestern region's re-titled Library Services Centre underwent an extensive review of its staffing, computer systems, financial and management controls, and economic performance in 1983/84. Thirty libraries (representing eighty percent of the total volume of business) and fifteen publishers and distributors participated in the review. The final report judged that the centre was a financially viable operation. The report also recommended detaching the Centre from the regional board, making the entire operation cost-recovery, and extending its services to more clients. In fact, due to its unique advantages, the services centre was encouraged to market its products to smaller and medium-sized clients throughout Canada.¹¹⁴

Automation continued to be a prime concern. In February 1983, CARML issued a proposal for a central provincial database for county libraries with individual libraries maintaining their own local holdings to encourage rationalization of resources.¹¹⁵ For the libraries in South Central, a phased progression to an integrated system anchored by a single regional database of holdings providing circulation, catalogues, acquisitions was proposed as the network solution. This process would permit potential client resource sharing for interloan by local libraries and allow clients to proceed according to their own schedules.¹¹⁶ CORLS, the Central Ontario region headquartered in Richmond Hill, took the lead in computerized regional activities. In terms of networking, their planners derived similar conclusions: a central bibliographic database could eventually offer acquisitions, cataloguing, and interlibrary loan functions for libraries that could not afford a computer system.¹¹⁷ CORLS

reviewed the potential for computerization of libraries; interloan between independent libraries; and circulation of materials from the regional office; as well as film booking and electronic mail based on a collaborative model that was not necessarily wedded to a regional basis. Before the end of 1982, each Central Ontario library received a terminal, printer and high-speed modem to access a computer-operated system. CORLS' "automated info network" soon became a reality.¹¹⁸

While the recommendations of the OPLPR for the Metro Toronto region followed the logic of the earlier study by the Metro Council in 1980, they did not immediately affect the region. The Metro board had developed goals and objectives in 1980-81, focusing on twin aims: region-wide public services for all Metro Toronto residents and regional services to other library systems. The priorities for regional services became 1) reference requests from area libraries, 2) a-v materials and services, 3) multilanguage materials and services, 4) specialized catalogues, 5) interlibrary loan, and 6) delivery systems.¹¹⁹ Direct public services would continue from its new building. The new Metro library director after 1981, Donald Meadows, wanted to promote the central reference library's image to the public as a research library and "demarket" student use. This option had the potential to free up staff for other duties. In an interview the director explained,

'Many members of the public think that a library is a library is a library,' Mr. Meadows points out. 'A very high proportion of high school students, perhaps at junior levels, come in here expecting something that we are not able, nor were ever intended to be able to deliver.'¹²⁰

Nevertheless, this policy proved difficult to implement. Reorienting ingrained perceptions about the library's role and its resources was a complicated long-term strategy when short-term budget woes were driving decisions. Metro would have to wait for legislative amendments for further clarity.

A Foundation for the Future prompted many responses before the end of April 1983. The tenor of opinion was disappointment because the green paper contained few specific OPLPR recommendations and exuded vague language. There was some irritation as well: "'Last December, a consultation paper was written which did not appear to recognize the study,' Mr. Bassnett said. 'A (ministry) staff member wrote it from our report, but in many cases you couldn't see any connection.'"¹²¹ Ron Baker, the vice-chair for ALBO and an original member of OPLAC's "Entering the 80's" group, said: "After two years of hard work, we expected something a lot more substantial, a blueprint if you will." Jean Orpwood, head of North York, criticized the lack of explicit language on the role of chief executives and library board: "It's important to

know what exactly you want to accomplish...”¹²²

At the outset, *A Foundation for the Future* provided a set of contemporary principles based on public library service as a municipal responsibility. Its short statement reprised many familiar features. The public library was a local agency with important roles (p. 5):

- 1) assistance in informal education;
- 2) enrichment for individuals undertaking formal education;
- 3) provision of community information;
- 4) support for cultural activities; and
- 5) encouragement of constructive use of leisure time.

Public libraries should be accessible to all in their community and cooperate with other jurisdictions to plan and deliver service. It was a functional, not prescriptive interpretation of public library work. It raised little excitement or reaction. For its part, the Province committed: 1) to encourage and support local libraries; 2) to assist boards in ensuring their collections met the needs of citizens; 3) to support boards in implementing technological improvements; 4) to assist boards in developing a province-wide system facilitating cooperation; and 5) to increase cooperation and coordination among various boards, universities, schools, etc. to provide a comprehensive public library service for users (p. 8). The consultation paper recommended the creation of larger units of service, especially counties or union boards, and termination of grants for non-operating boards (p. 12-14). References to building resource libraries were absent. Attention turned to networking, a more realistic approach to sharing on a systematic basis.

The regional systems were reduced from fourteen to eight. Their services were mandated to communications; physical delivery of materials; inter-library loan; audio-visual services; county library development; training and education; and coordination of cost-sharing programs by local libraries. Regional offices would be accountable to the MCZC by auditing, reporting, and program budgeting. “Rather than being directive organizations attempting to plan local library service, Regional Systems in the future must be responsible organizations, responding to identifiable and measurable library needs” (p. 15-20). The Province would manage regional systems, plan network development, develop ministry programs for natives and children; have oversight of provincial grants; provide statistical analysis; and provide communication for advertising and publicity (p. 24-25). The OPLC would continue as an advisory body (p. 27) even though it was due to be sunsetted in March 1983. Although *A Foundation for the Future* clarified a provincial role, it did not strengthen the LCIB’s ability to foster cooperation among libraries.

The LCIB seemed destined to remain a small branch acting as a resource for special needs and technology, a grant administrator, and a conduit for regional spending and activity.¹²³

Immediate assessments about the consultation paper were not very enthusiastic. Many had become skeptical about the entire process after reading what the Minister, Bruce McCaffrey, was reported to have said: "The system is working like a dream, except for that fiscal accountability."¹²⁴ The minister's confidence contrasted with professional and trustee perspectives. Albert Bowron opined, "The government now realizes that the public library community will not arrive at a consensus about its future and rather than show leadership, the Ministry has decided to do very little" and "the specifics of most of Bassnett's recommendations have been rendered weightless." Harry Campbell characterized the green paper as "a modest fresh start, after years of waiting" and wished to get on with things. "Reducing the number of systems from fourteen to eight was inevitable, considering the variety of opinions about having any at all" was a verdict on twenty-five years of regional operations by Sam Neill, who had headed the Northeastern Region when co-operative regions began forming in the late 1950s. The OLA Trustee's Association president, Lorraine Williams, who was also active in the CLA trustees' group, described the consultation paper as "a bare-bones statement on where this government sits."¹²⁵

From the municipal vantage point, the Association of Municipalities sent a predictable reply reiterating its convictions, such as the need for councils to charge fees.¹²⁶

The Association believes that free access to libraries and the free use of books and reference materials within the library facility by the public should be maintained but that municipalities should be allowed the flexibility to adopt a fee policy with respect to any other service provided by the public library, if they so desire.

Further, regarding the societal role of libraries, the AMO pointed out that public libraries and community information centres both provided information needs and that a statement on the libraries' informational role appeared to contradict the ministry's established practice of separate funding for information centres. The AMO also questioned the necessity for including a cultural role because of the multiplicity of agencies already providing services or the need for a statement that the library contributed to "constructive use" of recreational time. At the heart of the matter was the potential demand for municipal funds that were in short supply after the severe 1981-82 recession. Historically, Ontario libraries had charged many different fees without raising

significant revenue—library cards, multiple bestsellers, reserve privileges, films and records, a-v equipment, art prints, information searching, room rentals, overdue, programs, photocopies, and, of course, non-resident fees. There were two divides on charging, yet the amount of revenue raised was seldom the principal rationale for arguments.

Bruce McCaffrey's enthusiasm was in part due to progressive advances in library service. The public perception of library service generally was favourable. Sunday openings, security strips inside books to detect theft, new facilities, audio-visual resources, popular programs, and collaborative schemes like HALINET (the Halton Information Network composed of Oakville, Milton, and Halton Hills to purchase cooperatively and to operate automated circulation systems) were touted in local media. An entire page of the *Toronto Star* in spring 1982 revealed that libraries along the western shoreline of Lake Ontario from Etobicoke to Burlington were bustling with activity.

Librarians across Metro West say library services have never played a more vital role in the community than they are today.

Most libraries have expanded services to include cassette tapes, records, films, video cassettes, extensive reference materials and special programming for people of all ages.

‘It doesn't matter if you're 3 or 103, there's something in the library for you if you want to use it,’ Shelagh Conway, chief librarian of the Milton Public Library, says.¹²⁷

The most visible sign of progress—a new or renovated library—was readily apparent, especially in smaller communities and neighbourhoods. Small projects, such as Port Hope's \$135,000 installation of an elevator in 1982, occurred across the province. Three towns with long-established services opened new facilities in summer 1982. Two buildings cost more than \$350,000: Alliston and Scugog Township's Port Perry branch. In Aylmer, the library moved from its 1913 Carnegie to the renovated Old Town Hall in June 1982. In September 1982, Wentworth County opened a new \$185,000 branch at Binbrook. Renovation of an addition to the historic Norfolk County jail building began in 1983 to relocate the Simcoe library to the town's Governor Simcoe Square under the direction of the heritage architect, Carlos Ventin.

The trend in library buildings, especially in smaller communities and neighbourhoods, was for shared facilities, a popular arrangement amongst municipal officials and users because the benefit of construction costs and accessibility could be maximized. Dunnville's library opened in July 1984 in a central municipal building that provided space for community meetings and social events. A Caledon Public Library branch was part of the new Albion-Bolton Community Centre that combined its branch with an arena, sports

facilities, meeting rooms, and daycare facilities. The library featured a two-storey window view of the adjacent valley. In urban neighbourhoods, rented facilities sometimes offered the most accessibility. The 5,000 sq. ft. St. Lawrence branch in Toronto, designed by Phillip Carter, opened in 1982 in a commercial space where shopping, residences, recreation, and business were combined. This economical \$300,000 solution satisfied community redevelopment needs and became part of a thriving urban neighbourhood design model. To the east, Scarborough relocated its branch to the Port Union Community Recreation Centre in 1984 with an unconventional radial plan. This multi-use complex incorporated a seniors' centre, fitness centre, activity rooms, and assembly hall adjacent to the 5,000 sq. ft. library. Locations in diverse commercial or community settings often drew repeat users who preferred convenient sites rather than comprehensive services.¹²⁸

Relocation from older buildings continued to provide users with better accommodations.¹²⁹ Separate buildings were typical in smaller cities and growing suburban areas. Peterborough's new \$2.3 million central library, opened by Robertson Davies, displayed a wooden sidewalk trellis leading to its front entrance and comfortable interior design when it opened in September 1980. The Lieutenant Governor, Pauline M. McGibbon, opened Kingston's new central library in April 1978. Post-modern architecture made a dramatic appearance north of Toronto. Designed by Phillip Carter, the unconventional two-storey Markham Village Library (1981) integrated many traditional functions with bold post-modern styling.¹³⁰ Visitors may have been surprised by a bandshell, a gigantic clock, and a reflecting pool at its entrance. Inside, Georgian domestic features, visible solar efficient energy structures, striking natural lighting from large windows, along with an 18-foot vaulted ceiling on the second floor, were unexpected delights to many regular users. Phillip Carter received a Governor General's Medal for Architecture for his "village green" concept. He followed with another historic vocabulary in a Richmond Hill subdivision, Richvale.¹³¹ This 8,000 sq. ft. branch opened in 1983 at a cost of \$760,000. The library featured four wings—adult, children's section, vestibule, and community facilities—radiating from the central foyer intermingled with a central cupola, turrets, terrazzo tiles, and peaceful alcoves. A second Markham branch, overlooking a park in Unionville costing \$1.5 million, opened in January 1984. Its postmodern exterior featured a historic Victorian-era touch with an open steel tower and barnyard-like seam-metal roof punctuated by gables. The symmetrical interior utilized a classic central court surrounded by books and readers.¹³²

These three buildings mostly rejected sober modernist architectural styling. Some critics did not accept the mingling of different historical periods;

others found “The complexity of detailing and forms creates an enjoyment that is not only accessible to the initiated, but also to the layman, without reverting to an overt Post-Modern eclecticism.”¹³³ It was clear that bolder exteriors, combined with energy-efficient design and the advent of computers inside libraries, expressed different concepts about how library space, people, and resources coexisted. There were many civic faces for libraries that accentuated flexible community relationships: Carnegie heritage, centennial pride, trim modern functionality, post-modern eclecticism, and cultural-recreational complexes all vied for attention. The library as “place” was evolving. People appreciated new styles and interior designs—circulation and program expansion normally accompanied new buildings. Additionally, the appearance of compact, desktop computers announced new initiatives that could be shared amongst smaller and larger libraries.

With the arrival of microcomputers in stores in the late 1970s and early 1980s—the Radio Shack TRS-80, Commodore 64, and Apples I, II, III—librarians began to expand the concept of literacy by including desktop computer applications. Technological knowledge and ability were becoming a vital consideration for some librarians faced with the advent of operating systems MS-DOS and Windows in the early 1980s. The OLA Literacy Guild and several libraries began to develop programs to assist users. Stan Squires, Oakville’s head of children’s services, began combining computers and children in 1979 at half-hour sessions that expanded to include assistance for disabled and mentally challenged adults. Later, Oakville launched an ambitious computer learning facility with three dozen computers and furnishings in April 1983. People of all ages, including preschoolers, could enter courses or arrange computer rentals. While the service attracted a significant number of users, 6,000 in 1983-84, it eventually had to close in winter 1985 when external funding ceased.¹³⁴ Grimsby’s free computer literacy classes began in 1982 with a “Computers for Kids” program that expanded into a full-scale offering with equipment in 1983 funded with federal and province assistance.¹³⁵ Students attended after school and adults came later in the evening. Both these initiatives depended on external funds and were not able to continue as initially anticipated; however, library microcomputers for public use—children, adults, and seniors—had arrived by the mid-1980s.

Lastly, there were encouraging signs on censorship. The Book and Periodical Development Council published a statement on free expression and freedom to read regarding librarians that the OLA endorsed at its general meeting on 31 October 1981. “Freedom to read is a precious heritage” was a pronouncement that eventually spawned Freedom to Read Week in September 1984, an event to defend controversial books and magazines and to celebrate

free communication. The OLA's endorsement came shortly before the Rainy River library cancelled a reading of Kevin Major's *Hold Fast* that had some "strong language." His book had earned a Canada Council Children's Literature Prize in 1978 and CLA's Book of the Year for Children award in 1979.¹³⁶ But by April 1982, with the adoption of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms by the federal Parliament, Canadians were now guaranteed "freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication." The Charter protected and acknowledged that everyone possessed fundamental rights that could not be removed without cause. By this measure, the power for government agencies, such as the Ontario Censor Board, was effectively reduced to classifying films for public consumption rather than issuing bans or ordering lengthy deletions. Still, even within a classification system, libraries might have problems. North York trustees forbade stocking "R-rated videos" such as *Animal House* and *Porky's* after a debate in fall 1984.¹³⁷ The board, worried about its liability because persons under the age of eighteen might view loaned videos, sought legal counsel. In this case, the trustees were able to reverse their decision and the R-rated videos returned to the shelves with appropriate notices.

Despite the MCZC's positive view of library development, the fact remained it had spent a considerable amount of time and effort gathering contrary opinions. Now it had to translate conflicting opinions and fluctuating ministry policy into legislation. On 21 June 1983, Bruce McCaffrey resuscitated the green paper's reputation when he informed the Ontario Legislature that his ministry intended to proceed with library improvements throughout the current year.

As a policy paper, A Foundation for the Future developed broad guidelines and addressed the major policy issues in the libraries field. Later this fall, I intend to bring to this House revisions to the Public Libraries Act

One of the revisions to the Public Libraries Act which I will be proposing later this fall will be a commitment to promoting the right of equal access to library services by the francophone population of our province.

To assist in meeting this goal of equal access, a French-language library co-ordinator will join the libraries and community information branch of my ministry to work with the local libraries to improve French-language library services. This co-ordinator will work closely with French-language library consultants at the regional library system level.

In addition, funding will be made available to assist

local libraries in acquiring French-language materials.

My ministry will also be working with the Ontario Library Association to examine various issues relating to the library profession. A primary concern, expressed by the English and francophone library communities, is the need for training and development programs for librarians, trustees and library technicians.¹³⁸

It was a reassuring message (especially equity of access) backed by continuing provincial funding for other programs such as Canadiana purchases.

The Wintario program for additional purchases of Canadian books and paperbacks was a positive aspect of the use of lottery money by the MCZC. Ontario libraries held some advantages when it came to “buying Canadian.” A 1983-84 study conducted on Canadian content in public libraries reported that five Ontario libraries had received multiple Wintario grants ranging from \$150 to \$14,500. Cumulatively, they recorded receipts from 1978/79 to 1982/83: library “D” received \$350, “E” \$8,102, “F” \$19,150, “G” \$17,000, and “H” \$27,000. These acquisitions represented a percentage in relation to their annual materials budgets of 5.2% to 13%.¹³⁹ Generally, this report found that each library had close ties to its community that influenced their Canadian selection of materials. Another 1983-84 national federal study reported that public libraries were significant providers of books to the public. The major deterrents libraries faced in selection were the absence of Canadian books relevant to readers’ interests, funding limitations, patron demand for Canadian books, few timely reviews, and lack of advertising or publishers’ catalogues.¹⁴⁰ The issue of “buying around,” i.e. avoiding authorized Canadian suppliers by purchasing books directly outside Canada, was less contentious. These surveys fortified the MCZC’s view that a streamlined provincial and regional structure, directed additional funds, and firmer accountability for municipal libraries would strengthen good quality service.

The Public Libraries Act, 1984

On 6 July 1983, Susan A. Fish, a moderate conservative, was promoted to the provincial cabinet as Minister of Citizenship and Culture. Under her administration, the changes that had been set in motion in September 1980 would result in a new library act that received Royal Assent after methodical deliberations in fall 1984. Throughout this process, the ministry continued to reorganize the LCIB, restructure the older regions, introduce new coordinators, and work with various groups to institute progressive change. Unfortunately for the MCZC, one of the minister’s first decisions was a public relations

setback. A Radio Reading Service, established by the chief librarian, Richard Moses, in the basement of the Oakville library branch, Woodside, in 1978 with a \$5,000 grant from the Atkinson Charitable Foundation, was imperilled by budget reductions. Staffed by many volunteers, it had survived on a precarious financial basis for years. Faced with finding \$30,500 in the MCZC budget, the new minister cancelled funding and expressed doubts the service could become financially independent. She did not accept further responsibility to finance reading for the blind. With about three thousand listeners in limbo from Toronto to Niagara Falls and criticism about the government appearing overly penny conscious, Frank Drea, Minister of Community and Social Services, rose in the Legislature to say a “very permanent vehicle” had been created through his Ministry to keep the service solvent.¹⁴¹

During the remainder of 1983-84, the MCZC’s work was more constructive. The Network Development Office became the Technical Services Unit within the LCIB. The NDO had done valuable work since its inception. It continued to assist libraries interested in automating acquisitions, cataloguing and circulation control systems. One study, originally for Chatham, grew to include options for Kent County Library because a thorough cost-benefit analysis demonstrated that a standalone city installation was too expensive and that benefits in a consolidated system could equal costs in nine or ten years.¹⁴² The NDO produced its last publication, *Yes or No. What You Need to Know About Automation*, to guide boards contemplating an automation project in May 1984. *Yes or No* was a welcome handbook for trustees and administrators. By this time, it was no secret that the ministry regarded library service as a municipal responsibility. Furthermore, the MCZC intended to implement many of the OPLPR report’s recommendations via its initiatives rather than in a new Act.

To this end, Susan Fish sent a letter to library boards in September 1984 reminding trustees that ongoing changes based on Ministry policies would be implemented in addition to new legislation, for example, the restructuring of regions would proceed based on the green paper. Regional offices would participate in the reorganization. Other initiatives followed. An MCZC program for funding feasibility studies for larger units of service was developed that included CARML guidelines produced in April 1983 and a study of county systems conducted afterwards.¹⁴³ The MCZC stood behind the initial studies with funding for two years and assistance for new county operations. Coordinators for French-language services, Indian bands and off-reserve natives, and multicultural services were hired for regional offices. A \$40,000 development fund was created to assist indigenous library staff, and \$58,000 was allocated for publishing French book reviews. Susan Fish also

announced \$1,215,000 in funding for library automation through the government's Board of Industrial Leadership program. The goal was to provide sharing for materials between libraries via telecommunications technology and to upgrade hardware. This network would facilitate interloan and test vendor responses. Because new legislation was under consideration, some controversial issues, such as charging for expensive reference and information searches, would have to await final legal clauses.¹⁴⁴

Other MCZC initiatives focused on trustee education. By the end of 1983, at OLA's conference in Toronto, library trustees were improving their expertise by attending WILL, "Workshop in Library Leadership." The MCZC supported WILL because trustee leadership was a vital political link at the local level. WILL was a flexible format for use at the local, intermediary, or provincial levels. The MCZC also authorized funds for another project, a new OLA trustees' handbook, to update an older work developed by Betty Butterill in 1971.¹⁴⁵ OLTA's past president, Lorraine Williams, from North York, who had advocated for library boards to be free from political pressures, was chosen to describe the roles and relationships between boards and councils.¹⁴⁶ *The Ontario Library Trustee's Handbook* appeared in 1986. It formed part of trustee orientation for an enlarged OLTA that was introducing its successful "block membership" campaign. Under this scheme, all members of a board became eligible for OLA programs and training. In the mid-eighties, minimal training opportunities for trustees—lack of initial orientation and regular attendance at workshops or conferences—continued to be issues that board members felt the OLA, the OLS, and MCZC should address.¹⁴⁷ A new basis for the continued partnership of the province and the OLA was emerging at a critical time.

On 4 June 1984, Susan Fish introduced draft legislation in the House by heralding Bill 93 as a worthy heir to its legislative predecessors.

This legislation strengthens and expands the principles of free and open access, and community control. It recognizes the desirability of co-ordination with school libraries, and facilitates the exercise of municipal fiscal responsibility. The legislation encourages co-operation among library boards while ensuring that participation in county-wide systems is voluntary.

French-Language Services have been strengthened. Complementary Ministry initiatives are now in place to assist local boards to respond to changes in the population mix of their communities. The provincial library service has been streamlined and local representation on our boards expanded.¹⁴⁸

The MCZC published a short booklet, *The New Act and What It Means: How to Interpret the Proposed Public Libraries Act*, to explain many clauses. Naturally, the government expected further submissions and did not press for final reading until the session was to close in December.

Bill 93 simplified many legislative clauses that continued from the 1966 Act. There were only two parts: one applying to municipal library boards, the second devoted to the intermediary level, the Ontario Library Service (OLS). Reference to the OPLC, which already had been sunsetted, disappeared. The MCZC would not need an advisory body. No mention of the LCIB appeared in Bill 93. Far from stating a government policy for public library service, defining the status and functions of a provincial agency, or clarifying how the reminted OLS boards would work together on a provincial scale, the legislative provisions merely mentioned the regulatory power of the Lieutenant-Governor in section 39. In a Legislative debate on Bill 93 in the autumn Sean Conway, a Liberal from Renfrew-North, expressed disapproval of this section:

It concerns me that this section of the bill dealing with regulations is about as expansive as the Pacific Ocean. The regulations and the implementation of the act are left too much in the hands of the minister and, more important, her well-intentioned bureaucratic support staff.¹⁴⁹

Ontario Library Service areas retained their board status and municipalities over 15,000 and counties retained their appointments (sec. 33); ministerial appointments completed the balance of board members. The OLS boards' objectives were remarkably like the ones Grace Buller had described five years before under the PLS management by results effort.

OLS boards were to deliver programs on behalf of the Minister in three basic ways: 1) increasing cooperation and coordination among libraries and other information providers; 2) assisting libraries by providing services and programs, such as consultation, training, and development services; and 3) in northern Ontario, by offering direct services as appropriate (sec. 34). OLS boards were weaker entities than the previous regional systems—they could make bylaws, appoint committees, enter into agreements, and appoint persons to execute documents on behalf of the board (sec. 35) but were not independent. The Minister vetted OLS budget requests and received annual audited statements. Sections provided for the establishment of special library service boards; this applied to Metro Toronto specifically and optionally to the Library Services Centre (sec. 36-37). The section about Metro was left “purposefully vague to provide flexibility” according to the LCIB director, Wil Vanderelst.¹⁵⁰ Bill 93 stated that Metro was “deemed to be a special library

service board and may provide library resources and services to the Ontario library community” (sec. 40.3). It was left to the Province and the Metro Board to initiate discussions about the types of services *apropos* Metro.

All these policy changes to the OPLC, LCIB, and the intermediary level were phased in before the 1984 Act was proclaimed in March 1985. Thus, regional library systems became agencies of the MCZC; independent status disappeared. Regional systems were consolidated and renamed Ontario Library Service (OLS) areas after September 1984 using ministerial orders as follows:

- Nipigon — Northwestern
- James Bay — Northeastern
- Voyageur — North Central, part of Algonquin
- Trent — parts of Algonquin, Georgian Bay, Lake Ontario, and Central Ontario
- Rideau — Eastern Ontario, part of Lake Ontario
- Saugeen — Midwestern, part of Georgian Bay
- Escarpment — Niagara, South Central, part of Central Ontario
- Thames — Southwestern and Lake Erie

As before, the core services of the eight OLS areas were interlibrary loan (delivery system and telecommunications), audio-visual services, local library consulting service, training and evaluation, coordination of cost-sharing programs, and development of larger units of service.¹⁵¹

Previous systems, for example, the CORLS automated interloan and communications network (renamed TRESNET—Trent Resource Sharing Network), were extended to included libraries within the new OLS regional boundaries with regional offices in Barrie, Richmond Hill, and Peterborough.¹⁵² Although the boundaries and rationale for service differed from the old regional systems, the board structure of most new OLS boards was remarkably similar. The prime change from the 1966 Act was to allow more representation from small communities. In cases where boards over 15,000 in population and county boards appointed nine or more members (e.g. in Escarpment or Trent), the Ministry could appoint additional members to make one less than the total appointed by larger boards. All OLS appointments became concurrent with the provincial fiscal year.

The first thirty sections of Bill 93 covered local library services. Union library provisions, a viable alternative to county systems in the opinion of ASPLO, were modified slightly (sec. 4-5). County library boards were not mandated: a two-thirds majority of municipalities could form them voluntarily provided they had a population base of 10,000. Cities and separated towns could now join county libraries. The Simcoe County Library Co-operative, a

holdover from the 1947 legislation, was continued (sec. 6-8). Normally, library boards could be composed of five to nine members. In municipalities over 10,000, three positions were reserved for school board recommendations that could be rejected by the appointing council. County and union boards might have as many as fifteen members. The number of council members was limited to one less than a majority of the board (sec. 9-10). All boards had to appoint a “chief executive officer” (CEO) to have supervision and direction; this person did not require a recognized library or information science degree. All boards had to operate one or more libraries. Non-operating boards would cease. Contracting municipalities could arrange to have representatives on boards supplying services (sec. 29).

Revised sections of the bill clarified a few board powers. Bill 93 required libraries to consider their community needs, provide service in French where appropriate, and allow operation of specialized services such as art galleries and museums (sec. 20). It stipulated free admission to enter and use reference materials and borrow books; fees for other services or non-residents could be imposed (sec. 23). Financial accountability for expenditures now came under council control. Amounts approved could include “terms and conditions that the council imposes” (sec. 24.2). Section 29 on contracts allowed for flexible service arrangements.

Bill 93 was an unadventurous piece of legislation that the government believed simplified library legislation and held to traditional standards. The MCZC chose to recognize the diversity of service levels across the province by not elaborating on the library’s role except to add a provision on French-language service “where appropriate” (sec. 20.b). It was more realistic to handle authority relationships by continuing to distribute conditional grants or by designating funds for specifics that the ministry felt complemented provincial plans. This flexible, workable scheme allowed local boards to develop their own service levels. A contentious issue was the curtailment of the traditional semi-independence of trustees. After second reading, the OLA’s new executive director, Larry Moore, helped prepare a presentation to the Legislative committee reviewing Bill 93. Generally, OLA’s response was pessimistic:

When it is possible that councils will make or control all appointments to the library board, when it is possible that no funds will be available to the library until ‘terms and conditions’ are met, when it is possible that the city clerk or administrator may become the administrative head of the library system, the possibility then exists that the public library service will cease to function in an atmosphere free

of partiality or manipulation. In addition, the reduction of authority of Ontario Library Service Boards and the loss of the OPLC have eliminated important sources of impartial advice to the ministry.¹⁵³

The Association asked for an amendment to the bill to retain direct school board appointments for communities greater than 10,000 because it would maintain continuity and preserve impartiality. Further, concerning changing the term to be concurrent with the three-year life of the council, the OLA brief supported the existing overlapping arrangement. It argued that the new alignment could allow less continuity, lead to more political appointments and then less freedom of action because “There is a fine line between community control and council control.”¹⁵⁴ The OLA was alarmed municipal councils could impose conditions on expenditures. Peter Bassnett also voiced concern about the need to clarify this issue.¹⁵⁵ Nonetheless, there was no revision of these sections in Bill 93. Another arguable section concerned free access to “library materials” (sec. 23.2.a-b). Again, the OLA attempted to be expansive by suggesting free access to “interlibrary loan services” without success.

The legislative debate on Bill 93 was the lengthiest consideration of an Ontario library law on record. The government had prepared the way for the new legislation by incremental changes to the regional systems and financing initiatives to assist local libraries. Networking studies by the NDO had facilitated progress towards automation. The MCZC’s accomplishments in the crucial areas of access to resources, finances, and structured governance were not universally accepted but offered a reasonable way to build for the future. As a result, there were few opportunities for opposition Liberals and New Democratic Party members to attack the government. At second reading, the NDP critic from Oakwood, Tony Grande, complained about the loss of freely circulating non-print materials. He continued,

Another principle in this legislation that disturbs me greatly is in section 23. The principle here is that library clients or patrons who use the libraries can only borrow books from the library or ‘use reference and information services as the board considers practicable.’

This is back to the 1940s. The library community and the library system of this province have moved far ahead. We cannot go back to the 1940s. Libraries no longer deal just with books; libraries deal with films, film strips, videotapes and computer software. What is the minister doing here? What she is saying is: ‘Let us downgrade the standards that the libraries of this province have achieved over the past many years. Let us develop a core of services that every library must provide.’

What happens is that the core she is developing is a core that libraries were providing 30 years ago, and now she wants us to go backwards. She wants the library community in Ontario to return to the 1940s. I think this daft step backwards can only mean that the government is interested in making sure there are tremendous cutbacks and underfunding in the library system.¹⁵⁶

Another NDP critic from Nickel Belt, Floyd Laughren, spoke to the issue of independence. "If I sat on a library board, I can tell members what I would say to the minister and the local municipal council. I would say: 'If you want me to serve as a library board member, do not undercut all my decision-making powers. Do not take away from me the very reason I became a member of this library board.' That is what the minister is doing."¹⁵⁷ Other legislative members from the Liberal Party criticized the ministry's handling of enlarged OLS boards, its propensity to freeze grants, and its expenditure on personnel rather than books and materials. The two opposition parties agreed Bill 93 needed to go to a committee for further work.

When the bill reappeared on 11 December, the opposition parties were ready to support the measure. Tony Grande responded:

The reason I feel this bill should pass third reading is that we were able in committee to make tremendous headway on this bill. We were able to amend to the community's satisfaction section 24 [council approval of estimates], the section that disturbed and upset the entire library community. We were able to change section 23, the section that would have greatly expanded user fees in our library system to include library materials for distribution and not just library books. I am extremely proud that this took place.

Not a lot of headway was made on section 15 [staffing and officers]. I do not understand the reason for this, because the minister herself presented data showing that section 15 should have been amended.¹⁵⁸

Susan Fish put in the last word as the motion for third reading went to a vote, saying it was "a very fine piece of legislation." The amendments made in committee were substantial enough to soothe many opponents. Section 24 received additional regulations to extend free access to four types of materials: books, periodicals, newspapers, and handicapped audio materials. Ten other media formats (sound recordings, audio and video cassettes, tape recordings, video discs, motion pictures, film strips, film loops, microforms, computer software, and multi-media kits) were designated to be free but not before five years. This delay allowed boards to budget for loss of revenue from these sources before January 1990 (Ont. Regulation 100/85).¹⁵⁹ The measure did not

rule out charging fees for online information service or community programs. According to a 1987 study, library boards indicated that free access to materials was a “mixed blessing” and might be a potential problem causing losses of up to \$16,000 in lost revenue.¹⁶⁰

Bill 93 received Royal Assent in December 1984 and was proclaimed in March 1985, just before the Legislature adjourned before a provincial election. William Davis had stepped down as leader of the Progressive Conservatives several months before the fateful May 1985 election call brought the curtain down on four decades of Progressive Conservatives rule. The new minority Liberal leader, David Peterson, opened the legislative session in June with formal support from the NDP. The two-party “Accord” would last two years and emphasize government expenditures on social issues. The cabinet appointment for Minister of the MCZC was Dr. Lily Oddie Munro (Hamilton Centre), who had experience in the field of adult education. For two decades, there had not been detailed policy analysis or a robust regulatory agency at the provincial level to integrate and manage the activities of libraries in Metro Toronto, southern Ontario, and the northern districts. Attempts after 1966 to establish regional library systems had not met with a great deal of success due to strong identification with local interests and a disinclination to regionalize operations. In the government structure of the early 1980s, provincial policies based on overarching programs, such as Wintario and the Board of Industrial Leadership, often developed courses of action at the local level. As the doctrines of “New Public Management” philosophy swept through federal and provincial public administrations after the mid-1980s, reliance on library standards and lengthy legislative provisions was receding. Aside from intermittent legislation and policy formation, the Province’s conditional transfer payment to boards and special purpose grants remained the prime method of equalizing service across Ontario.

Despite the turnover at Queen’s Park after the 1985 election, the MCZC pressed ahead with initiatives. For 1985-86, it announced base grants over \$22 million with another \$9.8 million for the OLS, Metro, and special projects. A new scheme replacing per capita grants was introduced—\$5.90 per household in the south and \$6.50 for the northern and county libraries. A French Language Library Collection Development Program totalling \$416,000 was distributed for Francophone services. OLS-Saugeen received funding for a provincial Youth and Children’s Library Services coordinator based at Kitchener. A new county library was formed in Northumberland in 1985 by utilizing the County Library Establishment Program that would provide \$100,000 in the first year and \$60,000 in the second year. After this infusion, the new system would receive \$25,000 per year and \$2.46 per capita for just

over 25,000 people living in Campbellford, Alnwick, Brighton, Haldimand, Hope, Murray, Percy, and Seymour. In a familiar pattern, Northumberland's larger towns, Port Hope and Cobourg, remained outside the county library. Because it was the first new county library in a decade, Northumberland offered hope that a program for larger units of service could succeed. Nevertheless, it was to be the last county library created in the century without a general municipal restructuring review. Seventeen county systems had come into being since the cooperative struggles in the Great Depression.

The 1984 Act and MCZC policy direction infused old ideas with new ones. In September 1985, libraries celebrated Ontario's first Public Library Week. Colourful posters displayed the catchphrase, "Let Yourself Go/Évadez-Vous." The library act of 1984 brought with it some optimism and opportunities, especially in the field of library automation and networking. Technological innovation was sweeping the world; heralds proclaimed the dawn of an "Information Revolution." The term "cyberspace," popularized in 1984 by William Gibson's novel, *Neuromancer*, evoked visions of data stored in computer networks enabling instantaneous electronic communication. Larger libraries, such as TPL and Mississauga, had recently experimented with the new Telidon videotext-teletex technology for orientation, lists of community services, and current library events.¹⁶¹ Increasingly, computer hardware and software combined with telecommunications were transforming libraries by integrating technical and public services. The seismic shift from manual-mechanical routines to automated systems in circulation, cataloguing, and acquisitions was well underway. Now, the advantage of automation enabled new services, e.g. remote access to catalogues, improved resource sharing, and searching of external databases. New terms, like the "electronic library" or "virtual library," were appearing and required different approaches to the identification and organization of information.¹⁶² To prepare for future change, the MCZC brought libraries and information workers together at *Libraries 2000*.

CHAPTER 7 NOTES

1. OLA Conference Planning Action Group, *Report* (Toronto: OLA, Feb. 1975), 15-16.
2. See Victoria Gill, "The Arthur Conan Doyle Collection at the Toronto Public Library," in Judith Overmier and Rhonda Harris Taylor, eds., *Managing the Mystery Collection: From Creation to Consumption* (Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press, 2006), 107-120. For its long-time curator, Cameron Hollyer, see "Librarian was Arthur Conan Doyle Devotee," *Globe and Mail*, 10 June 2000: A18.
3. *Towards the Year 2001: The Complete Texts of the Theme Sessions Given by Raymond Moriyama, Margaret Beckman, Dadie Perlov* (Toronto: OLA, 1977), 14.
4. See the Regional and Public Libraries Division meeting in *OLA Proceedings, 1971*, unpagéd.
5. Insider, "TPL Unionizes," in John Marshall, *Citizen Participation in Library Decision-Making: The Toronto Experience* (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1984), 95-108.
6. *Toronto Public Library Management Study* (Guelph, Ont.: Beckman Associates Library Consultants, June 1975), 21.
7. Janice Dineen, "Toronto 72nd in Ontario Library Rankings," *Toronto Star*, 27 March 1976: B1; Oakland Ross, "Morale Problems of Public Library Staff an 'Epidemic,'" *Globe and Mail*, 22 January 1977: 5; and Margaret Mironowicz, "Librarians Say Respect Main Issue in Strike," *Globe*, 11 Oct. 1980: 5.
8. Frank Winter, "Union-Library Relationship," *CLJ* 38 (Oct. 1981): 261-72.
9. "City Chief Librarian Stepping Down after 21 Years," *Toronto Star*, 16 Feb. 1978: A4 and editorial "Open Up," *Toronto Star*, 18 Feb. 1978: C2.
10. Françoise Hébert, "Public Library Service for the Handicapped," *OLR* 61, no. 4 (Dec. 1977): 266-73.
11. Paul Pross, and Catherine Pross, "Canadian Provincial Government Publishing: Recent Developments," *Government Publications Review* 1, no. 3 (Spring 1974): 257-68.
12. Ontario Legislative Assembly, *Final Report of the Select Committee on the Fourth and Fifth Reports of the Ontario Commission on the Legislature* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1977), 31-34.
13. Lois M. Bewley, "Public Libraries," in Loraine Spencer Garry and Carl Garry, eds., *Canadian Libraries in Their Changing Environment* (Toronto: York University Centre for Continuing Education, 1977), 176.
14. Administrators of Medium-Sized Public Libraries of Ontario, *Report on Performance Measures Surveys in Four Ontario Public Libraries* [Barrie, Orillia, Markham, and Richmond Hill] (Markham, Ont.: Markham Public Libraries, 1977).

15. Alvin M. Schrader, *Report on the Library Services Study of April 10, 1979 at the City of Brampton Public Library and Art Gallery* (Brampton, Ont.: BPL and Art Gallery, 1979), 18-19.
16. Southwestern Regional Library System, *Children's Services Survey 1979* (Newmarket, Ont.: Info Bank, 1979), B9-B12.
17. South Central Regional Library System, *A Market Survey of Information Needs and Priorities, Information Sources Utilization, Public Library Services Awareness* (Hamilton: SCRLS, January 1977), 28-47.
18. Patricia Dewdney, *Citizen Participation in Library Planning: A Report on Public Library Needs in Northeast London* (London: LPL, 1975), 106-113; and P. Dewdney, "Citizen Participation: An Experiment in London, Ontario," *CLJ* 34 (May-June 1977): 157-63.
19. David Reddin and Amy Soltys, "Citizens Grab Spotlight at Scarborough Library," *CLJ* 44 (June 1987): 146-52.
20. Vince Needham, "Niagara Regional Library System Processing Centre," *OLR* 60, no. 2 (June 1976): 96-98.
21. C.D. Lawson, "Automated Acquisitions at Midwestern," *OLR* 61, no. 3 (Sept. 1977): 217-20.
22. Dennis Oliver and Jennifer Arbuckle, "New York Times Information Bank in the North York Public Library," *CLJ* 34 (Jan.-Feb. 1977): 17-20.
23. Donna Lee Berg, *A Survey of Eight Southern Ontario Regional Library Systems: Prepared for the Lake Erie Regional Library System* (London: LERLS, 1977), 15-16.
24. Judith Anne Drake, "Federal and Provincial Depository Library Systems for Government Publications in Canada," *Drexel Library Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (October 1980): 60-71 discusses the reduced federal program.
25. *Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee* (Ottawa: Dept. of Communications, 1982), 205-08.
26. Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, *Summary of Briefs and Hearings* (Ottawa: Dept. of Communications, 1982), 48-53.
27. RES Policy Research Inc., *A Survey on the Use of the Canada Post Library Book Rate* (Ottawa: RES Policy Research, 23 December 1982), 17.
28. *Canadian Publishers & Canadian Publishing* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1973), 97-102.
29. John Parkhill, "Sveriges Forfattarefond or Librarians Pay Writers?" *Quill & Quire* 29 (Mar.-Apr. 1963): 20-22.
30. Canadian Authors' Lending Right Action Group, "Public Lending Right: A Survey of Practice, Options, and Opinions," Action Groups, Committees, Task Forces files, Ontario Library Association fonds, F 1195-8, box 11, AO; and *Proceedings of the OLA, 1974*, 24-25.
31. Diana B. Mason, "PLR: Are We Willing to Support Canadian Talent?" *CLJ* 32 (Dec. 1975): 427-31.
32. Urban Dimensions Group Inc., *Project Progress: A Study of Canadian Public Libraries* (Ottawa: CLA, 1981), 95-103.

33. Kenneth F. Watson, et al., *Leisure Reading Habits; A Survey of the Leisure Reading Habits of Canadian Adults With Some International Comparisons* (Ottawa: Infoscan Inc., 1980), 67-80.

34. Joint Committee of Representatives of the Four Northern Regional Library Systems and Grand Council Treaty #9, "Problems Affecting Band Library Development in Northern Ontario; A Brief to the Minister of Culture and Recreation for the Province of Ontario" (Thunder Bay?: Nov. 1977), 5-7.

35. Robert Welch, "Library Service in Ontario," *OLR* 62, no. 4 (Dec. 1977): 260-62.

36. *Legislature of Ontario Debates, Standing Committee on Social Development*, 7 December 1977, S-986.

37. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 6 November 1978, 4610-11; and 17 November, 5019.

38. Library viewpoint: Margaret Beckman, "The New Metro Library: First Impressions," *Focus (OLA)* 3 (Nov. 1977): 2, 6; Architects' view: Joan M. Vastokas, "Architecture, Meaning and Values: Raymond Moriyama and the New Metropolitan Toronto Library," *Artscanada* 35, no. 1 (1978): 18-31.

39. Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto, *Social Policy in Metropolitan Toronto, Background Report* (Toronto: the Commission, 1975), 228.

40. Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto, *Report* (Toronto: the Commission, June 1977), vol. 2, 377-81.

41. Helen Bullock, "Metro's New Silent Library Is So Full of Life," *Toronto Star*, 6 Feb. 1978: A3.

42. Mirren Hinchley, "A User Study of the Metropolitan Toronto Library Board Municipal Reference Library" (Toronto: University of Toronto Faculty of Library Science, April 1980).

43. Alden Baker, "Public Dissatisfied with Slow Service," *Globe and Mail*, 29 Nov. 1978: 5; Bruce Kirkland, "Budget Vise Grips Showplace of Ideas," *Toronto Star*, 9 March 1979: A10; and "Library Board Told More Staff Need to Curb Vandalism," *Toronto Star*, 6 May 1975: B6.

44. *County of Lennox and Addington Act*, 1978, 26-27 Eliz. II, c. 126; and Bruce Geddes, "Library as Committee of Council—Does It Work?" *OLR* 64, no. 4 (Dec. 1980): 278-84.

45. Peter J. Bassnett, "Should Library Boards be Abolished?" in CLA, *Council Hearing on the Future of Public Library Boards; Thursday, October 26, 1978, London, Ontario* (Ottawa: CLA, 1978), unpagued.

46. *Act Respecting the City of London*, 27 Elizabeth II, Bill Pr 32; *Act Respecting the Town of Aurora*, 28 Eliz. II, Bill Pr 15; and *Act to Amend Certain Acts Respecting Regional Municipalities*, 28 Eliz. II, Bill 114, s. 11 (first reading on May 31, 1979).

47. "Township of King Restricted Area By-Laws 76-11 and 76-82," *Ontario Municipal Board Reports* 6 (1977): 325-27 and *OMBR* 7 (1978): 1-13 and *OMBR* 8 (1979): 260-62.

48. "Town of Halton Hills Public Library Building," *OMBR* 8 (1979):

334-38.

49. "Township of Scugog Restricted Area By-Law 77-79," *OMBR* 12 (1982): 16-29.

50. Bill Corfield, "Public Library Management by Results," *OLR* 62, no. 2 (June 1978): 99-104.

51. Grace Buller, "Management by Results," *OLR* 63, no. 2 (June 1979): 102-08.

52. Giffels Associates Ltd., *Ontario Public Libraries Budgeting Pilot Project* (Rexdale, Ont.: Giffels Associates Ltd., 1979) explores budgetary data collection.

53. Grace Buller, "Public Libraries in Ontario 1977," *OLR* 61, no. 3 (Sept. 1977): 168-70; and

54. Helen MacIntosh, "The Mississauga Library System: A Case Study," *Journal of Library Automation* 13 (Dec. 1980): 240-43; and "Burnhamthorpe District Library," *Architecture and Urbanism* 138 (March 1982): 103-08.

55. Barbara D. Quinlan, "Welcome to COM: Scarborough Public Library Converts to a Computer Output Microfilm Catalogue," *OLR* 64, no. 3 (Sept. 1980): 186-91; and Charma Kofsky, "On-Line Reference Service—Scarborough Public Library," *OLR* 64, no. 4 (Dec. 1980): 293-98.

56. *Programming and Site Selection Report for the Hamilton Central Library* (Hamilton: HPL, 26 May 1975), 17-24.

57. "Wychwood Public Library, Toronto, Ontario," *Canadian Architect* 24 (Nov. 1979): 47-49; "High Park Library, Toronto," *Canadian Architect* 26 (Aug.-Sept. 1981): 47-48; "Bloor-Gladstone Library, Toronto," *Canadian Architect* 25 (Aug. 1980): 28-29; and Alan Dudeck, "Branch Renovation and Citizen Participation," in John Marshall, *Citizen Participation in Library Decision-Making*, 167-88.

58. David Lewis Stein, "Our Special Books Should Be Free of Budget Threats," *Toronto Star*, 3 Feb. 1978: A11.

59. Beverley Smith, "Whispers Gone—Libraries are Now Active Community Centres," *Globe and Mail*, 30 May 1979: 12; and "Deer Park Library, Toronto," *Canadian Architect* 26 (Aug.-Sept. 1981): 45-46.

60. Grace Buller, "The Role of the Provincial Library Service," *OLR* 62, no. 1 (March 1978): 4-8.

61. Ontario Provincial Library Service Branch, *A Public Library Automated Network* (Toronto: PLS, July 1977).

62. Irma McDonough, "The Outlook for Children's Books," *Quill & Quire* 38 (Oct. 1972): 1.

63. Phyllis Yaffe, "The Children's Book Centre: Canadian Books for Kids," *In Review: Canadian Books for Children* 12, no. 2 (Spring 1978): 5-7; and Ken Adachi, "Kids' Book Scene Grows Up," *Toronto Star*, 11 Nov. 1979: B6.

64. Lorna Wright, "Encouraging Children to Read," in Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon eds., *History of the Book in Canada* (Toronto: Univ. of

Toronto Press, 2007), vol. 3, 484-90.

65. Adele Fasick, "Hopes and Expectations of Children's Librarians," *CLJ* 37 (Sept.-Oct. 1980): 331-33.

66. Eva Martin, "Service for Children and Young Adults in the Eighties," *In Review: Canadian Books for Young People* 14, no. 5 (Oct. 1980): 5-10; and "Children's Rights in the Public Library: Guidelines for Service," *In Review* 16, no. 2 (April 1982): 20-23.

67. Kay F. Stone, *Burning Brightly: New Light on Old Tales Told Today* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1998), 46-54.

68. Bernard Ostry, "The Wiring of Canada; a Danger, a Challenge, a Certainty," *Focus (OLA)* 5 (Aug. 1979): 3.

69. Thomas R. Ide, "Lending Library, Fibre Optics and Your Living Room," *CLJ* 32 (July-Aug. 1975): 289-92.

70. J. William Baker, "Will Public Libraries Become Obsolete in the 1980s?" *CLJ* 36 (Sept.-Oct. 1979): 262-66.

71. Peter Martin and Chandra Vir, *A Plan for Network Development; Working Paper #1* (Toronto: NDO, 29 Sept. 1978), 4-6.

72. *Legislature of Ontario Debates, Standing Committee on Social Development*, 19 April 1979, S-108 and S-112.

73. Janet Arnett, "Public Relations Campaign of the Directors of Ontario Regional Library Systems" *OLR* 63, no. 2 (June 1979): 114-18.

74. "Takeover of Troubled Library Unlikely," *Globe and Mail*, 21 Nov. 1978: 8.

75. "Niagara RLS Board Cuts Budget," *Focus (OLA)* 5 (Feb.-Mar. 1979): 2; "Library System Forced to Lay Off 27 in Niagara," *Globe and Mail*, 26 Sept. 1979: 9; and "Library System Closes," *Globe*, 13 Feb. 1980: 52.

76. *Legislature of Ontario Standing Committee on Social Development, Debates*, 16 April 1980, S-100.

77. Bureau of Municipal Research, Toronto, *The Public Library as Community Information Centre: The Case of the London Urban Resource Centre* (Toronto: BMR, Feb. 1978), 12-17.

78. David Smith, "Community Information Services and Public Libraries," *OLR* 64, no. 3 (Sept. 1980): 172-79.

79. Peter Martin and Chandra Vir, *Blueprint for Public Library Networking: The Present Circumstances and Goals for Networking* (Toronto: NDO, Sept. 1979), 39-44.

80. Ontario Public Librarians' Advisory Committee Long Range Planning Task Force, *Entering the 80's: Discussion Papers* (Wyoming, Ont: OPLAC, 1979-80), no. 1-4; and Association of Municipalities of Ontario, *Response to the Report "Entering the 80's" Prepared by the Ontario Public Librarians' Advisory Committee's Long Range Planning Task Force* (Toronto: AMO, 1980).

81. Joint Committee, Northern Ontario Regional Library System Boards, *Public Library Service in Northern Ontario; A Brief to the Minister of Culture and Recreation of the Province of Ontario* [Presented June 3, 1980] (Sudbury,

Ont.: the Committee, 1980), 8-9.

82. Directors of Ontario Regional Library Systems, *Position Paper Presented to Honourable Reuben C. Baetz, Minister of Culture and Recreation* (Richmond Hill: DORLS, 1980), 18-19.

83. "Notes for Remarks by the Honourable Rueben C. Baetz, Minister of Culture and Recreation, to The Ontario Provincial Library Council Regarding a Public Libraries Program Review," *OLR* 64, no. 4 (Dec. 1980): 260-65.

84. *Program Review of the Metropolitan Toronto Library Board* (Toronto: Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1981), 30.

85. "Library Chief Quits in Dispute with Board," *Toronto Star*, 9 Nov. 1980: A2.

86. Christie Blatchford, "It's 'Get Tough' Time at Library," *Toronto Star*, 16 April 1981: A3.

87. Louis M. Desjardins and Evelyn Gagné, *French-Language Services in the Ontario Public Libraries* (Toronto: Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1980), 9.

88. Peter J. Bassnett, "Implications: Charges for Public Library Services," *CLJ* 38 (April 1981): 57-63.

89. Legislature of Ontario Standing Committee on Social Adjustment, *Debates*, 19 April 1979, S-110.

90. For OPLPR records, briefs, reports, etc., see Public Libraries Program Review Records, Libraries and Community Information Branch, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, RG 47-74, AO.

90. Rob Rolfe, *Collections and Services for the Black and the Caribbean Community* (Toronto, North York Public Library, 1984).

92. A.J.S. Ball, "Automation of Small Public Libraries in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Information Science* 5 (May 1980): 145-58.

93. ASPLO represented small libraries for a quarter century until its dissolution after Ontario municipal restructuring in the late 1990s. For its records and constitution, see Association of Small Public Libraries of Ontario fonds, F 4605, AO.

94. "Speech by the Honourable Reuben C. Baetz," *OLR* 65, no. 4 (Dec. 1981): 217-19.

95. For her section's correspondence, files, reviews, and reports see Children's Library Services Records, Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, RG 47-70, AO [access by Freedom of Information].

96. See "Association of Library Boards, Constitution, 1982," OLA liaison files, Ontario Library Association fonds, F 1195-20, box 28, AO; and Diane Turbide, "Ontario Public Library Review Nears End," *Quill & Quire* 48 (Feb. 1982): 32.

97. ALBO disbanded in 1990. Its executive and annual meetings document the gradual realization that it lacked political influence on many issues: see minute files in Association of Library Boards of Ontario fonds, F 4606, AO.

98. Joan Robinson and Margaret Henry, "Serving the Disabled Borrower," *OLR* 66, no. 2 (June 1982): 13-22; and Gloria Furtney, "Library Service for the Disabled and Disadvantaged," *In Review: Canadian Books for Young People* 15, no. 4 (Aug. 1981): 9-12.

99. Ad Hoc Committee of Regional Library Consultants, "The Training and Certification of Library Workers in the Small Public Libraries of Ontario: A Report to the Ontario Public Library Program Review, April 1981," 17-25, typescript.

100. Obonsawin Irwin Consulting Inc., *Report to the Ontario Public Library Review on Native Library Services in Ontario* (Hagersville, Ont: O-I C, Nov. 1981), 66-72.

101. *A Planning Guide for Local Networking Based on a Library Mini-Computer System* (Toronto: NDO, 1980), 2-7.

102. Eric C. Bow, *Ontario Regional Library System Specialized Union Products: A Study* (Toronto: NDO, 1982), 19-26.

103. Network Development Office, *Prospects for a LERLS Information Network Using the London Public Library/GEAC Computer: A Preliminary Analysis* (Toronto: NDO, April 1981), E1-E6.

104. Network Development Office, *Evaluation of Turn-Key Automated Circulation Control System Proposed for the Ottawa Public Library* (Toronto: NDO, 15 Feb. 1980), 54-68.

105. Network Development Office, *Networking of Interlibrary Loan, Telecommunications, and Surface Communication Service for the Ontario Public Library Community: Preliminary Study and Analysis* (Toronto: NDO, 1982) 2 vols.

106. Katherine McKinnon, "Comparison of Briefs to Public Libraries Programme Review by AMPLO, CARML, CELPLO, DORLS, Oct. 1981," (Orillia: AMPLO), 7 and 9, typescript, surveys the recommendations by these groups on the two issues.

107. "Brief to Public Library Review, July 22, 1981" (Wyoming: CARML, 1981), 1, typescript.

108. Bill Roedde, "The Hopes and Fears of a Very Civil Servant," *Ex Libris News* no. 29 (Spring 2001): 2; and Bill Roedde, "He's Finding Early Retirement a Great New Cycle," *Toronto Star*, 14 June 1985: C1.

109. Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, *A Foundation for the Future: The Ontario Public Library System Consultation Paper* (Toronto: MCZC, 1982), 25 [bilingual ed.]; and the Ministry office copy version entitled *Ontario Public Library System; A Consultation Paper* with the same text, different pagination [16].

110. Network Development Office, *The Tri-Regional Catalogue: A Study* (Toronto: NDO, 31 August 1982), 41-43.

111. Maria Weinberger, *Audio-Visual Services Study* (Toronto: NDO, Oct. 1982), 5.

112. Eric C. Bow, *Ontario Regional Library System Specialized Union Products: A Study* (Toronto: NDO, Oct. 1982).

113. Network Development Office, *Automated Collection Management Systems for Small to Medium-Sized Municipal and County Libraries in the Province of Ontario; A Market Research Study* (Toronto: NDO, 1982).

114. Currie, Coopers and Lybrand Ltd., *Midwestern Regional Library Service Library Services Centre Review* (Toronto: MCZC, 1984), 41-59.

115. *A Province Wide Interactive Data Base for County Librarians in Ontario: A Proposal* (CARML, 1983).

116. A.J.S. Ball, *South Central Regional Library System Network Study: Technical Report* (Regina: BDC Library and Automation Consultants, 1983), 109-14.

117. Central Ontario Regional Library System, *Computerization Feasibility and Planning Study* (Richmond Hill: CORLS, 1983), 76-81.

118. Rosemary Kavanagh and Paul Clarke, *Designing a System for Sharing Resources Among a Group of Diverse and Autonomous Libraries* (Richmond Hill: CORLS, 1983); and R. Kavanagh, *Interlibrary Loan and Communication System (COILCS): Resource Sharing for Autonomous Libraries* (Richmond Hill: CORLS, 1983).

119. *Five Year Goals and Objectives: 1980-1985* (Toronto: MTLB, Sept. 1981), 9-11.

120. Barbara Turner, "Reading between the Lines at Metro Toronto Library," *Globe and Mail*, 12 May 1984: L1.

121. Jane Gadd, "Proposals on Library System Assailed," *Globe and Mail*, 26 May 1984: 4.

122. Diane Turbide, "Few Cheers Greet Ontario Public Library Plans," *Quill & Quire* 49 (May 1983): 26-27.

123. Margaret Ann Wilkinson, "Not Really Unloved or Unwanted," *CLJ* 40 (Dec. 1983): 365-70.

124. Ken MacGray, "Ontario Rejects Library Overhaul," *Toronto Star*, 29 Dec. 1982: A3.

125. "A Foundation for the Future: Evaluations of the OMCC Consultation Paper on the Public Library System," *Focus (OLA)* 9 (April 1983): 19a-19d.

126. Association of Municipalities of Ontario, *Response to the Ontario Public Library System Consultation Paper: 'A Foundation for the Future'* (Toronto: AMO, 1983), p 2-4.

127. Kristine King, "Today's Libraries Stock More Than Just Books," *Toronto Star*, 2 March 1982: 8West.

128. Mark Frankin, "[Caledon] Centre Combines Drama and Efficiency," *Canadian Architect* 30 (Jan. 1985): 28-31.; "Integrated Library: St. Lawrence Branch Library, Toronto," *Canadian Architect* 28 (Aug. 1983): 14-16.; and "Radial Plan for [Scarborough] Centre," *Canadian Architect* 30 (Jan. 1985): 24-27.

129. "Peterborough Public Library, Ontario," *Canadian Architect* 26 (July 1981): 16-19; *Kingston Public Library New Central Library Building:*

Official Opening by the Honourable Pauline McGibbon, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, Saturday, April, 22, 1978, 11:30 a.m. (Kingston: KPL, 1978).

130. Jim Strasman, "Controversial Library," *Canadian Architect* 27 (Jan. 1982): 30-33; and J.G.T., "Community Catalyst," *Interior Design* 53 (Aug. 1982): 186-89.

131. Bernard Gillespie, "Richvale Library, Richmond Hill," *Canadian Architect* 29 (Aug. 1984): 29-31.

132. Leon Whiteson, "Solid Library in a Self-Consciously Nostalgic Village," *Architecture: The AIA Journal* 73 (Sept. 1984): 150-53; and "Unionville Library, Markham, Ontario, Canada [in Japanese and English]," *GA Document* 13 (Sept. 1985): 110-13.

133. Adele Freedman, "The Dangers of Rigid Devotion to Formula," *Globe and Mail*, 4 Feb. 1984: E15; and Eberhard H. Zeidler, "High Tech and Victoriana" *Canadian Architect* 31 (May 1986): 35-39.

134. Signe Ball, "Computers a Big Draw at Library," *Toronto Star*, 12 May 1981: 8West; "Computers Open New World to Disabled," *Toronto Star*, 14 July 1981: 10West; David Steen, "Oakville Library Closes Computer Centre," *Toronto Star*, 26 Feb. 1985: 13West; and Christine Mander, "An Oakville Enterprise: Computers Teach Pre-Schoolers to Read and Write," *CLJ* 39 (Feb. 1982): 17-18.

135. Barry Church, "Microcomputers: Responding to Community Interest," *Focus (OLA)* 10 (Feb. 1984): 14.

136. "Rainy River Library Board Puts Damper on Reading," *Toronto Star*, 7 Nov. 1981: C7.

137. Dorothy Liovenko, "R-rated Videos Get Big Chill from Libraries in North York," *Globe and Mail*, 12 Jan. 1985: 15.

138. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 21 June 1983, 1889-90.

139. Frances G. Halpenny, *Canadian Collections in Public Libraries: A Report* (Toronto: Book and Periodical Development Council, 1985), 27-28.

140. Basil Stuart-Stubbs, et al., *The Canadian Book and the Public Library* (Vancouver: Canada Department of Communications, April 1984), 97-103.

141. "\$5,000 Grant to Help Beam Radio Programs to the Blind," *Toronto Star*, 2 March 1978: C22; *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 24 Nov. 1983, 3310-11; and "To Save the Grant," *Globe and Mail*, 17 Nov. 1983: 6.

142. Network Development Office, *Chatham Public Library Automation Costs* (Toronto: NDO, Nov. 1983) and LCIB Technical Services Unit, *Chatham Public Library Automation Costs and Cost-Benefit Analysis* (Toronto: NDO, March 1984).

143. Bruce Geddes, comp., *Ontario County Libraries: Survey of Policy and Procedures* (Toronto: MCZC, 1986), 62-72 for CARML's guidelines and standards endorsed in 1984.

144. Marie Shantz, "To Charge or Not to Charge," *Focus (OLA)* 9 (June 1983): 15-16, 33.

145. Betty Butterill, *Handbook for Library Trustees in Ontario* (Toronto:

OLA, 1971); revised by Viola Porter, Joan MacLeod, and Betty Butterill, *The Ontario Library Trustees' Handbook*, 2nd ed. (Ottawa: OLA, 1978).

146. Lorraine Williams, "In Defence of Autonomous Library Boards," *CLJ* 40 (Oct. 1983): 289-91.

147. Ontario Library Trustees Association, *Report on a Survey of Ontario Library Trustees, July 17, 1987* ([Toronto]: Coopers & Lybrand Consulting Group, 1987), 18-21.

148. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 4 June 1984, 2083.

149. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 15 November 1984, 4178.

150. Laurie Bildfell, "Remarketing Metro Affects Users and Staff," *Quill & Quire* 51 (April 1985): 68.

151. Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, *The New Act and What it Means* (Toronto: MCZC, 1984), 29.

152. Rosemary Kavanagh, *Trent Resource Sharing Network: A System for Autonomous Libraries* (Richmond Hill, Ont.: OLS-Trent, Sept. 1984).

153. OLA, *Response to Bill 93, An Act Respecting Public Libraries* (Toronto: OLA, 1984), 5.

154. OLA, *Response to Bill 93*, 2.

155. Laurie Bildfell, "Three Provinces Draft New Library Acts," *Quill & Quire* 50 (Oct. 1984): 26-27.

156. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 30 October 1984, 3706.

157. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 15 November 1984, 4167-68.

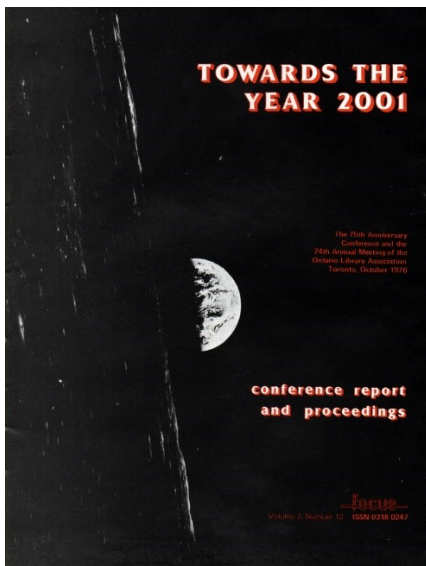
158. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 11 December 1984, 4895.

159. Regulation 100/85 published on 16 March 1985 in the *Ontario Gazette*. The Public Libraries Act received Royal Assent shortly afterwards.

160. Jean Tague-Sutcliffe and Roma M. Harris, *Impact of the 1984 Ontario Public Libraries Act: A Study for Association of Library Boards of Ontario, April 1987* (London: Tague & Harris, 1987), 1-11.

161. "Toronto Plugs Libraries into Huge Videotext Utility," *American Libraries* 13 (April 1982): 266; and Mary M. Nash and Janice M. Pereira, "The Canadian Scene: Telidon and Library Applications," *CLJ* 39 (Aug. 1982): 249-54.

162. Kenneth Dowlin, *The Electronic Library: The Promise and the Process* (New York: Neal-Schuman, 1984); and Michael Buckland, *Redesigning Library Services: A Manifesto* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1992).



9. OLA Conference report cover for 75th Anniversary meeting held in Toronto at the Royal York in October 1976.



10. Coldwater Public Library built in 1937 as a memorial by the Sheppard family, summer 1980.

THE ROAD AHEAD: *LIBRARIES 2000*

Ontario Public Library Week, September 1985, opened with a futures symposium on Canadian society at the new Metro Toronto Convention Centre beneath the CN Tower. The MCZC Minister, Dr. Lily Oddie Munro, commenced proceedings with a prediction of her own:

Technological changes will dramatically affect the way we do business. They will affect society in general and, more specifically, the communities in which you operate and the nature of librarianship. The challenge to libraries in the wake of the Information Revolution with its proliferation and complexity of information is to provide new structures of access to knowledge in a variety of new formats. At the same time, libraries must continue to preserve, manage and make available information in the traditional printed format. The implications of technological change are a major factor in your future planning. Librarians who plan for these changes now will be able to use the technology instead of being used by it.¹

The moderator, Lister Sinclair, and other speakers ranged across an eclectic territory to explore the society, economy, and technology that Canadians would be experiencing at the turn of the century. Allan Gregg, president of Decima Research, explored his findings that Canadians expected government to lead change but he felt that the private sector should carry out initiatives for public consumption. Frank Feather, who often elaborated the theme “Thinking Globally, Acting Locally,” spoke to the issue of information processing and the need to transition to an electronic environment. The American futurist, Marvin Cetron, predicted that information would become more costly and that women would flood into a high-tech marketplace. He cautioned that information might become the preserve of large corporations charging fees for distribution, but he was optimistic about the public library’s future:

To put it in very simple terms, the library industry is going to grow. It’s going to become more powerful. The library is going to become a community centre. It will be where you go for retraining, for information. It will be the access place you use to get data instead of going back and forth to work. The community library will become more important, it will become a source of information for everybody. Libraries have tremendous potential.²

Libraries 2000 explored many future predictions. It was up to libraries to digest these ideas and plan to implement them in their communities, to build

“social capital, i.e. to develop civic engagement, reciprocity, and connections with groups and individuals in their jurisdictions.

At the end of September, the government announced a \$300,000 infusion for telecommunications beginning with an automation project for 26 libraries in OLS-Escarpment and the Region of Peel stretching from Mississauga to the Niagara border. The eventual success of this 1985-86 pilot project using UTLAS International (now owned by International Thomson) and Canadian National-Canadian Pacific electronic mail led to a decision to extend it to other regions to form the basis of OPLIN, the Ontario Public Library Information Network.³ Two months later, in November, the 83rd OLA conference attracted an attendance of almost 1,500 to “The Wonder of Libraries: Illusion and Reality” at the Royal York Hotel. Many issues raised revolved around the role information played. Desmond Morton, a keynote speaker from Erindale College, appealed to libraries to fight to keep knowledge free because it should not become a marketable commodity solely. The National Librarian, Marianne Scott, was confident that “I think there will be people who want to work at home and they are tied in electronically to all our computers, but I think that there is still that social animal that wants to communicate and to meet.”⁴ It was becoming evident, twenty-five years after Marshall McLuhan coined the term Global Village that the computer was effectively establishing itself as the dominant means of handing and disseminating textual material. Information was becoming an ubiquitous term used interchangeably with concepts long associated with print culture, i.e. knowledge and ideas. Phrases such as consumer information, management information systems, information technology, and information overload were commonplace. Libraries were associated with the knowledge economy. ‘Knowledge worker’ was becoming a term for handling information, especially digital, that served to trigger new working relationships and investments in information technology.

The evolving global economic neo-liberal policies to end restrictions on trade and to decrease the size and power of government influenced the rapid flow of electronic information. The information agenda posed new issues at the 1985 OLA conference that would dominate library discussions and activities into the 21st century. Literacy was one focus. It was no longer sufficient to be print literate, i.e. to read and write or listen carefully. Practitioners were adding the idea of computer literacy to audio or visual literacy. The ability to use information in various forms and to master the techniques necessary to use management information systems was a crucial skill. The economics of information was another important subject for review. In the services sector, information was a vital resource for finance, communications, entertainment, tourism, health, and education. When the Canada-US

Free Trade Agreement came into effect in January 1989, there was speculation that cultural products and many forms of information might possess significant economic value. Ontario's trade alignment was moving rapidly from east-west to north-south. Naturally, many corporations were intent on commodifying information or data to extend markets outside Canada through licensing arrangements and direct user fees. Already, in 1986, Info Globe had purchased the *Canadian Periodical Index* from CLA, thus ending four decades of production and control by the national association.⁵

Within the Ontario library community, there was no unanimity on the question of fees for information services. Many boards opposed Regulation 100/85 that prescribed which circulating materials must be free.⁶ There was a threat that economically disadvantaged families and persons would not be able to benefit from an information-rich universe if libraries did not continue to provide resources.⁷ There was also concern about the control of information. In a networked environment, censorship, copyright infringements in electronic formats, freedom of information, and the need for personal privacy were issues requiring legal protection. With online circulation systems, access to electronic user records might pose ethical problems. Already, some libraries, such as Hamilton, were concerned with privacy and freedom of information in a province without legislation to guide administrators.⁸ Ontario would establish its office of the Information and Privacy Commissioner in 1987. Eventually, library boards formally came under freedom and legislative privacy provisions set for municipalities in 1991.

New information issues and familiar challenges to intellectual freedom were becoming constant library companions even as a glut of information and print materials threatened to make libraries irrelevant. Popular, imaginative works encouraged this idea among readers in the 1980s and 1990s. Alvin Toffler popularized the idea of a new post-smoke stack economy in his *Third Wave* (1980), which underscored the importance of information (the "infosphere") to a service society. In the fictional world of Jorge Luis Borges' *Library of Babel*, the librarian is unable to find anything in a collection boasting an infinite number of books. In Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose* (1984), his medieval library is a frustrating labyrinth.⁹ There were divergent views about the possible effects of information. Advocates insisted that it could empower people by providing direct access to opportunities previously unavailable and by supplying resources for better decision making.¹⁰ Pessimists believed that the global economic structure which information supported could ultimately threaten the democratic quality of citizenship and community life with rigid capitalist structures.¹¹ The capacity to strengthen both centralization and decentralization seemed to be taking place. New

information networks were not tied to local places—there was centralization of managerial control on a global scale and decentralization of production. New groups and audiences were in the process of interconnection, for instance, electronic mail groups or cable television subscribers who enjoyed the pulsating charm of MuchMusic or sports specialty channels, TSN and ESPN, that proliferated after the mid-1980s as the public demand for “infotainment” grew. Governments and scientists were organizing on an international scale to discuss issues, such as the recommendations on climate change arising from the Toronto Conference on the Changing Atmosphere, held in October 1988. Selective groupings within diffuse social networks were overlaying traditional geographic-political community ties. These social structures, which Marianne Scott spoke to at OLA’s annual conference in November 1985, did not rely on traditional face-to-face transactions.¹²

All these intersections of information, commerce, and libraries presented challenges. Many questions posed in the late 1980s pertained to basic library functions. From the library perspective, there were some fundamental starting points. Many argued that society would continue to recognize the need to access information through public agencies. The success of *Libraries 2000* served to buttress this point. One of its themes was the need for an effective system to organize information on a community basis. The development of information systems in libraries that were amenable to free user access was an investment in learning. Further, libraries were successfully adapting to new technologies. Advocates for public libraries could say that they were successfully automating their acquisitions, cataloguing, circulation, plus introducing online products to their public services. Online public catalogues were gradually replacing card catalogues. Bar codes and wands were the successors of manual and microfilm photo-charging systems. Online searching of remote databases was another innovation that allowed users to have many different searches performed. It was apparent, therefore, that public libraries could build on their knowledge and experience to extend their range of services. Planning became essential to this process, but there were ongoing national issues—intellectual freedom, copyright, pay equity, freedom of information and privacy concerns, economic growth, board governance, and administrative reorganizations—that would pose challenges along the way.

New Directions and Consolidation

A statutory statement of purpose, of course, did not mandate public library services. The *Public Libraries Act, 1984*, was mute on this point, a sore point for some library planners. The Act had compromised on library governance

without satisfying all parties. The governance issue had simmered for some time; now, board independence immediately came under attack through private bills introduced by Conservative opposition members in October 1985. Hamilton sought more accountability and requested more powers to restrict the freedom of its board, for example, allowing the council to define senior management positions or having the city treasurer serve as board treasurer. The County of Elgin requested the dissolution of its library board to assume control effective 1 January 1986. However, the governing coalition of Liberals and NDP refused to support either bill. In June 1986, Huron County Council unsuccessfully pressed for special legislation through a Liberal member to dissolve its library board and assume control by the county council directly. In this case, the MCZC did not formally oppose the measure due to broad support. It did insist that there was no need to amend the current Act less than a year after its passage.¹³

It was not a promising start for Huron's council-library board relations, but after a decade the pattern of requests for special legislation was well established. Local consensus would determine the outcomes. Concurrently, an academic study revealed that libraries administered by trustees were not significantly different from the municipally integrated libraries in terms of centralization and complexity. Nor were library professionals working in either environment adverse to the trend towards centralization. Librarians in integrated municipal settings could demonstrate a stronger belief in public service.¹⁴ From a historical viewpoint, there was a strong case that professionalism in library administration across Ontario was less reliant on organizational theory. Instead, it revolved around values related to efficiency and effectiveness, the quality of service, and the political relationships and interaction between citizen boards.¹⁵ In terms of advancing professional status, after the 1970s, librarians began to organize around a discretionary model, one that library associations could promote in terms of shared principles and expertise, conditions that collective bargaining units could achieve locally. CLA began to develop official statements on ethics, literacy, privacy, Internet access, and other issues.

The MCZC continued its pattern of financial support for libraries in 1986, especially special purpose grants, rather than traditional local conditional grants. After completion of a *Northern Libraries Services* study, the minister approved \$880,000 for collection development purposes, automation, and interloan projects. There were now three OLS boards in the north to deal with distinctive problems—geographic isolation, low tax bases, and the need for services to natives and Franco-Ontarians—that were well documented.¹⁶ The largest MCZC amount, \$300,000, went to northern book collections; and

\$240,000 went to further development of the Tri-Regional Catalogue based in Sudbury. In the south, the Ministry's Library Cooperative Automation Program, begun in 1984, received \$476,000 to continue developing a shared database of collections and to foster local area networks. The automation program for small libraries received \$247,000. A decision was made on the Ontario Joint Fiction Reserve, the cooperative storage program begun in 1972 that had expanded to include biographies, to centralize its operation of almost 90,000 volumes at Barrie and to explore the creation of a database of its holdings.¹⁷ Support for creative activities through libraries was another approach the MCZC instituted. A Writers-in-Residence program was announced for public libraries to allow local authors access to professional guidance and to offer public workshops and readings. In the first year, for example, Heather Robertson (at North York), Ian Adams (at Waterloo), and several others held residencies across the province that showcased the program's merits.¹⁸

At the intermediary level, the eight OLS boards began to implement the goals of the new *Public Libraries Act*. Because their activities were now more focused, integrated programs with each area seemed more feasible. Yet, the OLS areas continued to have different dynamics governing their activities. In central Ontario, OLS-Trent adopted numerous service objectives that included support for the York Public Libraries Network that came into operation in 1986.¹⁹ Five of the eight libraries in the Region of York—Aurora, Newmarket, Richmond Hill, Vaughan, and Markham—had purchased a Geac 8000 minicomputer, created a database of holdings, and begun to share costs and management on the basis of equal ownership.²⁰ Many Trent libraries were adapting well to automation: a project to test the merits of online retrieval of 16mm film holdings for libraries in the York and Durham film pools ended in 1986 with a proposal to extend online film access to all Trent Resource Sharing Network (TRESNET) libraries and to upgrade printed catalogue access.²¹ Other OLS areas had more difficulty unifying older regional systems; for instance, OLS-Thames inherited a decentralized system in Southwestern and a more centralized operation in Lake Erie. Nonetheless, it successfully organized a large video pool in 1986 for both older regions. The smallest area, OLS-Saugeen, had to cope with the different networking aspirations of many mid-sized and smaller rural libraries, like the unpretentious fictional town library open five afternoons a week that Carol Shields depicted in her popular mystery *Swann* (1987). New initiatives were difficult to implement, and for some libraries, such as Bruce County, which was in a reorganization phase, Saugeen had to reduce courier service to its branches.²² All the OLS trustees embarked on a short-term learning process to integrate the work of larger

regions.

The ministry continued financing the Ontario Public Library Information Network to develop interloan via local microcomputers that identified locations in the UTLAS database. Increasingly, Ontario libraries were abandoning telex in favour of electronic mail requests.²³ OPLIN was an improved technical solution for the future development of interloan in the province after its introduction in OLS-Trent, where TRESNET previously had been utilized.²⁴ Ministry support was necessary because there were pronounced differences in resource sharing activities and philosophies between OLS areas, some with larger resources libraries, others without plentiful resources.²⁵ Interloan was time-consuming. Many larger Ontario libraries felt it needed to be put on a business-like basis because comparatively few people used the service.²⁶ The Ministry funded a compensation study for resource sharing in 1989 that developed a formula for funding to a maximum of \$50,000 annually for one library. However, the Ministry did not introduce any systematic changes. Interloan borrowing and lending had levelled off at more than 300,000 transactions by the mid-1980s and remained a tiny fraction, ½ percent, of total library circulation despite the implementation of OPLIN.²⁷

There were more urgent priorities. The MCZC undertook a comprehensive survey of county and regional libraries in conjunction with CARML. The county systems had developed slowly since the 1960s, mostly because their operations were rooted in smaller communities with lower tax bases. The MCZC survey revealed the extent of these dimensions. For staffing, counties reported a range of median values for headquarters staff (HQ) and comparative numbers for their branches (in brackets): professional librarians—HQ 2 (1); other professionals—HQ 1 (.58); library technicians—HQ 1 (1); a-v technicians—HQ 1 (nr); clerical with support staff—HQ 4.3 (9.2); and maintenance and drivers—HQ .8 (.8). Manual charging of materials existed in 263 of 265 branches. Delivery services had changed from bookmobiles to vans that operated mostly on a weekly or twice-weekly basis.²⁸ While county systems lagged in terms of programming and audio-visual resources, they were popular centres for their local communities: in 1986, counties cumulatively served almost 875,019 people by circulating 5,345,867 items and answering 534,022 reference queries.

Automation was impending, but counties lacked resources for infrastructure in the mid-1980s. Poverty was not a new visitor to rural libraries. CARML and the MCZC established the Library Cooperative Automation Program to study the financial feasibility of computerizing small libraries. Integrated turnkey systems, such as MultiLIS (produced by a Canadian firm, Sobeco Group), Data Research Associates Inc., ULISYS

(Universal Library System, a Canadian product), and Dynix Systems, were now popular installation purchases in Ontario.²⁹ As well, a new group, the Ontario Library Cooperative, was formed by fifteen counties and nine urban places. Ron Baker, from Lambton County, became the project leader in April 1986 to work with Brodart Co.'s automation services for the preparation of a database of holdings of smaller libraries. By mid-1988, almost a million records were available for searching by member libraries using the new technology, CD-ROM. The cooperative was so successful that it incorporated as the Ontario Library Consortium in 1987 to plan automation projects.³⁰ The county libraries were the principals in the OLC, but some cities—Sarnia, Chatham, Peterborough, and Kingston—became major participants. CARML would eventually refashion itself as Administrators of Rural and Urban Public Libraries in Ontario after city-county restructuring studies, beginning with Sarnia-Lambton in 1991, changed the structure of local political life in rural southern Ontario, especially at the end of the nineties. In a unified urban-county administration, councils sometimes sought, successfully, to replace library boards with committees of council. This procedure occurred in Lambton in 1994.³¹

In Metro Toronto, the remarketing proposal to reduce student use in the mid-1980s was not a long-lived solution. Staff were accustomed to serving the public and often played down any hint of an elitist image.³² Metro Council continued to review the operations of the region's largest library with a shorter follow-up study, *Metropolitan Toronto Library Board Program Review 1985*, that scrutinized projects the library was considering. Metro was preparing to introduce its automated cataloging and online public catalogue, Multicat, and there were many opinions about its impact on job security. A legacy of suspicion from a long eight-week strike of more than 400 unionized workers in fall 1984 made matters difficult. After Donald Meadows resigned in August 1986, the new director, Frances Schwenger, implemented cutbacks in the senior management levels. Metro had been understaffed since its 1977 opening, but the board chair was forthright about the cost-savings: "The organization is maturing and what was appropriate five years ago isn't appropriate today."³³ Because some of the library's prized holdings often required preservation or conservation, the library began to hone its fundraising skills. A three-year project to raise more than \$100,000 to restore engraved plates in John James Audubon's *Birds of America* was one of the first major undertakings.³⁴ This project was a significant step in Ontario's public library development efforts to establish fundraising capabilities. It was becoming common for established Friends of the Library groups, such as the one at Ottawa formed in 1981, to liaise with community groups and individuals to

contribute supplementary funding and volunteer services.³⁵ Libraries had always been able to solicit funds for capital projects; now, they had to be more active in raising money for standard operations, partly from necessity.

When the new Liberal government amended legislation in 1987 to designate Metro as a special services board, it identified the primary functions of the board, i.e. reference, research, and strengthening public services by the area boards. This amendment provided details about the board's powers. It could maintain a comprehensive collection of books, periodicals, films, and other materials; operate a book-information service and an inter-library service for its collections and those of the area boards; operate a circulating service for any part of its collections; and provide such other services as it considered necessary for comprehensive and efficient library service. This Act also resolved an outstanding problem by confirming the board's power to maintain the John Ross Robertson Collection originally donated to TPL prior to WWI.³⁶ For its part, the MCZC continued regular funding to Toronto's reference library after a change from per capita funding to households in 1985. Additional studies investigated the possibility of using Metro's expertise to serve provincial roles. While the LCIB and MCZC conceived a generally supportive role for Metro at the provincial level, a study on multilingual services recommended extension of the National Library's role with Ontario libraries and continuation of Metro's expansion within the city and boroughs.³⁷

Throughout all these developments, the MCZC emphasized its financial support for library progress. However, the pattern of funding after public libraries were detached from the Dept. of Education in 1971 presents an uneven pattern. Provincial grants for the Metro Toronto board, the regions/OLS area, and all other public libraries had varied from 1971 to 1987.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Public Libraries</i> \$ 000's	<i>Regions/OLS</i> \$ 000's	<i>Metro Toronto</i> \$ 000's	<i>Total</i> \$ 000's
1971	5,410.4	2,404.5	737.8	8,552.8
1975	13,874.1	4,719.4	1,217.6	19,811.1
1980	16,918.6	6,805.4	1,555.1	25,279.1
1985	24,397.5	6,956.4	1,495.1	32,849.1
1987	27,278.8	8,113.9	1,821.5	37,214.1
<i>Increase</i>	404.2%	237.4%	146.9%	335.1%

Considering the rate of inflation from 1971 to 1987 (227%), in constant 1971 dollars, public libraries and regional/OLS grants had increased, but Metro

Toronto grants had not kept pace with library expansion. Most of the provincial increase was due to the infusion of grant money in 1972-73 when the total had jumped dramatically by sixty percent.³⁸

Funding issues were important, but the MCZC also wanted to market and reorient libraries in purposeful directions. For 1987, it planned three major conferences, the first two in Toronto in April. Because both TPL and North York's literacy programs were well developed, the one-day forum "Literacy Alert" attracted 450 people. Jonathan Kozol, author of *Illiterate America* (1985), emphasized that adults required a good reason to learn to read and that libraries did not routinely fulfill their needs. Lily Oddie Munro regarded libraries as useful agents in the fight against illiteracy, citing the need for more complex reading skills required to use new technologies.³⁹ The second Toronto conference, "The Electronic Library," deliberated on second-generation microcomputer-based products for libraries. The era for upgrading equipment with more sophisticated, integrated successors had arrived. Topics were quite technical: online catalogues, information searching, public access, and the right to information were more nuanced library issues. One speaker talked about the intelligent catalogue of the future, one that could perform a search and offer a suggestion for the searcher to consider, "Give me more like this!"⁴⁰ The final conference, "Prospects North," took place in Thunder Bay. Speakers addressed geographic distances, the economic and cultural situation in Northern Ontario, and the challenges libraries and governments faced in servicing remote, single-industry towns such as Elliot Lake. Overall, northern public libraries did not seem to be responding as well as they could, and the program closed with a review of efforts to better coordinate services and develop new directions for libraries.⁴¹ The Ministry's one-day sessions reminded librarians and trustees that many reasons attracted people to libraries.

"Literacy Alert," the best-attended conference, was an important event that elevated awareness about the library's role. The Ministry and Metro Reference Library began work on the creation of an Adult Literacy Database of 500 programs in Ontario. TPL embarked on improved staff training, public programming, and services after an extensive study.⁴² Libraries were adopting a variety of literacy approaches. A few libraries were purchasing equipment to scan printed pages and read aloud to disabled persons. Library operated literacy programs were visible in large and small libraries. North York, Hamilton, Owen Sound, and Richmond Hill were southern leaders tutoring individuals and developing programs for groups. In the north, Schreiber, Iroquois Falls, and Atikokan were receiving Ontario Community Literacy Program grants to assist other small communities. Some libraries utilized the Frank Laubach Literacy worldwide organization's tutoring materials: Windsor,

Stratford, Lincoln, and St. Marys. Co-sponsoring programs with community groups, e.g. Peel Literacy Guild, was another popular way to reduce illiteracy.⁴³ In Toronto, Parkdale branch's "Project Read" came into prominence in the mid-1980s. It eventually became a community-based group operating within the library under an inspirational black leader, Rita Cox. Parkdale branch was a 'people place' by any standard.

In a basement room, adults who can't read are given one-to-one tuition by volunteers who may be housewives, teachers or retired businessmen. Miracles happen in that snug room — like the middle-aged woman saying, 'This is the first year I can buy my own Christmas cards and write in them.'⁴⁴

"Project Read" was one reason why Rita Cox became a member of the Order of Canada in 1997. Adopting literacy as an important value by helping learners attain reading, writing, and numeracy skills was a vital community response to a systemic problem that many agencies were attempting to address.⁴⁵

While libraries reflected on complex challenges, within their own domain, the Ministry and LCIB began to look at internal management of the OLS field offices staffed by about seventy-five full-time employees, who mostly had served in the regional systems after 1966. The transition to fewer southern service areas was part of the Programme Review's recommended phase-in period of five years that led to a single agency at the "intermediary level." Service delivery differences would continue in the new OLS areas because they varied in size, populations, and resources.

<i>OLS areas</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>No. of boards</i>	<i>Permanent Locations</i>	<i>County systems</i>	<i>OLS FTE's</i>
Escarpment	1,817,595	34	115	1 - 17 branches	14.2
Rideau	1,128,021	71	155	3 - 40 branches	13.8
Saugeen	755,761	35	80	5 - 60 branches	14.4
Thames	1,266,821	18	150	6 - 100+branches	10.8
Trent	1,270,422	92	173	3 - 35 branches	27.1

Planning would be necessary to devise services for three fundamentally different areas—the north, southern Ontario, and Metro Toronto. As a result, the Ministry enlisted the services of Cresap/Barnard to prepare a report for southern Ontario (excluding Metro) that would develop a strategic plan identifying goals, objectives, management processes, and the governance structure to be used over three to five years. The report occupied nine months and was

submitted at the end of 1987.⁴⁶ By this time, libraries had been transferred to the culture division of a third ministry in the 1980s, the Ministry of Culture and Communications (MCC) established in September 1987 by a merger of the former Ministry of Citizenship and Culture with the communications aspects of the former Ministry of Transportation and Communications. Both the MCC Minister, Lily Oddie Munro, and LCIB Director, Wil Vanderelst, remained in their positions through the first part of this transition.

Cresap/Barnard conducted an extensive analysis of OLS southern areas. Surveyors found OLS services were less used than expected among small or large libraries and that medium-sized libraries (15,000-100,000) made the most use of services. Like their regional predecessors, OLS areas had difficulty effectively working together to plan, develop, and implement joint projects. Duplication was a problem. Consequently, the report recommended that the Ministry disband the five OLS boards and rely on a single board appointed by the Minister. Most field offices would remain open and long-term services continue. In particular, the consolidated OLS-South should devote a significant part of its work towards achieving accessibility, resource sharing, access to management knowledge, advisement, and community needs assessment. This client focus would include more emphasis on training, especially for small libraries that required programs leading to certification. The ministry was already committed to sponsoring such a program: more than 350 people registered for EXCEL in its first year of operation.⁴⁷ The new OLS-South organization was a centralized entity acting as a catalyst for change and providing an intermediary level between the Ministry officials, LCIB, and local libraries. In theory, the LCIB could now do more as a policy and program initiator, an intergovernmental liaison, a research facilitator, a strategic planner, and a performance evaluator. To implement this strategic concept, the Ministry of Culture and Communications set a target date of 1 April 1989 to create the Southern Ontario Library Service (SOLS) and Northern Ontario Library Service (OLS-North) as special operating agencies responsible for coordinating library services.

To formulate a plan for field offices and the Southern Ontario Library Services organization, a transition team from five older OLS areas devised a working paper to phase in roles within the new service organization. The five former OLS areas undertook to share central coordination and services for the designated services.⁴⁸ Each area was selected with a view to its current expertise. For example, in Rideau, the director, Larry Eshelman, had already recommended a decentralized approach for Francophone services in the Rideau field office centred by the province's largest bilingual library, Ottawa. Improvement of services for Franco-Ontarians would continue to be an

important issue for the new MCC because forthcoming legislation, the *French Language Services Act*, would mandate provincial services in French throughout areas in Ontario where ten percent or more of the population was French-speaking.⁴⁹ There were twelve major services specifically identified for OLS-South:

Audio-Visual Services	Escarpment	Professional Services	Saugeen
Automation Systems Support	Trent	Disabled Services	Saugeen
Children's Services	Escarpment	Literacy Services	Saugeen
French Language Services	Rideau	Seniors Services	Saugeen
Marketing and Publications	Thames	EXCEL Training	Trent
Multicultural Services	Thames	Native Services	Thames

Coordinators for these services could be deployed from central field offices in Ottawa, Richmond Hill, Hamilton, and London.

At the same time, for the three northern OLS areas, an advisory committee recommended a single northern board to reduce administrative duplication and to facilitate planning and direct services to almost 150 communities scattered across its districts, almost 90% of Ontario's total landmass. Its main office would be in Sudbury; its field offices in Kirkland Lake and Thunder Bay. Aboriginal library services would be an integral part of the new OLS-North. For librarians and trustees, the Ministry continued to promote services with handbooks such as *Active Aging*, a 1990 programming guide that expanded library work for older adults with a variety of topics such as stargazing, medicine, housing, and pets. It investigated ideas to market services to younger persons and people who felt the main barrier to their library usage was time and the availability of new materials. The MCC also prepared a two-year service plan that outlined the changes between the older OLS areas and the new client-centred SOLS organization.⁵⁰

Although an advisory committee and small focus groups worked with Cresap/Barnard, the amalgamation exercise was far less extensive than the OPLPR led by Peter J. Bassnett. Many libraries were preoccupied with their operations and studies. Under a variety of MCC programs—the Libraries Cooperative Automation Projects, Automation Program for Small Libraries, Northern Libraries Automation Program, and Telecommunications Project for OPLIN and TRESNET—the late 1980s witnessed an upsurge in the number of studies by libraries funded by the province. Between 1984 and 1989, more than a hundred libraries received money for various computerized activities.

Automation activities included 83 feasibility studies, 27 database creation projects, 80 system implementation reports, 3 computer upgrades, 171 networking sites, and 130 office automation installations.⁵¹ After the ministry published its handbook, *Assessing Your Community for Library Planning*, in 1987, community studies came into vogue. The MCC attempted to encourage systematic evaluation of local community libraries with a standard “needs assessment model” that would help discover service gaps revealed by users and non-users. SOLS and the county systems also produced a needs assessment manual, *Focus on the Future* (1992), which outlined the strengths of strategic planning on a broader basis for urban-rural jurisdictions based on the experience of Oxford County. Its successful reception led to an adapted version for use OLS-North libraries a few years later.⁵²

With improved trustee education and administrative support, a systematic process using questionnaires and data collection could discover the specific and general needs of a public library. Once needs were identified, then boards could develop short and long-term goals. Many boards completed community studies in the three years leading up to 1990: Bancroft, Cumberland Township, Newcastle, Lincoln, Espanola, Wainfleet Township, and other small places all entered a planning process that cast off reliance on former library standards. Explicit community analysis on a continual basis became a new feature of library work for trustees and librarians, encouraged by the ministry, the two OLS boards, and library planners at OLA conferences. Policy priorities, such as multiculturalism or service to seniors, needed rejuvenation.⁵³ It had become apparent in the Programme Review 1980-82 that many Ontario libraries did not believe they had an important role to play in meeting multicultural community needs, nor were they adopting an inclusive view of multiculturalism. A 1988 study of libraries in the OLS-Trent area confirmed the lack of programming, insufficient staff training, small book collections, and non-existent policies for service expansion.⁵⁴ A step-by-step community analysis was developed for host libraries to ameliorate these conditions.

The provincial ministry also published a manual on construction and design in 1986, *Building Libraries*, at a time when increasing use of the phrase “Electronic Library” suggested facilities and public library service would be very different, likely on a smaller physical scale as more information became available in digital format. A dematerialized, “virtual library” or a society without print books was not inconceivable: books were routinely destroyed after being converted to computer disks in Margaret Atwood’s *The Handmaid’s Tale* (1985). Nonetheless, the construction of larger libraries with book shelving continued in the late 1980s and early 1990s, especially in three major civic centre complexes.⁵⁵ In North York, the second-largest library in

Ontario (168,000 sq. ft.) opened in June 1987. Designed by Raymond Moriyama at the cost of \$20 million; in many ways, it resembled the Metro Reference Library. There were large staircases and six floors where the architect juxtaposed subject segmented collections and services. The library was part of North York's city centre development on Yonge Street, a civic project to build a "downtown" and to provide a stimulus for business and cultural development. In Nepean, the library board sold its Merivale branch in March 1988 and moved to the city's new Centrepointe Civic Square central library, which boasted a new Dynix circulation-catalogue minicomputer system, an integrated system. Another central library, part of an ambitious civic project, opened two years later in Mississauga in September 1991. At \$43 million, this central library (renamed Hazel McCallion Central Library in 2021), designed by Shore Tilbe Henschel Irwin Architects, was a five-storey, 175,000 sq. ft. edifice designed to hold a minimum of 300,000 books. Nearby, there was a municipal city centre and shopping at Square One. The civic-commercial complex provided the city, now grown to more than half a million, with a centre for its thirteen branches that had developed rapidly under its former CEO, Noel Ryan.⁵⁶ The library as a central physical place still had a long life ahead and many manifestations.

Legal Obligations

National events diminished the MCZC's effort to focus library attention on broad societal issues. As the contraction of state-operated universal programs for government services and goods continued apace in western nations, a concomitant surge in the codification of legal rights and responsibilities was taking place. The Canadian state, at federal and provincial levels, was defining ever-widening categories of legal relations for its constituents.⁵⁷ The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) was one instance of this process whereby the government found its traditional powers and latitude to act altered. Libraries were accustomed to a public service philosophy; now, they were finding it necessary to safeguard rights and freedoms that were being redefined beyond their traditional local sphere. Change did not come without controversy as libraries opposed specific sections of two contentious federal government bills that appeared shortly after 1985.

First, after a period of quiescence, Canada's Parliament attempted to amend its provisions for obscenity and copyright. In May 1987, the government introduced Bill C-54 amendments to the Criminal Code to replace the existing standard of obscenity. As well, severe punishments were proposed

for offences applied to visual matter—child pornography, pornography showing physical harm in a sexual context, sexually violent pornography, degrading pornography, and simple pornography. All offences, except child pornography and pornography showing physical harm, would still allow a defence based on artistic merit or scientific, medical, or educational purpose. Despite this line of reasoning, opponents of Bill C-54 claimed it was a threat to civil liberties, an overreaction that potentially might be used against persons distributing or selling sexually explicit materials. Judgements about book contents or literary merit could be highly subjective.

By November, TPL, headed by Les Fowlie, announced a plan to close most of its branches for a short time to educate its staff on C-54's potential dangers. Fowlie said TPL's concern was that "the bill's effect will exceed the Government's intent, and that a book such as *Bear* by Marian Engel, winner of the Governor-General's Award, would be proscribed."⁵⁸ *Bear* was the erotic story of an intimate relationship between a librarian and a bear. Alan Borovoy, General Counsel for the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, applauded TPL's action and received a warm welcome when he spoke at OLA's Toronto fall convention to urge all librarians to resist Bill C-54. OLA had already gone on record as opposing the bill and received some assurances from the federal Justice Minister, Ramon Hnatyshyn, that C-54 did not target libraries, nor did the government advocate such a course.

Most observers, including the *Globe and Mail* editors on 20 November, sided with civil libertarians.

It is unlikely that police offices will raid local libraries to seize texts that technically violate the law, but there is a real danger that zealots will press charges privately, trying to force their standards on the community. Despite the slim chance of conviction, the stiff penalties will make librarians nervous and could lead to a regrettable self-censorship in purchasing and roping-off of existing books.

TPL closed twenty-seven of its branches on 10 December and hosted other critics of C-54—Alan Borovoy, author Margaret Atwood, filmmaker David Cronenberg, art curator Philip Monk, and radio host Erika Ritter—who deplored the fact that offenders could face jail terms of up to ten years. They ridiculed the bill's intent with references to Vladimir Nabokov's nymphet motif in *Lolita* (1955) and Ayn Rand's sexual violence in *The Fountainhead* (1943). TPL's action was a short but important part of the opposition that ensured that Bill C-54 did become law through Canada's Parliament.⁵⁹

A second piece of federal legislation on copyright, a long-dormant legal subject dating back to the 1924 federal Act, also came under revision with

sections in Bill C-60, “An Act to Amend the Copyright Act.” It, too, drew the disapproval of many librarians, especially administrators. When the federal Minister of Communications, Flora MacDonald, spoke at OLA’s convention on 20 November 1987, she surprised everyone when she described photocopying in libraries as “theft.”

But that is exactly the moral dilemma here. Not only are libraries at present not paying creative royalties to the author or the writer; they are actually using his or her work to subsidize other activities. They are charging the public as if the creator were charging them. But they are keeping it.

I don’t think that is defensible. Nor do I think it is an example of conduct, especially for academic students, which should be permitted or encouraged. Theft is theft. And theft of intellectual property is theft.⁶⁰

The minister viewed C-60 as an investment in Canada’s creative activities that would see authors and creators as the main beneficiaries. It would authorize the formation of a copyright collective to license and distribute payments to authors. Libraries of all types across the country worried about the scale of payment and the impact on budgets. To support counter-claims on the magnitude of copying in libraries, CLA collaborated with the Association pour l’avancement des sciences et des techniques de la documentation to issue a national study on copying. OLA vigorously lobbied the government, particularly the Liberal dominated Senate, to delay passage of C-60 and allow certain exemptions; however, Parliament gave it third reading in June 1988.⁶¹

Many authors considered libraries to be infringing on their intellectual property rights by allowing unrestricted copying. Administrators faced a daunting task of keeping track of copies and arranging payments. Could a solution be reached? Bill C-60 allowed creators to form a copyright collective to negotiate and gather royalty compensation by a surcharge either to users or by a government pool of money. This arrangement was not without problems, especially the concept of “fair dealing” and interlibrary lending; but, generally, it reduced administrative costs for libraries. CANCOPY, the Canadian Copyright Licensing Agency, came into being in 1988.

The government promised a second phase of copyright reform, one that would define exceptions for user communities distributing publications for the public good. For libraries of all types, the second stage was essential because it included fair dealing, i.e. copying a portion of a work for research or private study. OLA would be watchful on this issue throughout the next decade when a definition for fair dealing finally came into effect in 1997. The division between authors and libraries on CANCOPY issues was sharp, but it did not sever long-standing relationships, partly because public libraries now were

firmer in their support for free expression and social responsibility. The effect of intellectual freedom statements by OLA (1963), CLA (1966), and IPLO (1972) had taken hold by this time.

After customs officials temporarily held up Salman Rushdie's book, *Satanic Verses*, in 1989 because it might be classed as "hate literature," the OLA published a practical handbook on intellectual freedom to fortify the case for free expression and to provide libraries with resources to resist censorship. OLA also adopted a new version of its Statement on Intellectual Freedom in 1990.⁶² To some, political correctness was becoming a more serious challenge because it could apply to a general body of literature, authors, or selection policies, not just individual works. In 1993, Roald Dahl's popular children's books suffered this fate in one branch of TPL, and natives mounted an unsuccessful challenge to a few of W.P. Kinsella's books at Orillia.⁶³ Disputes involving controversial books in libraries, such as Nick Pron's *Lethal Marriage* (1995) about the Paul Bernardo and Karla Homolka case, would continue in the 1990s with contrary decisions by St. Catharines and Burlington. Madonna's *Sex* (1992) caused a flurry when many libraries refused to buy it, but Cambridge openly defended its controversial purchase. Many libraries were disinclined to purchase the violence-riddled *American Psycho* (1991).⁶⁴ An important 1995 Canadian study concluded, "vocal members of the community are not silenced, but, in the majority of cases, the staff uphold the public mandate of their institutions to safeguard freedom of expression for all members of the community."⁶⁵ Often, public libraries looked forward to the annual Freedom to Read Week to raise public awareness about the difference between censorship and community values.

In 1987 and 1988, public libraries also had to consider the implications of two provincial reforms for pay equity and freedom of information. The concept of equal pay for work of equal value had been a contentious issue between employers and unions for more than a decade before Queen's Park passed pay equity legislation, Bill 154, to take effect in 1988. This Act established the Ontario Pay Equity Commission to eliminate gender discrimination in wage settlements in the private and public sectors. Jobs had to be classified and ranked based on skill, effort, responsibility, and working conditions. If a male-dominated class and a female-dominated class were determined to be of equal value but different in the wage structure, the employer had to develop a pay equity plan by 1990. The OLA endorsed pay equity in March 1987 by underscoring that library work was traditionally female-dominated and supporting the idea of "equal pay for work of equal value."⁶⁶ It was assumed, of course, that municipalities would increase library revenue to meet the provisions of pay equity after evaluators conducted

comparisons and established raises.

Pay equity would take years to implement—negotiated settlements would continue well into the next century. The major obstacle was determining if the employer was the library board or the municipality. Because boards were female-dominated, male comparator groups usually could not be used; thus, library bargaining representatives preferred to designate municipal authorities as employers. The Act's passage was a starting point, however, and some municipalities, such as Renfrew, began the process immediately. Its actions showed the complexities of pay equity. After eight library staff members received a 17.2% pay increase over two years, the mayor said, "We might as well start to get used to pay equity. They have been underpaid for a long, long time." Library workers in practice still received less than other municipal staff.⁶⁷ A 1993 survey found that budgets had risen on average by seven percent; however, some municipalities did not finance equity increases; thus, boards had to transfer funds from other operating lines, delay settlements, or cutback to balance budgets. Many libraries were not able to post a pay equity plan until the province amended legislation in 1993 because they were unable to find male comparator groups.⁶⁸

In 1988, Ontario's *Freedom of Information and Protection of Individual Privacy Act* came into effect. Freedom of information was, for many, a grey area, a concept that citizens had a right to have access to provincial government information with certain exceptions, such as personal particulars. If knowledge was power, then citizens had a right to share information with the government and to ensure their personal information was private. FOI legislation had a long gestation: OLA had prepared a lengthy brief that supported the public's right to know, mostly to published materials, when provincial hearings first were held in 1978. For unpublished documents, OLA's brief had recommended the creation of an index, public access to these types of documents, and an appeal process if access was denied.⁶⁹ In the ensuing decade, of course, emphasis came to rest with unpublished documents and computerized records, not published works.

The 1988 Act set down definitions and a method of access to government information and an appeal process. Public libraries formally came under FOI in 1991 when the separate *Municipal Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act* took effect.⁷⁰ For libraries, it meant they could not collect personal information unless the Act authorized the compilation or it was necessary for the proper administration of the library's activity. Collection of personal data required consent by the individual. Notices for surveillance were necessary to alert visitors. There were administrative safeguards in the 1991 legislation based on decisions related to the proper functioning of the library;

but there was also the possibility that records related to personal reading habits might be disclosed accidentally or surrendered to Canadian legal authorities for law enforcement purposes.

During the late 1980s, the engagement of libraries with federal and provincial statutes—successful and unsuccessful—indicated that they had a formal role in the protection and promotion of the rights and well-being of citizens and staff. Knowledge of legal issues was becoming more complex and now spreading to many more legislative provisions beyond the *Public Libraries Act*. For example, in 1986, sexual orientation was added to *The Ontario Human Rights Code* as a prohibited ground for discrimination. Now, gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender rights in employment and subject matter in collections required accommodation, not disagreement.⁷¹ As the range of federal and provincial services expanded, the local library might assume new obligations and work under statutes devised in large-scale exercises where its voice was muted but its activities necessary to meet social demands.

One Place to Look: A Strategic Plan for the Nineties

The center of attention for provincial planners after 1990 was not community studies, statutory duties, regional concerns, or buildings, but information policy and strategic planning. The development of services and collections could be a hydra-headed creature. The strategic planning process that the OLS areas undertook after 1985 was narrow in compass, but it altered long-term relationships with many public libraries markedly. As a result, librarians and trustees from local municipal boards and the OLA began to think in terms of devising a similar plan for all Ontario. An agreed upon strategic vision would further cooperative work and develop consistency that was absent in legislative library provisions. The ministry agreed to support this initiative through the OLA at the Millcroft Inn meeting in January 1988. To remain impartial, the MCC did not participate directly; it funded the exercise and published its results. The Ministry continued to work on a networking strategy for the 1990s: a Provincial Database, a technological iteration of OLA's oft sought "Provincial Library" of the 1950s.

The provincial database is an inventory of public library holdings supplied to workstations for access and use at the local level. It supports basic networking services. Initially it includes all the holdings information for the existing network sites and provides verification, form filling and locations for ILL [interlibrary loan] requests. It is user

friendly including help directions and may be used by the patron with minimal assistance from staff. This capability is important to rural libraries where staff turnover is frequent and training is a problem.⁷²

To this end, the LCIB hoped to facilitate provincial progress by funding and negotiating arrangements for a single provincial library card; multi-type networks to link schools, colleges, and universities with public libraries; and interconnections for electronic databases. The new OLS agencies in the south and north would assume most of the work in organizing and promoting networking endeavours on behalf of the MCC.

The OLA and public libraries faced a difficult task to find common ground. Public-sector strategic planning meant the development of a mission statement, an analysis of the factors influencing library service, specific recommendations about goals, long-term objectives to achieve these goals, and an implementation plan. Promulgation of a strategic plan by no means guaranteed its success. However, an inclusive method could lead to agreement about principal services and structures. Just as the Programme Review had sought consensus in the early 1980s, now libraries would have to plan and agree on their future. By mid-1988, a small planning group chaired by Elizabeth Hoffman, a founding member of the Association of Canadian College and University Ombudsmen, came together to develop Ontario's first strategic plan for library service. A year-and-a-half was set aside for a task group to meld technology, administration, funding, marketing, and cooperative linkages between libraries into a plan. This timeline proved to be optimistic.⁷³ For many years, librarians and trustees had looked to briefs, regulations, and legislative provisions to define the library's role and functions. Now, with the 1984 Act in place, they had to seek other sources.

The Ontario library community was already acquainted with strategic planning. Many remembered the OPLPR process that had occurred in 1980-82. This time, legislative provisions were not to be the outcome. There would be thoughtful recommendations to be submitted to many partners to persuade at the end of the process. The Ontario Public Library Strategic Planning Group (SPG) began its process by developing a mission statement that later became a Statement of Purpose. For months, the SPG attended meetings to outline the process and collate information on areas of major interest. Task groups studied and analyzed issues for the SPG. By summer 1989, the Group was ready to begin drafting a document.⁷⁴ Stephen Lewis, the former leader of the Ontario New Democratic Party, spoke positively about their work at OLA's annual convention. Finally, in springtime 1990, a preliminary plan was distributed for comments.⁷⁵ In the Ontario Legislature, a colleague congratulated Christine

Hart, the new MCC minister from York East (Toronto) who had assumed control in August 1989:

In 1985 our librarians gathered at a futures symposium, Libraries 2000. They were warned that our society would be split into two classes: the information rich and the information poor.

So hundreds of librarians and trustees have worked on a draft Ontario public library strategic plan that will bring Ontario fully into the information age with all principles intact: the right to information, equity of service throughout the province and the right to intellectual freedom. The draft plan will be released simultaneously at 21 libraries across the province on Saturday 7 April.⁷⁶

Good news was always welcome at Queen's Park when an election was in the air. The strategic planning process was not insulated from political winds. In an unforeseen turn of events, the Liberal party led by David Peterson was devastated in a September election after five years in power. The New Democratic Party won a surprise majority, thereby projecting an uncertain political future. After public hearings, the SPG prepared a final document, *One Place to Look*, in time for the November 1990 OLA Toronto conference.

At OLA's 1990 convention there was some optimism about striking new friendships at the Legislature. The new MCC minister was Rosario Marchese, a former teacher, Toronto school trustee, and TPL board member. Three other new NDP members were also familiar with libraries: Karen Haslam (Perth) had been a teacher and librarian; Gary Wilson (Kingston and the Islands) had worked as a library technician; and Christel Haeck (St. Catharines-Brock) also was a librarian. The new Minister quickly accepted the strategic plan, and the Premier, Bob Rae, addressed the Association in November. He offered praise mixed with advice.

'Libraries succeed very well, frankly, with the sort of middle class and young people who use libraries, who always use libraries.

But not enough people use libraries. Unless we use this incredible resource, this history, this tradition to reach out and change the image, the impression that libraries are only for certain kinds of people ... then there will remain a sort of genteel poverty about the (library) system.'⁷⁷

Few strategic planners would opt for genteel poverty. Plans were already underway at OLA to form a consensus and then implement as many SPG recommendations as possible.

This shift in political fortunes came when North America entered a major recession that ravaged Ontario's manufacturing sector between 1990-92.

Government revenue shrank; consequently, hard choices were made to recover. Already newspapers and magazines were predicting the recession would be as severe as the slump of 1981-82. The Ontario Treasurer, Floyd Laughren, announced an anti-recession government program to stimulate the economy. The OLA began to experience financial problems. For several years it had operated three annual conferences: “Ideashop” for schools, “Winterbreak” for colleges and universities, and the annual general conference in the autumn where public library themes predominated. Sustaining three conferences proved to be difficult when membership dipped after peaking at more than 4,000 in 1991.

Several themes in *One Place to Look* were familiar. Prose about “access to the right information, at the right time” harked back to the ‘modern public library’ concept that George Locke, Mary Black, and William Carson had promoted seventy years before. The cornerstones for purposeful progress would be 1) equitable access to information; 2) helping people find the right information; 3) provision of materials for pleasure and relaxation; 4) free access to ideas and resources; and 5) the library as a lifelong educational agency (p. 13). To achieve these library purposes, the SPG identified goals, each with basic objectives and recommendations. It was a plan with a purpose and ways and means to get there, a collaborative approach that would give all participants a common purpose and direction. Its four fundamental goals were:

1. every Ontarian will have access to the information resources within the province through an integrated system of partnerships among all types of information providers;
2. every Ontarian will receive public library service that is accurate, timely, and responsive to individual and community needs;
3. every Ontarian will receive public library service that meets recognized levels of excellence, from trained and service-oriented staff, governed by responsible trustees;
4. every Ontarian will have access to the resources and services of all public libraries without barriers or charges.

Many librarians had long sought to achieve these kinds of goals.

Detailed, measurable objectives were the key to the entire strategic planning process because they linked goals with purpose. There were twenty grouped around several major concerns:

- development of an information policy and strategy for Ontario;
- an integrated, province-wide public library information network;
- promotion of effective units of service;
- effective, electronic access to all collections in the province-wide network;
- a program to preserve printed and electronic information;

- programs to encourage innovation and removal of barriers to service;
- an education program for trustees to provide leadership;
- development of staff expertise;
- removal of barriers to service due to “race, ancestry, place of origin, colour, ethnic origin, citizenship, creed, sex, sexual orientation, age, marital status, family status, or handicap”;
- equity of access to service for all Ontarians, regardless of geography;
- public library service and access to the provincial network for all Ontarians without charge;
- funding to support the integrated, province-wide public library information network.

One Place to Look was a progressive vision that sought to situate libraries on “the crest of the information wave” sweeping the globe. If the business of information would drive the future, libraries could not ignore the SPG recommendations.⁷⁸

On the funding side, for a time, it appeared that revenues and expenditures, which had trended up since the mid-1970s, might sustain the SPG’s provincial plans; however, this was not to be the case. Initially, after the Ontario government’s decision to fight the recession by spending more to maintain employment, Rosario Marchese announced in March 1991 that MCC funding for libraries would not be cut and that money for Indian bands and libraries would be increased. As well, some municipal councils did not immediately reduce transfers to library boards. But, as government revenue levelled off in the early 1990s due to the recession, per capital library revenue peaked in 1992 and remained “flat” for another three years into the provincial election of summer 1995. At the same time, some library services continued to grow. Reference transactions peaked in 1994, and the total circulation of all library materials peaked in 1995. Income sources for libraries peaked in different years; 1988 represented the highpoint for provincial transfers, and municipal revenue peaked in 1992 (See Table 19: Ontario Public Library Finance and Performance, 1985–1995). Because revenue was stagnant, library boards and CEOs seriously investigated other sources, such as user fees.

The road ahead for the 1990s was now clearly delineated by the SPG. *One Place to Look* required two key structures for successful implementation: first, a central office to coordinate and manage an integrated provincial network; second, a Strategic Planning Council with representation from all library organizations to advise and recommend policy to the coordinating body based on an agreement in the broader community. There was a mild expectation that the LCIB, now headed by Barbara Clubb, might evolve as a central library agency. However, the branch’s activities often were absorbed by provincial policies such as pay equity, household grants for libraries, programs for capital

construction and other special grants, and annual statistical reports. Successive governments—Progressive Conservative, Liberal, or New Democrat—had been unenthusiastic about establishing a central coordinating body to provide provincial administration for library services. The two OLS agencies were a means, not an agency, to carry out planning and activities across the province.

The MCC regarded its role as a supportive one, i.e. assistance to access resources and to reduce inequities. Further, the ministry underwent a continual change from 1991-1993 and lacked steady leadership. When Rosario Marchese was dropped from cabinet, Karen Haslam was promoted as Minister on 31 July 1991. Subsequently, on 3 February 1993, she was replaced by Anne Swarbrick, who served in cabinet as the new Minister of Culture, Tourism and Recreation (MCTR). The NDP government was struggling to keep its expenditures in check by restructuring; as a result, the former Ministry of Tourism and Recreation amalgamated with the Culture Division of the former Ministry of Culture and Communications. This change, too, was transitory. By mid-1995, the MCTR's Culture and Recreation Division was combined with the former Ministry of Citizenship to form the Ministry of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation (MCZCR).

In this period of cabinet shuffles and ministry realignments, there were few opportunities to advance libraries as a priority or expand the LCIB's role. The ministry had to traverse old territory and restate its long-standing policy of support for library boards if there was no local or regional consensus about governance. Because Mississauga had spent \$43 million on a central library and provided ample funding for staffing, the mayor, councillors, and most library trustees felt the city should have more control. Mississauga council requested the MCC to set more specific criteria by which it would not oppose a special bill giving direct control to a council. In effect, Mississauga tried to lay the onus on the ministry rather than on its own efforts to achieve local consensus. The Minister's office replied with several points in January 1992.⁷⁹ Mississauga persisted, however, and met with Karen Haslam and later Anne Swarbrick before it brought forward a private member's bill, "An Act Respecting the City of Mississauga," in June 1993 to establish a committee of council. The Ontario Library Trustees' Association made a strong case against the bill at hearings in April 1994. The Ministry issued a statement opposing the bill because the city had not received approval from CUPE Local 1989, and the library board had withdrawn its support after a close vote. The bill died shortly afterward. One of the largest municipalities in Ontario, led by the charismatic mayor, Hazel McCallion, was rebuffed in its lengthy, concerted effort to replace citizen-based boards.⁸⁰

Board status continued to be the norm for librarians and trustees who

preferred to establish strong trustee-CEO working relationships locally and to invest in educational programs through the OLA. The province's boards had established political roots through a tradition of public governance based on voluntarism and community service. Transference of library control to committees of council could be a thorny issue in localities where council and special purpose bodies exercised varying degrees of power and influence. Municipal councillors were not always unanimous in their support for the abolition of boards. An Ontario Public Library Week focus group study of municipal councillors confirmed support for the continuance of boards among municipal councils that normally held libraries in high regard.⁸¹

For strategic planners, the lack of government continuity plus the absence of a coordinating body at the provincial level was a major impediment. One promising development was formation by late 1992 of an Ontario Public Libraries Strategic Directions Council (SDC) that began working on marketing, telecommunications, and revision of the strategic plan. This group consisted of representatives from all library sectors: small, medium, county, and large libraries; the OLS and LCIB; Metro Library; CUPE; Francophone library members; and the OLA. At the outset, the LCIB provided secretarial support for the SDC. Of course, within the MCC, a wider view was necessary, so it employed a dual approach for library development. As a practical consideration, additional project money for a second-generation network, INFO, the Information Network for Ontario, was put into place in 1992 to create a provincial database for distribution on CD-ROMs. The database of the holdings of Ontario's public libraries would include millions of titles.⁸² INFO could then connect with a regional high-speed network, ONet, to become part of a larger publicly accessible enterprise.

On a more elaborate scale, the MCC established a provincial Task Force, chaired by Don Tapscott, to prepare an Ontario communications strategy and action plan. Its report, issued in August 1992, dealt broadly with economic growth and employment, telecommunications, and the information industries. More than a hundred members evolved a vision of communications that would make Ontario (and Canada) "the best place in the world to live, work, learn and do business," a mantra for future mission statements. As part of the general strategy, the report recommended an Ontario information policy, one that essentially followed the policy framework elaborated earlier by OLA's Task Force on Information Policy.⁸³ OLA's thrust was to ensure that the government acknowledged that technology served people and communities.

The OLA emerged as the biggest booster of library strategic planning. To interest small libraries under 10,000 that had been mostly unable to participate in strategic planning, OLA's conferences in 1991 and 1992 featured "The

Hometown Library” mini-conference sessions for trustees and staff. It was an opportunity to talk with peers, discuss better standards, and meet partners for cooperative projects. At OLA’s 1991 conference in Hamilton, a new division, the Ontario Library and Information Technology Association (OLITA), was created to address the impact of the Information Society. While there was skepticism that this was an entirely new society, there was no doubt that libraries were dealing with a media-saturated universe of information delivered from all parts of the globe by increasingly sophisticated international networks and information technologies. The impact on library occupations and the implications of the economic value of information were unfolding in many ways. Technology had uncomfortable aspects, as a 1992 University of Toronto conference revealed. There was a fear that technology was leading to a “deskilling” of librarians by a transfer of professional assistance through direct public contact to managerial and systems planning, positions where there were fewer women despite a continuing female-intensive profession (more than 80% of Canadian librarians in the 1991 census). Some worried that reductions in public service levels could be used to accelerate computer-related budget purchases or that systemic prejudice undermined the potential progress for a “female style” profession to develop satisfactorily.⁸⁴

To raise information awareness and promote the progress of *One Place to Look*, the OLA, especially OLITA, began to promote interdisciplinary exchanges, research, standards, monitoring of new technologies, and development of models for library systems and networks. In 1992, it joined with the ALA to sponsor a series of meetings and symposia on international technology, “Ten Days to 2000,” which heightened consciousness about networking, the Information Highway or the Internet. In the following year, OLA formed the Coalition for Public Information with representatives outside libraries as a voice for public participation in the emerging telecommunications/information field.⁸⁵ Partnerships like the Coalition, which was incorporated in 1996, represented one of the objectives that the Strategic Planning Group had recommended to broaden the base of action on important issues. Slowly, the strategic planning process was progressing despite challenging economic conditions.⁸⁶

Throughout the early 1990s, Ontario’s manufacturing sector was wracked by unemployment. As revenues plummeted and social assistance costs escalated, the provincial deficit reached \$12 billion. The government introduced expenditure control plans culminating in the Social Contract of 1993. To save public sector jobs this scheme forced bargaining groups in the “MUSH Sector” (Municipalities, Universities, School Boards, and Hospitals) to negotiate wage freezes and mandatory unpaid days of leave for people

making more than \$30,000. Libraries were immediately affected. Total expenditures on salaries and total staff remained constant for three years: \$24.5 million (6,809 staff) in 1992 to \$24.9 million (6,351 staff) in 1995. Ottawa's discontented employees decided to unionize through the Canadian Union of Public Employees and began the process of seeking a first contract.⁸⁷ Nor did OLA escape: the Association's ranks shrank dramatically by a thousand, a significant annual loss. The Association's debt escalated after its joint Niagara Falls conference with the New York State Library Association in early November 1993 fell far short of expected registration for the theme "The Information Bridge: Access, Education and Empowerment."

The effects of the recession hampered OLA's ability to promote libraries at a crucial time. When a Provincial-Municipal Task Force examined how public sector payrolls might be trimmed, the SDC led the defence of free service and independent library boards.⁸⁸ Most Ontario libraries looked to reductions in hours and collections, retirement programs, or maintenance costs to find Social Contract savings. The public sector realignment exposed librarianship to the rationalization of work and technological expertise in an increasing unionized workplace as well as magnifying its weaker form of multiple professional associations and tiered governance.⁸⁹ At the national level, CLA was coping with declining membership and finances. Public librarianship was not thriving: proportionally, there were slightly more librarians working in Ontario in 1955 than in 1995. Staffing levels for librarians and technicians had moderated after the Programme Review in the early 1980s, and there was little flexibility in personnel budgets (Table 20: Public Library Positions in Ontario). But there were always anomalies to cutback management. TPL's travails with cutbacks were atypical. In 1993, TPL escaped extensive cutbacks to its services, including children's services, due to public pressure on municipal councillors.⁹⁰ Some people, like the author Judith Merrill, the founder of TPL's famous Spaced Out Library in the early 1970s (renamed The Merrill Science Fiction, Speculation and Fantasy Collection in 1990), were alarmed by the perceived erosion of service. She wrote, "In 1991, the full-time staff in Toronto Public Library's (TPL) 33 branches numbered about 400. It has now been cut (by attrition, they will assure you, not layoffs) to 326."⁹¹ Even armed with public support, TPL continued its struggle to achieve its Social Contract obligations.

Vociferous opposition to decreases in TPL's children's service erupted again in fall 1995 when it became public that children's librarians and services were being reduced or eliminated. The columnist Michele Landsberg wrote:

We are about to undo, here in Toronto, one of the finest children's library services in the world. For many of us who

grew up without advantages, the public library was our ace in the hole, our democratic door to a world of the mind. Today, anti-intellectualism prevails, and with it, an attitude of mindless dismissal toward all that made TPL so valuable and distinctive.

Parents who care, and readers who owe their intellectual life to the Miss St. Johns and Miss O'Briens of this world, must rally now. We must press the public library board, hard, for a public accounting. The children's library service is not theirs to destroy. It is ours, damn it, and it's almost dead.⁹²

Paring children's costs to implement a technological strategy ran into a storm of protest: by December, the library board had reversed its position and decided to set up a children's advisory committee.⁹³ Soon, Toronto residents would be worried about branch closures: in 1995, the City Hall branch, which opened in 1965, was slated for closure, despite complaints by residents and councillors. An action group quickly formed to oppose this new measure.

A City Hall branch users' group was formed in May when city councillor Dan Leckie called meetings to alert his constituency to the impending closing. The active group has since had several meetings with the library board, with city council and its executive committee, and with the mayor's office. The group also lobbies the public, which, because of a ban on notices of the closing, has been largely uninformed of the proceedings.⁹⁴

In this case, the branch remained open after 1995 with decreased space, personnel, and reduced hours even as immediate expectations for securing revenue from its former space as a restaurant went awry.⁹⁵ But information technology (IT) could not be resisted by TPL's library administrators in the emerging digital culture of the early 1990s. IT had become essential in library operations.

The Information Highway

A worldwide "network of networks," the Information Highway, came into prominence in the early 1990s. *One Place to Look*, conceived shortly before the Internet's rapid development, had talked about regional library clusters becoming part of a larger "information grid." Some Ontario library groupings were already in existence: "Halinet" (Burlington, Halton Hills, Milton, and Oakville), "Multicat" (Toronto area libraries); and the "Ontario Library Consortium" (15 counties and one municipal library, Owen Sound) which

became a particular example of this thinking about networking and use of email, digital resources, catalogues, and databases to enhance services.⁹⁶ These clusters could facilitate sharing and serve as test sites for potential internet connectivity. The era of minicomputer vendor-library development was ending as vendors switched to UNIX-based computer operating systems and SQL (Structured Query Language) for integrated automation purposes.⁹⁷ After 1993, the Information Highway revolutionized global high-speed communications systems. It included computer networks, electronic mail and data, fibre-optic cable television systems, the World Wide Web, Gopher searching, newsgroups, bulletin board systems, relay chat, and many other interactive features. The 1993 release of "Mosaic," a graphical user interface web browser created by Netscape Communications Corp., transformed the way the Internet was used. Now it was possible for consumers at home to dial-up access using telephone modems and easily view or interact with multimedia resources on "the Web." In Canada, the Canadian Advanced Network and Research for Industry and Education, founded in 1993, provided the national infrastructure for networking. The federal government, like its American counterpart, was vitally interested in the development of information technology. In 1993, Industry Canada began funding for "SchoolNet," a program to connect schools and classrooms to the Internet with learning and resource services. Ontario's Royal Commission on Education report, *For the Love of Learning* (1993), picked up on the IT approach but left specific proposals on public library-school library cooperation in abeyance.⁹⁸

Three years later, a similar program, "LibraryNet," which operated as part of the "Schoolnet" family of services, was initiated for linkage of all public libraries to the Internet. These were collaborative ventures with provincial governments, schools, libraries, and corporations. To extend its role further, the federal government established its Community Access Program (CAP) for rural Canadians without access to the Internet and launched a broad policy, "Connecting Canadians," in 1994-95. One of the aims of these programs was to eliminate a "digital divide" in Canada by permitting rural access to government services, encouraging online learning, and fostering an infrastructure to allow community-based groups to develop in virtual space. It was ambitious planning, but eventually, by 2000, more than 18,000 schools and libraries were on the Internet. A 2001 survey measured the success of the program for smaller libraries in Canadian county and regional systems: 93% of the respondents (64) reported at least some part of their system connected to "the Net;" five others were in the process of connecting.⁹⁹ Typically, during this transition, a public library would first connect to the Internet through program-sponsored computers and eventually launch its website. Linkages

were crucial, but the creation and provision of content by libraries was an important stage of development. It was exciting but ultimately rewarding for libraries to be a segment of the Information Highway, which some touted as an electronic replacement for local libraries.

Ottawa Public Library became the first public library in Canada to offer its catalogue via a regional network in 1993.¹⁰⁰ It set up three terminals at its central library for people to access the Ottawa area National Capital FreeNet. Three years later, Ottawa unveiled its website and installed resources and access stations in three branches with a \$400,000 boost from Bill Gates' "Libraries Online" program. TPL also received funding for computer centres at Parkdale, Riverdale, and the Lillian Smith branches from the same program, which donated cash and grants in kind for hardware, software, internet hook-up, and staff training.¹⁰¹ To develop a general response to the new electronic environment, OLA created an initiative in November 1993 for information professionals and librarians, Canada's Coalition for Public Information. Its goal was to serve the public interest by providing a voice about internet costs, universal access, and advocating for information to be freely available. The Coalition issued two publications in 1995, *Canada's Public Libraries and the Information Highway* and *Future-Knowledge: The Report*.

With input by Stan Skrzyszewski, former OLA President 1990-91, the two major reports presented a national vision of the Information Highway that would not be dominated by market concerns. After a series of public hearings across the country from September 1994 to March 1995, *Future-Knowledge* advocated a national information access plan, universal access, freedom of expression and right to privacy, protection of intellectual property, and training for employment and quality of work issues. *Canada's Public Libraries* outlined library networking in Canada and looked at costs for a networked library infrastructure. Information highway connectivity, FreeNet access, and other costs were discussed as well as content provision in national information policy, network standards, security, and the role of the federal government and National Library. It closed with recommendations to ensure public libraries became Information Highway access points.¹⁰² With OLA in financial distress, the Coalition formally left the Association to work independently. Although it brought a non-market related agenda to federal policy, its small membership and limited resources left it on the periphery of government officialdom and the private sector.¹⁰³

The Information Highway offered vast quantities of information (and misinformation) that dwarfed local, provincial, even national library resources. Marshall McLuhan had foreseen a more interconnected world in his *Gutenberg Galaxy*, "The new electronic interdependence recreates the world

in the image of a global village” without recommending a coping strategy. The sheer increase in the quantity of information movement offered a challenge to Ontario’s strategic library planners as well. Were libraries well positioned to cope with the challenge of information provision as they had been in the era of radio and television? Because print centrality was lessened in a digital environment, with every passing year it would become more important to identify and evaluate electronic forms of information to provide meaningful, balanced collections. Selection was a process that libraries and librarians had been engaged in for decades. And from a client standpoint, there were still many articulate advocates for books and print knowledge who would remain library users.¹⁰⁴

Library proponents argued that a range of responses was available for libraries to survive and thrive in the new information world at a joint OLA-New York Library Association conference held at Niagara Falls in November 1993.¹⁰⁵ Most libraries were accustomed to managing information technology. They were emphasizing new roles in their public areas, including children’s services. Computer workstations were now public resources for word processing, e-mail functions, electronic newsgroups, CD-ROMs, and worldwide Internet access. With proper assistance for users, the public library could remain a learning centre where many different electronic subscriptions could be utilized. Newspaper stories or magazine articles could be downloaded to disk or printed at workstations on demand using software programs, thereby shifting the library focus from the storage of on-site materials to immediate service demand. This transition entailed difficult budgetary decisions. In Ontario’s climate of restraint and cutback in the mid-1990s, it could mean the reallocation of dwindling budgetary resources.

The Strategic Directions Council and many administrators realized that utilizing information technology was essential to achieve their goals. Provincial resource sharing could be developed in many ways. Collaborative work with library and non-library partners using federal, provincial, municipal, or corporate grants for communications infrastructure could create a valuable network environment. Promoting public values to guide Canadian internet activities through government support for telecommunications systems and expansion of services to include more digital content and related interactive public assistance were library strengths. Perhaps the hardest part, marketing this concept to taxpayers and governing bodies, was also essential. The SDC had a realistic vision based on a dynamic decade of library experience with automation since the 1980s. Providing educational and recreational resources via electronic means to make them more accessible was a fundamental starting point in explaining the roles of libraries. Providing the “right information, at

the right time” to persons was an attractive slogan. The growth of internet technology presented library planners a chance to enlarge the library’s role with new groups and audiences that were in the process of interconnection, for example, electronic mail groups and dial-up bulletin boards. It was an opportunity, a logistical possibility, to position the library firmly in the mainstream of information provision. “Think Globally, Act Locally” was an appealing concept for many public librarians and trustees, but finding ways and means to achieve the rhetoric required working with many unfamiliar organizations that were unaccustomed to library philosophy and practices. With this in mind, the SDC included electronic resources as well as internet provision when it issued its standardized services for small, medium, and county libraries in 1997.¹⁰⁶

Formal partnerships and collaboration with other organizations, especially in the communications sector, were touted as the key to success. The development of regional or metropolitan FreeNets that permitted access to the Internet was a good case in point. Across the province, local networks were in a state of development, e.g. Ottawa’s National Capital FreeNet.¹⁰⁷ Toronto was next in line for the establishment of a FreeNet in 1994.

Metro Toronto’s six library boards are expected to be key participants in the Toronto plan, setting up terminals in many of the city’s more than 90 branches. Terminals providing access to the freenet will also be placed in community centres, schools, and hotels. To use the system, patrons will need to obtain an ID and password from their local library, and have access to a modem, computer, and communications software—either through the library, at the workplace, or at home. Registered members will then receive their own Internet e-mail address, allowing them to send messages virtually anywhere in the world.

In addition, local interests such as The Toronto Star, the Metro Toronto Convention Centre, the Addiction Research Foundation, and all three Toronto universities have expressed interest in providing information on the network, which organizers say could grow to include several hundred groups. ‘There is hardly an organization I can think of that wouldn’t want to be on the network,’ says Toronto Free-Net executive director Rick Broadhead.¹⁰⁸

Sometimes financial advantages could accrue to libraries by partnering. When CLA arranged a model agreement with Clearnet Communications Inc. of Pickering to exchange free high-speed access to the Internet in return for the potential of using the rooftops of 3,500 Canadian public libraries for antenna sites, the deal was heralded as a means to help cash-strapped libraries.¹⁰⁹

However, the goal was primarily to reach as many people as possible: once Toronto's library website was well organized, the library's health reference service struck a deal to have the Scarborough Hospital provide public computer access to the library's consumer health information.¹¹⁰

Another aspect of new technology made it easier for libraries to encourage the concept of end-user empowerment, that is, to link people to information without an intermediary. Second and third-generation circulation and catalogue systems were allowing users to place their own holds, receive e-mail notices, and allow recall and reserve for materials they could access via the Internet.¹¹¹ Permitting users to locate and control their information at their convenience from home or office outside the traditional 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. time-frame was encouraged. The creation of virtual reference libraries with encyclopedias, dictionaries, indexes and abstracts was viewed as the next step in the evolution of reference services. To achieve these goals, librarians needed to impart their skills related to information retrieval because finding information and using new technology often required assistance. Electronic information retrieval in full-text typically involved many difficulties with vocabulary and Boolean logic. Adaptive synthetic voice technology and software installed on special computer workstations allowed blind persons to "surf the web" after a short training period. The Canadian National Institute for the Blind launched VisuNET, a networked library service delivering books in alternate formats by mail or to the user's desktop.¹¹² Computer literacy became a busy library activity requiring the development of new skills and ways to deal with information. One example, Alpha Ontario, assisted by Metro Library, consisted of a computerized catalogue of resource materials accessible through the Web that could be borrowed by applying for an "Alphacard." Alpha Ontario had a database of programs and organizations involved in adult literacy and language training in Ontario as well as a reference and information service available by fax, phone, or e-mail.¹¹³

Throughout the mid-1990s period of the Information Highway, libraries continued to broaden their range of electronic services and public access catalogues. It was not simply a matter of collecting electronic files, CD-ROMs, and e-book collections (e.g. NetLibrary) to circulate or access via computer terminals in the library.¹¹⁴ It was a matter of transitioning to a web-based workstation that seamlessly weaved the generational changes in cataloguing—streamlined workflow, easy exchange of data, uniformity of catalogue records, and conversion from card sets—to advanced Boolean search and hyperlinked screen displays linked to remote catalogues and databases. Collective concepts of "circulation" and "reading" were in flux. Reading remained an important leisure activity: it ranked third behind

watching television and listening to music in a 1991 national survey. Visits to libraries ranked well ahead of theatres, art galleries, museums, or other cultural institutions, and readers' advisory work was being re-energized around pleasurable experience and the identification of popular fiction genres.¹¹⁵ However, reading was evolving: the cultural weight leaned to the use of visual, factual information in a variety of formats and less on reflective or entertaining book-oriented activity. Publishers were transitioning to digital periodicals, and e-books, e.g., Michael Hart's prototypical Project Gutenberg founded in the 1970s, were becoming readily available.¹¹⁶ The 21st-century digital library needed to allow access to a vast range of free or subscription services from global content providers, often without staff as intermediaries. With the rapid increase in the graphical component of the Internet, text, music, and video could speed around the world. How would people access all these resources? One possibility would permit users to login to a library website via computer and query staff directly via chat channels. Alternatively, e-reference on the web could allow patrons to complete a web form, post it in an electronic mailbox, and receive a library response. By the end of the 1990s, the ambitious Collaborative Digital Reference Service, a plan to create an international network of reference service, was eventually expected to operate 24/7.¹¹⁷ This organizational response demonstrated that libraries had a vital role in providing an environment where research, study, and learning could flourish.

The Internet also prompted new complexities involving intellectual freedom. When an Ontario court judge made a publication ban on the Karla Homolka trial in 1993, libraries with internet access to foreign media, which continued to publish information on some aspects of the case, faced the prospect of screening databases or removing access. In this case, most libraries were more concerned with the distribution of print library materials.¹¹⁸ Free access to computer terminals meant that users might allow others to view graphic images or objectionable text. Distribution of obscene materials with undue exploitation of sex, child pornography, and hate speech was a federal criminal offence. Burlington Public Library encountered a situation where a young girl saw an image of a nude woman on an internet workstation. The Burlington trustees sought legal advice, and, eventually, they decided to filter about half the internet terminals and identify workstations for users.¹¹⁹ The library continued to allow children access to all library resources but stationed the filtered terminals closest to children's sections. Filtering programs to block materials deemed offensive and privacy screens became knotty policy issues for boards. In Hanover, a staff member resigned in spring 2000 rather than enforce a library policy to allow internet access but to prohibit access to child pornography and to ask patrons to exit inappropriate sites.¹²⁰ In 1998, OLA

updated its Statement on Intellectual Freedom: “That it is the responsibility of libraries to maintain the right of intellectual freedom and to implement it consistently in the selection of books, periodicals, films, recordings, other materials, and in the provision of access to electronic sources of information, including access to the internet.”¹²¹ In the following years, most libraries sought to maximize users’ right to access and observe due diligence by posting warnings, installing privacy screens, and making judicious use of filtering software on public workstations (e.g. at Ottawa in 2003).¹²²

A long-standing, oft-discussed public relations image problem—getting communities to view libraries in terms of learning—had to be overcome to succeed in the new information-saturated environment. Libraries needed to reimage themselves as learning organizations where services continually change. Too often, people considered the local public library as a recreational resource. Its educational-informational role was secondary or overlooked. The concept of the library as an important institution to improve literacy skills and to help use information in different formats was not original, but it was a ‘hard sell.’ Although books accounted for less than five percent of printed materials published on an annual basis—newspapers and magazines comprised the preponderance of print sources—most space in libraries was allocated to books. The library was perceived to be a book place for good reason, even though audio-visual departments had built impressive collections in different formats after the 1960s. To continue receiving tax funding from municipal and provincial governments, libraries had to prove their worth in a North American society that viewed information distribution to be a commercial activity.

In a sense, it was a corporate approach to information distribution, which caused librarians and trustees to reflect on basic principles. Business terms came into frequent use in this marketing environment: customers replaced users, CEOs replaced chief librarians, and services were dressed up in calculated value-added terminology (e.g., free helpdesk support). “Dividends from the investment in Canadian public libraries are outstanding. Public Libraries provide their communities with many benefits, from traditional social and cultural values, to strong economic values,” reported one study.¹²³ As well, the Ministry began to promote board governance concepts adapted from the non-profit sector, even though some larger boards (e.g., counties) were mostly elected representatives. The “Policy Governance” model advocated by John Carver, who spoke at OLA’s 1991-92-93 conferences, was particularly popular. His model emphasized a narrower policy determination role for trustees in place of the broader library public governance model that also encompassed legislative duties, political structures, and some activity in administration, such as budgeting.¹²⁴ On a provincial scale, recognizing that

the idea of an electronic information center should be integrated with the library's long-standing commitment to literacy and learning, library planners conceived "Network 2000" and promoted its efficiency and economic potential.

The Network 2000 Virtual Library Initiative was a proposal to formalize Ontario's public library information infrastructure to access electronic materials for education and employment needs in a rapidly restructuring international economy. With the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe, the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the end of the Cold War, and economic reforms in China, capitalist practices were spreading to all corners of the globe. Assistance for job seekers and information for businesses, as well as the creation of an information infrastructure for Ontarians to be competitive in a global economy, were now important facets of public library work. Studies indicated that Ontario's medium-sized businesses used libraries successfully.¹²⁵ The underlying philosophy was universal access to resources, utilization of broadband, high-speed, interoperable telecommunications for community information providers, and the provision of widespread public access to internet resources. Partnerships could create content and provide access to digitized government and community content throughout Ontario. It would include training support for all information workers and Ontarians who had not received such training in the workplace or at school, college, university, or other educational training centres. Both provincial and federal governments considered Network 2000 as an apposite part of "Connecting Canadians." Five libraries commenced a pilot project in early 1997: Oakville, Kitchener, Lindsay, Oxford County, and Brantford. The CEO of Kitchener, Peggy Walshe, was enthusiastic about resource sharing:

Walshe said her library would be working on a number of ideas in conjunction with Network 2000. One example was developing and then sharing local databases. 'Say one city is developing a database on local history collections. Another city may want to access that,' she said.

She also said the opportunity to share resources with larger libraries such as the Metro Toronto Reference Library was very beneficial, as well as linking the library to community healthcare resources and schools.¹²⁶

Network 2000, led by Avita Technologies Inc. of Oakville, was a \$4.5 million government initiative with private sector partners: Hewlett-Packard (Canada) Ltd., Microsoft Canada, and Bay Networks [later Nortel].¹²⁷ Network 2000 was part of a provincial network, The Ontario Provincial Network (OPNet), which was projected to expand to the health, education, and social development sectors.

Although the “electronic library” or “library without walls” became a common term to describe the new reality of virtual collections, the internet provision of resources did not slacken local efforts to maintain the physical presence of libraries as places across the province. Throughout the 1990s, libraries continued to occupy main street locations. After 1990, two major urban libraries, Brantford and Barrie, put their Carnegie heritage behind. Brantford moved in January 1992: its new central \$3.3 million library, designed by Moffat Kinoshita Associates Inc., resided on the site of a demolished Woolworth’s store. A cube-shaped tower with a cone-shaped pipe frame adorned its front entrance. The old Carnegie library, with its stylish dome and rotunda, the last in Ontario, later became a centrepiece for Wilfrid Laurier University’s satellite campus in 1999 after extensive renovations. Barrie’s \$7.5 million downtown building on the corner of Worsley and Owen Streets opened in December 1996 with the help of \$1 million from community donations. It was a two-level building with an unusual feature—an outdoor reading garden. The older stylish Beaux-Arts Carnegie building, initially designed by Alfred Chapman, became the MacLaren Art Centre. Conversely, Cambridge decided to retain its Carnegie at Hespeler and significantly expand its floor space in 1992 to accommodate programs and study space.

The library as “a place” had a healthy future infused by many emotional and subjective currents. Thorold’s Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee recognized its Carnegie library, now an attractive senior citizens centre, for its heritage value in 1998. Windsor’s Tudor-Jacobean style Willistead branch library became a popular city special events property after the library divested its responsibilities in 1978.¹²⁸ Campbellford, in Northumberland County, made a \$1.4 million addition in 1995 that enhanced many of its Carnegie features and eventually received a heritage designation.¹²⁹ Through the 1990s, libraries improved access for disabled persons, a feature that a young girl from a town, best known for its statuesque Canada goose, wrote about in an international competition:

‘I live in a town that is very small in the northern part of Ontario. Wawa is an old town and I can’t get into most of the stores and businesses because there are no ramps and there are a lot of stairs going up into the stores. Because I am in a wheelchair, that makes it really hard for me to get into many stores. My favourite place to go in town is the public library because they have two automatic doors that I can open all by myself.’¹³⁰

One reason for moving the venerable Niagara-on-the-Lake library to an entirely new location at the edge of town in 2000 was to improve accessibility for interior convenience and parking.¹³¹ Many new buildings garnered public

attention. In June 1994, the City of Vaughan's suburban Thornhill branch opened, the Bathurst-Clark Resource Library. Erected for \$4.7 million, it could be expanded to house 150,000 items. Natural light and exposed steel were interior features of the one-level library and its restrained exterior blended with its local setting.¹³² In 1997, Cornwall's old 1950s limestone-clad postal building was converted into a new central library for about \$4 million. Adorned with marble touches inside and illuminated by five circular skylights, this economical 50,000 sq. ft. building was reminiscent of earlier Canadian institutional styling.¹³³

New building approaches blended with the legacy concept, especially in Richmond Hill. The town opened a new \$12.5 million four-storey central library near the intersection of Yonge St. and Major Mackenzie Dr. with much fanfare in August 1993. A colonnade at the front entrance, reinforced concrete columns, and windows were features of the 60,000 sq. ft. facility, which held 170,000 books.¹³⁴ In Toronto, TPL consolidated its valuable children's, science fiction, and rare books in a new four-storey library, Lillian H. Smith Branch, designed by Phillip Carter, in October 1995. Its postmodern styling reminded some people of a "fortress" with its four-towered chateau-style and its guardian griffins at the front entrance.¹³⁵ Another architectural conceit appeared on the shores of Georgian Bay in 1995. After the noted architect L.E. Shore died, his foundation provided funds for a \$1.5 million library near his birthplace, Thornbury. Its prominent feature was a central, circular stone story tower resembling a medieval castle keep. The interior featured exposed support roof beams and a fireplace. Town residents embarked on a \$400,000 fundraising effort to stock its shelves.¹³⁶

Library styling in the 1990s was eclectic, a postmodern feature that welcomed differences in values, styles, and identities. Contemporary—or postmodern—society celebrated evolving cultural changes that featured the domination of visual media and electronic communication, that appreciated new identities constructed on gender and ethnicity, and that accepted the reduced role of government but respected "public space." At times, it was an imprecise synthesis of newer ideas about lifestyles, society, and culture. Fittingly, new library buildings often featured community heritage values. Major libraries had designated special rooms and staff for local history collections (sometimes combined with genealogy). This special service provided exceptional research resources used by many people across the province. Even smaller libraries had built up local or regional collections, often with the assistance of federal job creation programs in the 1970s and 80s and local or regional historical societies.¹³⁷ Thus, within new contexts, older services could progress.

Judging the success of libraries in this transformational period brought on by the Internet is a complex process because responses differed greatly by community and region. The CLA and other groups sponsored a Canadian study by Ekos Associates in 1998 to examine public library usage. The survey findings suggest a favourable view of the public library's role on the Internet:

- 69% replied on-site library access to the Internet was appropriate (9% did not);
- 66% replied library training on Internet use was appropriate;
- 69% replied library catalogues/reference material on the Internet was appropriate;
- 65% replied library guidance finding websites was appropriate;
- 60% replied library locally produced Canadian content on the Internet was appropriate;
- 43% replied access to email in libraries was appropriate.¹³⁸

Two years later, more consumer-based findings were published in an Ontario survey for the SDC that was preparing to embark on a new planning exercise. Using an interview process, researchers asked respondents about various future scenarios for libraries. Frequently endorsed scenarios were:

- libraries will play an essential role in training residents to access information through computers (79% likely; 44% very likely);
- most Ontario residents will need the library to help find information where information is available from many sources (72% likely; 35% very likely);
- the library will be the focal point for the community, a safe and comfortable meeting place (71% likely; 35% very likely).

Scenarios deemed likely by a majority of all respondents:

- the library will be a centre for business development providing information for small and home-based businesses (64% likely; 28% very likely);
- the library won't change; it will provide much the same services as it does today (63% likely; 32% very likely);
- the library will be the only place the average Ontario resident can afford to go for information (56% likely; 32% very likely);
- you will go to the library for services you now get at government offices (54% likely; 22% very likely).¹³⁹

Generally, the Ontario survey found that about one-third of internet users said they were making less frequent use of the library, and the same number said the library could help them use the Internet more effectively. Overall, an equal number believed the role of the library would grow as thought it would decrease, and Ontario residents supported positive future directions.

The Ekos and Market Probe research reports were a basis for further work on the “virtual library” or “digital library” of the 21st century. Internet connectivity was in progress; now, the difficult task of populating sites and developing collaborative projects could begin in earnest. The Province funded Toronto’s special role by linking its grant money to TPL’s “Virtual Reference Library” launched in 1999. Toronto added library materials, internet resources, and extended e-mail service to send requests beyond the Metro area. Accessible internet resources, along with library subscriptions to the “deep web,” vastly extended information searching. A major part of the new activity was “Science Net,” a library site to offer students appropriate curriculum resources in an easily retrievable form. The *Toronto Star* donated \$2.5-million to TPL for an expansion of its newspaper reading room and installation of computer terminals and microfilm reader-scanners. This twenty-year plan included an electronic news service and free paper subscriptions to the *Star* for TPL’s branches.¹⁴⁰ In 1997, the federal government funded the Canadian Initiative on Digital Libraries to facilitate the development of digital collections and services.¹⁴¹ Two years later, the Ontario government provided money for ten digital projects worth \$250,000 from its Library Strategic Development Fund.¹⁴² Creating a digital library required building new expertise for an organized collection of resources and services made accessible to users via electronic means to serve virtual communities “surfing the web” or the “blogosphere.” Working in virtual space was very different than dealing with traditional library users who used printed materials. It required knowledgeable professionals and librarians who could collaboratively utilize new information and community technologies to evaluate resources.

When the SDC convened in the late 1990s and again in 2000 to recommence strategic planning on a provincial scale, its depiction of the public library portrayed a different institution from the one that had existed at the time at OLA’s 1976 conference “Towards the Year 2001” or the “Libraries 2000” symposium in 1985. Planning had moved from the theoretical to the practical. Electronic (or digital) library concepts were no longer visionary statements; they were tangible manifestations of what was currently occurring. More than a quarter of the presentations at OLA’s 1999 Super Conference, attended by more than three thousand persons, were devoted to digital technology.¹⁴³ From the perspective of the user, the twenty-first-century public library was an open agency with plentiful resources.

There is a full range of materials in electronic and print format available for my use. These materials cover all areas of my interests from recreational and leisure materials, to those which I need for my studies, for my work, my health

and well-being and that of my family and my community.

I am able to access information and materials without visiting a library and I can do it at any time. I can read electronic books, reference materials, magazines and indexes, special collections and archives from any workstation or device anywhere. My library's virtual doors are always open. My library is available when I am.

Library staff members are available to help me with my information needs. Library staff members are trained and qualified to coach me in effective search techniques, address my questions and select appropriate materials. They will also do the work for me if I prefer. I have a number of options for contacting staff — we can talk in person, by telephone, with assisting devices and by digital means. I can use e-mail or an interactive electronic session. I have convenient access to information experts.¹⁴⁴

It was an enabling philosophy of access advanced by technology. Yet, the language recalled Collingwood's personification of the modern public library service ethic three-quarters of a century earlier.

The Internet's impact on public libraries was far-reaching after the mid-1990s as newer technologies, such as the wireless smartphone, digital videodisk, and streaming media, would continue to revolutionize the way information was distributed and formatted.¹⁴⁵ In many ways, the modern public library concept and librarianship were being transformed by digital library technology.¹⁴⁶ Yet, the SDC reached back in time in its *Building Value Together* to advocate the formation of a single agency, the "Ontario Public Library," as the primary agency to lead public libraries into the future. This organization could provide province-wide licensing of electronic resources, conduct market research, plan consortial purchases, develop partnerships, and provide effective central leadership to harness the collective capacity of the public library community. Ontario's leadership vision recalled the cooperative rhetoric of the "Provincial Library" of the 1950s and collaborative tasks published in *Libraries in Canada* so many years before in the depths of the Great Depression; however, the scale of planning now had moved from the local to the provincial stage, even in major municipal jurisdictions.

Savings and Restructuring, the Megacity, and Bill 109

Efforts to gain a lane on the Information Highway were partly delayed by political events engulfing Ontario. The Ontario election in June 1995 was no less momentous than the August 1943 vote that had established a Progressive-Conservative dynasty. Ontario voters overwhelmingly endorsed the "Common

Sense Revolution” that Conservative leader Mike Harris advocated redressing the recovery of the business sector, a massive budget deficit, and unemployment. The elements of the Conservative plan were balancing the budget and downsizing government to reduce taxes, a familiar neo-liberal agenda. Individual economic responsibility rather than government assistance would be necessary to eliminate Ontario’s \$11.3 million annual deficit. Ontario’s political culture was entirely reshaped after 1995. The realities of less government and needs-based financing became clear to libraries by November 1995 when the first stage of funding cuts arrived:

- library per household grants were reduced by 20% of the 1995/96 base for 1996/97;
- library project grants were reduced by 30% for 1996/97;
- the Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library grant was reduced by 5% for 1996/97;
- the Ontario Library Assn. grant was reduced by 40% for 1996-97;
- the elimination of special project grants for libraries and the OLS.

The reduction by more than twenty percent was dramatic but, in April 1996, additional expenditure reductions were announced for fiscal 1997/98:

- library per household grants were reduced by 20% of the 1996/97 base for 1997/98;
- the Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library grant was reduced by 9.6% for 1997/98;
- First Nations library grants were reduced 20% of the 1995/96 base for 1996/97 and 20% of the 1995/96 base for 1997/98;
- the Ontario Library Service reduction would be 37% over two years: 25.1% for 1996/97 and 11.6% for 1997/98;
- library project grants were reduced by 13.9% for 1997/98;
- the Ontario Library Assn. grant was reduced by 12.1% for 1997-98.

Two years of drastic reductions saw the total provincial transfer to libraries fall from \$35.9 million in 1995 to \$20.2 million in 1997—about the same level enjoyed in the mid-1970s.

These reductions presented a serious challenge: the two OLS boards lost \$2.7 million and promptly eliminated staff positions. SOLS scheduled closings for three of its eight offices in Richmond Hill, Hamilton, and London; disbanded the Joint Fiction Reserve; curtailed training and development; and reduced its marketing services. Another casualty was the LCIB. Barbara Clubb had left to become CEO of Ottawa Public Library in August 1995 shortly before the branch, with its three sub-units, Planning and Operations, Telematics and New Media, and Ontario Library Service, disappeared as a separate entity in December 1995. An era of public library leadership at the

provincial level, stretching back to the Dept. of Education's Public Libraries Branch, from W.O. Carson to Barbara Clubb, had ended. The LCIB was combined with the Cultural Liaison Branch to form the Cultural Partnerships Branch in the new Ministry of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation (the MCZCR formed earlier in the year) under Marilyn Mushinski, representing Scarborough.¹⁴⁷ Its focus became data collection, administering grants, library accessibility, and assistance with public library policy. The new minister spoke to the SDC in September advising, "Clearly, we're facing a year of hard work, and tough decision making."¹⁴⁸ In October, during Public Library Week's "Log.on Ont@rio" theme, the government promoted plans for internet access. As the year ended, municipalities began to announce reductions as well: the Ottawa city council trimmed \$124,500 from the proposed reduced library budget.¹⁴⁹ As the New Year dawned, Ottawa's libraries posted shorter hours of service.

There was more to come in 1996. The government introduced omnibus legislation, Bill 26, *The Savings and Restructuring Act*, in November 1995. Bill 26 was complex and contentious: it allowed municipalities to submit proposals for restructuring to the Minister of Municipal Affairs to make amalgamations, boundary adjustments, and elimination of special-purpose boards easier. It also allowed councils more latitude to charge fees. The OLA (especially OLTA which created a lobbying booklet demonstrating its political clout) forcefully opposed Bill 26 at hearings in December 1995.¹⁵⁰ OLA had adopted a policy on free public library core services at its policy forum earlier in the year for 1) searching knowledge resources, finding information, reading readiness and literacy; 2) learner support service; 3) physical access to public library facilities; and 4) borrowing items deemed to be lendable by a public library, irrespective of material types. It also reminded the government about its two-decade-old policy that boards remain in place unless there was local agreement otherwise.¹⁵¹

When Bill 26 received Royal Assent in January 1996, library boards were exempted from the section on the dissolution of local boards by a new regulation. Although the section on fees for services remained in Bill 26, it did not override Regulation 976 of the Public Libraries Act that stipulated what libraries must provide free. On 10 February, two cabinet ministers, John Snobelen and Marilyn Mushinski, addressed delegates at OLA's Super Conference at the Metro Convention Centre. In 1995, OLA had successfully refashioned its three thematic conferences—"Ideashop," "Winterbreak," and the annual fall conference—into one gathering early in the year to economize and to accommodate more than 2,000 registrants. On the issue of conditional grants, board governance, and user fees, Marilyn Mushinski said she had

received 650 letters and 2,500 signatures on petitions. She had secured an exemption for public library boards to allow an interval for consultation on Bill 26. It was time to revisit core services, user fees, and board governance.¹⁵²

Libraries received a respite from Bill 26, but 1996 was another year of budget wrestling.¹⁵³ In Kingston, the library's budget shrank appreciably. The Metro Reference Library, which had reorganized in 1995 by combining its subject divisions and reducing hours for special collections, closed entirely for two weeks in the fall. In the summer, an Essex County council report recommended the closure of nearly half of its fifteen branches. A predictable public outburst sparked a reconsideration of how libraries were operating as well as a moratorium on Essex's closures. There was more reason for unease later in the fall. In an interview, the Minister said:

No final decision on the shape of the legislation has been made, Marilyn Mushinski said, but some kind of 'freeing up' of the law to let municipalities raise library revenue is on its way.

The options being considered include permitting annual membership dues, fees for all library services, fees for inter-library loans and fees for selected items such as CDs, sources said.

'There is a lot of merit to changing the existing system or the status quo because it really doesn't work,' Mushinski said.¹⁵⁴

It was common knowledge libraries were part of the government's "Who Does What" Task Force that was examining provincial-municipal relationships, especially schools. Its chair, David Crombie, confirmed this speculation on 20 December: he outlined the decision to give municipal councils the right to determine library board governance and to allow charges for "Internet access, photocopying, research, and so on."¹⁵⁵ There was little supporting evidence. The panel did not study whether previous efforts were successful in raising additional revenue; for example, Windsor had little success when it charged a \$30 non-resident fee in surrounding Essex County in the early 1990s.¹⁵⁶

The Crombie panel letter preceded the swift introduction of Bill 109, *The Local Control of Public Libraries Act*, on 20 January 1997. Marilyn Mushinski declared the revamped library act would improve library service and lower costs by giving municipalities the authority to make the best use of library resources.¹⁵⁷ Bill 109 struck at the heart of many traditional public library ideals and practices by introducing measures that accorded with technological developments and the alternative delivery service philosophy inherent in New Public Management ideas adopted in 1996.¹⁵⁸

Boards—section 5

- a public library to be governed by a library board that is a corporation.

Powers and duties of a Board—section 10

- public libraries enabled to link to the province-wide public library network and work in cooperation with other libraries.

Chief Officer, staff, board responsibility—section 11

- removed the process for administrative responsibilities for former board officers, Chief Executive Officer, Secretary, or Treasurer by only specifying the need for a Chief Officer.

Free public access and fees—section 14

- allowed for new regulations to replace Regulation 976 of the *Public Libraries Act*. A new regulation would specify those services for which a fee could not be charged.

Regulations—section 39

- removed provision of provincial oversight on the conditions for payments of grants and circulation of library materials; and the establishment, organization, premises, and rules for public libraries;
- new provincial regulations would govern the establishment, organization and management of a province-wide public network.

Opposition legislature members quickly rejected the government's argument about improving services and clarifying local control by linking the government's library bill to several other bills studied by the "Who Does What" process that was revolutionizing provincial-municipal finance. Rosario Marchese protested that "Removal of that funding from the province means the same system cannot be preserved. The suggestion that there will be more funds from municipal services with the realignment of education to the provincial tax base is not realistic. Everyone knows that."¹⁵⁹

At OLA's third Super Conference on 7 February 1997, the MCZCR outlined the results of its consultation process. The government would guarantee free access to libraries and collections. It would guarantee free borrowing of books and other print material by residents and free borrowing of special format materials for residents with disabilities. Libraries would not necessarily have to charge for other services. Library boards were retained. Under the new framework, municipalities, which already provide, on average, 85% of library funding, would have authority for local library operations; provincial resources would be directed to the provincial networks.¹⁶⁰ At second reading of Bill 109, on 26 February, Tony Silipo (NDP-Dovercourt) spoke to the issue of potential charges for electronic resources:

If we are keeping up with the information revolution, then surely access to that information revolution today needs to

be on a par with access to the traditional information, the traditional information being written publications, books, materials, reviews. Today, if much of that information is available on-line, there is no justification for saying that is something we are now going to charge the public for.¹⁶¹

The rationale for Bill 109, along with its proposals, would become a magnet for criticism.

After second reading, Bill 109 went to the Legislature's Standing Committee on General Government for public hearings in April at Queen's Park, London, Ottawa, and Thunder Bay. There were many briefs—including OLA presentations organized by its executive director, Larry Moore—opposing its substance and advocating a citizen majority on boards, free access to information regardless of format, confidentiality of records, and provincial support for networking.¹⁶² The Liberal opposition, led by Michael Gravelle (Port Arthur), offered criticism on ending the traditional provincial role and the potential creation of underfunded libraries due to the general downloading process of responsibilities. A few cosmetic changes were made that guaranteed board size to be no less than three people when the general government committee reviewed the bill on 15 May and then reported to the legislature on 26 May.¹⁶³ Although the opposition recommended withdrawing Bill 109, the government moved third reading on 9 September after indicating its preference to use a procedure to restrict debate under a time allocation motion and to authorize its approval with a quick vote. Bill 109 was scheduled to come into law on 1 December 1997 or when it received Royal Assent.

There were editorials and news stories in all major newspapers during Bill 109's legislative course mostly decrying its provisions for reductions in free service and provincial transfers. The downloading of various social funding responsibilities from the province to the municipal sector was increasingly regarded as questionable by the public and municipal or school authorities. Provincial school legislation to determine class sizes and to introduce standardized testing, as well as the transfer of municipal education taxes to the Province, led to an unprecedented two-week strike of 125,000 teachers at the end of October. Protesters and critics discredited many government claims. Following the decreases in local library support over four previous years, the Who Does Panel's assertion that \$12 million in library grants was "revenue neutral" because it would be assumed by the municipal sector lacked credibility. Stories about efforts to attract corporate sponsorships—Golden Arches astride library entrances or blatant use of corporate names, Burger King or Nintendo, for designated areas—only added to the belief that the entire process was a "dumbsizing."¹⁶⁴ Then, surprisingly, in a cabinet shuffle on

10 October, Isabel Bassett, a moderate Conservative from Toronto, was appointed as Minister of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation. Shortly afterward, she made a bombshell announcement at OLA's annual Policy Forum in Toronto on 7 November 1997: the government was shelving Bill 109. "There was almost unanimous criticism about certain things in the bill during the hearing stage," and "We looked at it and thought the best way to ensure a good library system was to withdraw the bill."¹⁶⁵

Bill 109's fate was not lamented. The fight to prevent its passage had fatigued many opponents who wanted to get on with regular business and to rebuild relations with the MCZCR. In retrospect, the arguments in Bill 109 for local control by councils, which already had substantial financial control over boards, may have been outweighed by the fact that local authorities would have to assume complete responsibility for local library expenditures. After the provincial downloading of responsibilities for highways, public housing, and a host of other services, there was apprehension about consequent property tax increases. This was a particularly acute problem in rural and northern areas where tax bases were low, and the state of library automation lagged. As well, the province had already achieved its original expenditure reduction targets for libraries over two years, 1996-97. For Network 2000 or other provincial initiatives to succeed, local libraries needed stable funding. If many municipalities chose not to fund libraries adequately, digital initiatives might falter. Provincial support had fallen to \$4.08 per household for urban areas and \$4.80 per household for rural areas by 1998 (First Nation grants were set at \$1.50 per capita) without the immediate prospect for annual increases. Bill 109 was one of the few examples where the philosophy and rhetoric of the "Common Sense Revolution" were checked by opposing views and practical political realities. The public library system had avoided a fundamental redesign of familiar administrative structures and functions. It had escaped complete elimination of provincial conditional grants to local boards and increased dependence on user charges. It had not escaped, however, frozen provincial grants, reductions in services, or jurisdictional changes due to municipal restructuring.

The process of restructuring and simplifying municipal government proceeded through 1997. The most controversial amalgamation was Bill 103, the "Megacity" legislation that consolidated seven Toronto jurisdictions into one unified city. Although overwhelmingly rejected in a non-binding public referendum, the bill passed despite a resourceful opposition filibuster that defied arguments about a "paperless society" by introducing thousands of printed amendments that required oral reading and passage one-by-one in a non-stop legislative sitting. The new City of Toronto would be established on

1 January 1998. A library amalgamation team from the region, TPL, and five other boards worked to plan for an orderly transition in the face of a projected \$5 million combined library deficit. There were, of course, many difficulties: two former boards (York and Etobicoke) were not unionized, all boards had central facilities, and there were four different computer systems for seven area libraries. In summer, the Metro Council unsuccessfully asked the government to provide a specific Toronto exemption to levy extra charges on users.

At the start of 1998, all previous library boards were dissolved and the new city library, the “new TPL,” became one of the largest public library systems in North America. It served more than 2 million people through its 97 branches and a central reference library holding more than 9 million items. TPL’s new CEO, replacing the retiring Frances Schwenger, was North York’s director from 1988-98, Josephine Bryant. The Metro Council finance office anticipated the library would have to trim more than 200 positions from 1998-2001 to meet projected amalgamation budget requirements. Most of the “savings” were to come from positions made redundant during the merger process or from retirement schemes.¹⁶⁶ Against this backdrop, the central reference library continued to be one of the busiest in Canada, a vibrant public space with multifaceted activities recording more than a million entrances per year to use a collection of more than four million items.¹⁶⁷

Beyond the Megacity maelstrom of politics and administrative artifice, other municipal mergers occurred across Ontario that altered the traditional city-county separations that had frustrated library planners since the 1930s. New municipal identities and library jurisdictions were being reformulated as the geography of communities underwent significant realignment (see Table 21: Major Municipal Restructuring and Amalgamations after 1995). Ontario’s municipal restructuring introduced painful reassessments about existing library branches and larger administrative systems: Kingston-Frontenac and Chatham-Kent area were prominent cases in 1998, followed by Ottawa-Nepean-Carleton in 2000.¹⁶⁸ Hamilton’s amalgamation was prolonged after 1996, but finally, on 1 January 2001, the Hamilton Public Library, the libraries in former Wentworth County, and the town of Dundas merged to become the new Hamilton Public Library serving almost 500,000 residents. In the north, the new town of Greenstone would eventually be formed: its library board became responsible for branches at Beardmore, Geraldton, Longlac, and Nakina. In 2001, the City of Greater Sudbury was created by amalgamating the former upper-tier Regional Municipality of Sudbury, all its lower-tier municipalities, and several unincorporated townships to become the largest city in northern Ontario with 155,000 people.

The wave of restructuring produced larger library systems with

transitional problems; but, for some jurisdictions, amalgamation funds were available for libraries. Chatham-Kent's new \$200,000 automated Ameritech-Dynix system was paid from these funds when its ten libraries integrated into one system in 1999.¹⁶⁹ Some former counties without county library boards—Prince Edward, Norfolk, Brant, and Haldimand—reorganized as single-tier municipalities (i.e. governments responsible for all local services to their residents) that retained their previous name but operated unified library administrations. When the former county, Victoria, became the city of Kawartha Lakes by adopting a single-tier structure in 2000, library service was extended to all communities.¹⁷⁰ These changes simplified administration in former county areas and brought many larger towns into unified areas for library service, thereby making the provision of resources more equitable. The “Common Sense Revolution” had a lasting impact on Ontario's government and public services, but paradoxically, for libraries, it did not always mean “leaner” municipal entities or savings. Often, larger units of service and expanded service roles for libraries were determined by these local reviews and by council support in the restructured-amalgamated municipalities.

The Millennium Arrives

Friday evening, 31 December 1999. Across Ontario, people prepare to celebrate the end of the twentieth century and the start of a new millennium. During the daylight hours, satellite technology, the broadcast networks, and thousands of Internet sites carry the major New Year's celebrations live from Sydney, Tokyo, Delhi, Cairo's pyramids, Moscow, and Europe's capitals. By early evening, it is apparent nations in the western hemisphere will not have to cope with the effects of the dreaded Y2K bug. To forestall any potential Year 2000 computer problems, governments and industry had worked tenaciously to reprogram and replace computers that threatened military and security systems, commercial, banking and investment concerns, electrical grids, telecommunications, government services, and even consumer appliances. Nonetheless, in Ottawa and Toronto, federal, provincial, and business officials stay the course of monitoring potential Y2K problems.

In Greater Toronto, as the doors of branch libraries shut and computer screens darken in the early evening, many people dress for a party and prepare to visit friends. About a half-million people ignore the cold weather and begin to move toward the Lake Ontario waterfront along Queen's Quay, the CN Tower, and the newly opened Air Canada Centre at the foot of Bay Street. Toronto's exuberant Megacity Mayor, Mel Lastman, and the energetic television station CITY-TV orchestrate merrymaking worthy of a world-class

city. After hours of skating, partying, and listening to band performances, the celebration, billed as the biggest New Year's Eve party in Canadian history, begins at the stroke of midnight. Fireworks turn the sky into a crackling rainbow of colours, a breathtaking pyrotechnic display broadcast across Canada and the world to the tune of *Thus Spake Zarathustra*. Elsewhere in Ontario, where new community and regional identities are being forged through municipal restructuring—the 416 and 905 telephone area code residents in the conurban crescent stretching from Oshawa - Richmond Hill - Brampton - Burlington to Hamilton; the vanishing rural southerners; and urban-suburban northern residents—late-night revellers in thousands of ballrooms, clubs, community halls, and homes welcome the new millennium in the largest recorded global celebration of all time.

The millennium had arrived. Predictions of doom related to potential Y2K computer problems had passed. Lights would stay on, and computers in libraries powering cataloging and circulation systems would be ready for Monday. The years of preparation by computer consultants, library vendors, and library administrators had succeeded: "it was business as usual."¹⁷¹ The Twenty-first-century journey was beginning on auspicious notes. In Ottawa, the library joined a literacy promotion to give every baby born in the Ottawa Valley in 2000 a bag with literacy materials and a certificate for a free Canadian book. On Highway 11 at Cochrane, north of Timmins, a millennium project was underway for a new \$200,000 library building slated to open later in June 2000. In the southwest, residents in restructured Brant County (1999) and Brantford would benefit from a new reciprocal borrowing arrangement allowing them to use all facilities of both boards without paying extra fees. In London, plans were underway to move from the Elsie Perrin Williams library to a new site at the downtown Galleria Mall to double space capacity.¹⁷² A landmark in Canadian library architecture was reaching the end of its useful service. Across the entire province, plans were in place to expand INFO as a resource-sharing network for almost 300 public libraries with A-G Canada to consolidate more than four million records in a union catalogue.¹⁷³

For younger readers, children's librarians continued placing multiple rush orders for the incredibly popular *Harry Potter* book series as Pottermania swept bare the shelves of libraries and bookstores. It mattered little whether Harry was confronting the stern librarian Irma Prince, guardian of the Hogwart's library, in the *Philosopher's Stone* or being more adventurous in his two newer novels, *Chamber of Secrets* and *Prisoner of Azkaban*. Series books were back in vogue in 1999! Nancy Drew had reappeared in Essex County libraries after Melanie Kotulak, an eleven-year-old from Leamington, protested the library had removed her beloved detective from its shelves. A

short encounter demonstrated Melanie had many supporters: “I never expected something like this could blow up so big’ she said, a copy of *The Secret of the Forgotten City* resting on her lap.” Before long, the library acceded to Melanie’s request for reinstatement of her favourite books.¹⁷⁴ Fictitious characters like Harry Potter, Nancy Drew, and the Hardy Boys were big by any standard, big enough to enjoy a place in libraries.

But what of other challenges? Broader horizons were unfolding. Would funding keep pace with population growth? The dethronement of print culture, the staple of public libraries for so long, seemed to be a given. Would bytes and broadband replace books and buildings? Could libraries maintain a place on the Information Highway where information-hungry finance, communication, and entertainment services escalated efforts for corporate control? Could libraries such as Brantford, which celebrated the launch of its “electric library” in 1999, sustain and grow their services?¹⁷⁵ The shrinking role of public services had become the mantra of government at all levels. Business values, especially outsourcing and privatization, threatened long-standing library principles.¹⁷⁶ However, the public tide seemed to be turning against library fees across Canada and Ontario.¹⁷⁷ For more than a decade, library schools in North America had been closing, merging with other professional programs, changing their emphasis from “library science” to an information-based curriculum, and reducing graduate enrollment. Some critics decried the idea that Canadian librarianship should wholly embrace an “information profession” model that would jettison traditional library functions—collecting, organizing, preserving, and circulating resources.¹⁷⁸ Concerns about diluting librarianship by reducing exchanges with the public or lessening traditional services, such as children’s departments, continued.¹⁷⁹ The erosion of library trustees’ power seemed destined to continue. There were genuine reasons for pessimism, but also some optimism. Library buildings were not being boarded up *en masse*; in fact, new buildings continued to open. More importantly, leadership in library associations and libraries was preparing responses on many fronts.¹⁸⁰ Fittingly, seven decades after its 1927 conference in Toronto, in 1997, the ALA executive board announced a return to Toronto for 2003. This conference, in conjunction with CLA, would attract 17,500 registrants, a vastly greater number than the almost 2,000 attendees in 1927, and reiterate the need for libraries to expand their mandate in an ever more complex environment. It would be the largest library conference ever held in Canada.

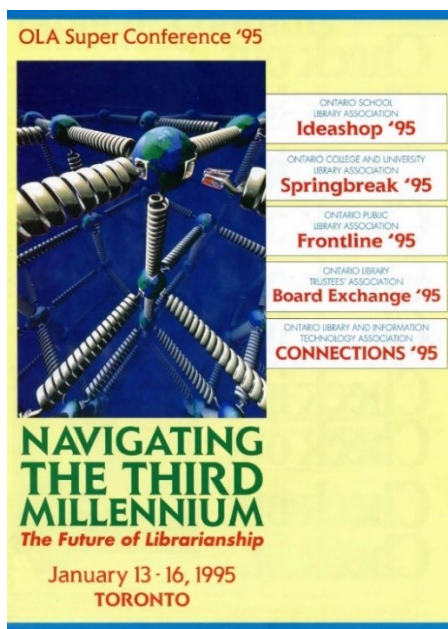
The Strategic Directions Council had released *A Call to Action* discussion paper early in 1996 with several steps to improve services, such as Network 2000 participation and guidelines (a.k.a. standards) for service. Another track, of course, was the vital need for each library to carefully record its social and

economic contribution to its overall community without ignoring the individuality of its members. The “public library” construct would continue its malleable course in relation to communities. Lifelong learning, support for the retail sector and schools, recreational use, and heritage conservation were some of the major beneficial qualities that libraries contributed to community life and personal development. Recognition for local community undertakings and service to a variety of plural groupings by libraries was well established. At the same time, as larger units of service emerged through government restructuring reviews, emphasis on personal contact remained important. Indeed, there was a risk that libraries would spread themselves too thin by overstating social inclusiveness and neglecting the identification of their “core business.” Might their definition of fundamental services be too expansive, too ambitious, too elusive to fulfill adequately?¹⁸¹

Most importantly, the current library work rested on firm foundations. Training for trustees continued in the OLA, SOLS, and OLS-N with less emphasis on orientation and more focus on legal duties, community advocacy, and delegation of management to CEOs.¹⁸² Across the province, many library buildings featured the names of trustees and librarians who had given valuable service to their local communities and Canada—George Locke, Mary Black, Lillian Smith, Albert Campbell, Evelyn Gregory, William Carson, Richard Crouch, Fred de la Fosse, Charles Sanderson, Stanley Beacock, Elsie Dugard, (Geraldton), and Elizabeth Kelly (Almonte). Public library provision of resources for communities of place or identity was an established feature across Ontario’s landscape. At the turn of the century, the public library was well-positioned to continue as an important community agent. The National Librarian, Marianne Scott, opined, “It is not at all clear that access to the Internet will improve access to information without a corresponding improvement in literacy skills. Libraries, on the other hand, represent one of our most effective responses to high rates of illiteracy.”¹⁸³ Their basic stock—books, magazines, and papers—also continued to be profitable private-sector business ventures.

Libraries, despite revenue problems and difficulties positioning their arguments before provincial or federal officials, were reformulating services and gaining a presence in the putative Information Society that theorists described in various ways.¹⁸⁴ Despite its own financial and declining membership, when CLA gathered in Toronto in June 1999, its conference theme, “Facing the Challenge: A Practical Survival Guide,” focused on the development of current topics such as partnerships, re-engineering, fundraising, downsizing, advocacy, and information technology.¹⁸⁵ Because Information Science as a discipline still lacked clarity—its domain spanned

library science, computer science and computer engineering—Ontario universities were stressing ‘information studies’ in their curricula. Their professional graduates possessed new ideas and skills relevant to the proliferation of information communication technologies, personal social media, and community engagement.¹⁸⁶ Now, new technologies were distributing digitized information combining print, voice, video, and graphics for educational and recreational purposes that libraries were readily able to manage, store, and distribute in facilities better designed for public use. When the term ‘Library 2.0’ gained currency shortly after the new millennium commenced, libraries were well-positioned to connect people with information and link individuals to many communities.¹⁸⁷ Librarians, technicians, and staff were prepared to employ user-centred exchanges on social media and facilitate participation in the creation of content or community enabled by the developing technologies of ‘Web 2.0.’ Although ‘Library 2.0’ was technically new and couched in a trendy, contemporaneous vocabulary, its underlying concepts of employing new technology, community participation, and user-centred change were rooted in the experience of previous decades. The new century, like the previous one, would be an occasion for community-based libraries to conceive new ways to reach citizens and to assist them in maximizing their potential.



11. Program cover for the first OLA Super Conference, January 1995, held at the Westin Harbour Castle, Toronto.

CHAPTER 8 NOTES

1. *Libraries 2000, a Futures Symposium; Proceedings Toronto 1985* (Toronto: MCZC, 1985), 9-10.
2. *Libraries 2000*, 26.
3. Libraries and Community Information Branch, *Telecommunications Pilot Project: Evaluation Report* (Toronto: MCZC, Oct. 1986), 71-81. For the sale of UTLAS, see "University of Toronto Sells UTLAS to Thomson Organisation," *Quill & Quire* 51 (Feb. 1985): 34.
4. Marianne Scott, "Toward the 21st Century," *Focus (OLA)* 12 (Jan.-Feb. 1986): 22-25.
5. Sheridan Antoniuk, "CPI is Sold," *Felicitier* 32 (Dec. 1986): 1-2.
6. Eric Bow, "Fee v\$ Free," *Focus (OLA)* 13, no. 3 (1988): 27-32.
7. Gina McOuat, "The Library in the Third Wave: The Ebb and Flow," *Focus (OLA)* 12 (Mar.-Apr. 1986): 25-26.
8. Heide Isaacs, "Who Should Have Access to Users' Records," *Focus (OLA)* 9 (Oct. 1983): 13-14. For police use of public library records see Larson C. Brodner, "The Privacy of Library Circulation Records in the Province of Ontario," *Canadian Journal of Information Science* 1 (May 1976): 79-85.
9. Umberto Eco, "What is the Name of the Rose?" *Focus (OLA)* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 10-15.
10. Maureen Cubberley and Stan Skrzyszewski, "Empowering the Individual in the Information Age," *Policy Options* 13 (March 1992): 9-15.
11. William F. Birdsall, "The Ideology of Information Technology," *Queen's Quarterly* 104 (Summer 1997): 287-99.
12. Marianne Scott, "Towards the 21st Century," 22-25.
13. *An Act Respecting the City of Hamilton*, Bill Pr41, 34 Elizabeth II, 1985; *An Act Respecting the County of Elgin*, Bill Pr24, 34 Elizabeth II, 1985; *An Act Respecting the County of Huron*, Bill Pr7, 35 Elizabeth II, 1986; and *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 4 November 1986, 3073.
14. Diane Mittermeyer, "Public Libraries: Boards Don't Make a Difference," *CLJ* 43 (Dec. 1986): 434-35.
15. Lorne and Karen Bruce, *Public Library Boards in Postwar Ontario* (Halifax: Dalhousie University, rev. ed. 2012), 81-94.
16. *Northern Library Services: Project Report* (Toronto: Unisource Management Consulting, 1986), 4-24.
17. Peter Abbott, *Ontario Joint Fiction/Biography Reserve: A Review* (Toronto: MCZC, 1985), 20-21.
18. William French, "Ontario Expands Its Library Residence Program," *Globe and Mail*, 23 June 1987: D5.
19. *The Trent Ontario Library Service Board's Service Goals and Objectives* (Barrie, Ont.: OLS-Trent, 30 Oct. 1986), 8.
20. Jane Horrocks, Penny McKee, and Betty Rowland, "The York Public

Libraries Network: A Unique Model for Co-operative Automation," *CLJ* 43 (Feb. 1986): 31-34.

21. Jane Horrocks and Jill Spurrell, *Report on Minisis Pilot Project, Remote On-Line 16mm Film Searching* (Richmond Hill, Ont: OLS-Trent, 11 Dec. 1986), 21-23.

22. Peter Barnard Associates, *Bruce County Public Library Management Study; Phase Three Report, June 1986*, 1.6 to 1.8.

23. Bonnie Campbell, "OPLIN: The Ontario Public Library Information Network," *CLJ* 45 (Oct. 1988): 277-79.

24. Lederman and Associates Ltd., *Resource Sharing in Ontario: Section 1, TRESNET and OPLIN Print Interloan; Section 2, A/V Booking and Interloan; Section 3, Recommendations* (Toronto: Lederman, Feb. 1988).

25. *Resource Sharing in Ontario: A Report on the Series of Seven Resource Sharing Meetings Held in Ontario Between April and June 1987* (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, Feb. 1988), 2-12.

26. Jean Tague-Sutcliffe, and Martha K. Wolfe, "Philosophies of Interlending in Public Libraries," *Interlending and Document Supply* 16 (Oct. 1988): 129-35.

27. Woods Gordon Management Consultants and Merilees Associates, *Study on Compensation for Province-wide Sharing of Resources* (Toronto: MCC, May 1989), 71-75.

28. Bruce Geddes, comp., *Ontario County Libraries: Survey of Policy and Procedures* (Toronto: MCZC, 1986), 47-56.

29. Bobbie Merilees, "A Survey of the 1986 Canadian Library Systems Marketplace," *CLJ* 44 (June 1987): 135-39.

30. Ronald Baker, "OLC: The Ontario Library Consortium; a Study in Cooperation," *Focus (OLA)* 13, no. 4 (Autumn 1988): 31-33.

31. *Sarnia Lambton Act, 1989*, part XI, sec. 65-67; and *Legislature of Ontario Debates, Standing Committee on Regulations and Private Bills*, 22 June 1994, T-362-63; and *An Act Respecting the County of Lambton*, 43 Elizabeth II, chap. Pr31. Merger plans identified by Canada Consulting Cresap, *Establishing the New Lambton County Library: Final Report* (Toronto: Cresap, 1990), 17-72.

32. Dana Flavelle, "Reference Library Scorns Elitist Image," *Toronto Star*, 23 March 1986: A6.

33. Patrick McNenly, "Library Workers Fear They're Next as Top Job Axes in Reorganization," *Toronto Star*, 18 Sept. 1986: A6.

34. John Bentley Mays, "Restoring Audubon's Masterpiece," *Globe and Mail*, 29 July 1989: C13.

35. Peter Grieg, "A Friends Group: Public Concern and Public Response to Library Difficulties," *Focus (OLA)* 13, no. 4 (Autumn 1988): 13-16.

36. *An Act to Amend the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act*, Bill 209, 36 Elizabeth II, 1987, sec. 5-8.

37. Barbara Tinsley, *Multilanguage Services Study; Final Report* (Toronto: Library and Information Projects, January 1988), 3-34.

38. See Table 4: Stanley Beacock and John Edward Erkkila, *Examination of the Funding of Public Libraries by the Province of Ontario and Municipalities* (London: University of Western Ontario, 1990), 10-13.

39. "Librarians on Literacy Alert," *Quill & Quire* 53 (June 1987): 13; and Sarah Jane Growe, "Tackling an Immense Problem," *Toronto Star*, 21 April 1987: H1.

40. Stan Squires, "Meeting Offers Glimpse of Year 2000," *Feliciter* 33 (June 1987): 3; and *The Electronic Library: Moving to the Year 2000: Proceedings of a Conference* (Toronto: MCC, 1988), 33.

41. Dennis Kucherawy, "Libraries Can Help Change North's Attitude," *Feliciter* 33 (June 1987): 5.

42. Elaine Gaber-Katz and Gladys Watson, *Libraries for Literacy: The 1987 Toronto Public Library Literacy Study* (Toronto: TPL, 1987), 48-125.

43. Grace Scheel, *Libraries and Literacy* (Toronto: MCC, 1989), 63-78.

44. Frank Jones, "Library is Best Take-out Place in Parkdale," *Toronto Star*, 25 Jan. 1984: A2; Carol Toller, "How Rita Tells It: People and Partnerships," *Quill & Quire* 61 (June 1995): 54-55; and Norman G. Kester, "Bringing the World and the Book to the People—Rita Cox Retires from Toronto Public Library," *Feliciter* 41 (Feb. 1995): 26-29.

45. For social capital benefits in another library, see Catherine Johnson and Matthew R. Griffis, "A Place Where Everybody Knows Your Name? Investigating the Relationship between Public Libraries and Social Capital," *Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science* 33 (2009): 159-191.

46. For an executive summary see *Ontario Library Service-South Strategic Plan* (Toronto: Cresap/Barnard, 1987), 1-12.

47. "Ontario Will Hold a Forum on Certification Possibilities," *Feliciter* 32 (Sept. 1986): 2; and Laurey Irving and Gabriele Lundeen, *Excel: A Certificate Programme in Managing a Small Public Library: Stage 1* (Toronto: MCC, May 4, 1988).

48. Larry Eshelman, et. al, *Ontario Library Service-South Proposed Service Strategic Plan (Draft)* (Toronto: OLS, 5 Jan. 1989), appendix 2.

49. Larry Eshelman, *Library Service to the Francophone Community in Ontario: Some Observations and Suggestions* (Toronto: LCIB, 31 March 1988), 12-14; Goss, Gilroy & Associates Ltd., *French Public Libraries Study* (Toronto: MCC, Dec. 1990), 46-56; and Margaret Main, "On Being a Bilingual Public Library," *Focus (OLA)* 13, no. 1 (Jan.-Feb. 1987): 31-32, 42, 44.

50. Southern Ontario Library Service, *Service Is the Key: The Service Plan for the Southern Ontario Library Service, October 1989 to March 1991* (Richmond Hill, Ont?: SOLS, 1990).

51. Rosemary Kavanagh, *Automating Libraries; Strategies for the 1990's* (Toronto: MCC, 1990), 7.

52. *Needs Assessment and Strategic Planning for Public Libraries in Northern Ontario* (Kirkland Lake, Ont.: OLS-North, 1994).

53 Margaret Wilkinson and Bruce Allen, "What Do Our 'Senior

Citizens' Want from Public Libraries?" *CLJ* 47 (March-April 1990): 105-10.

54. Institute of Environmental Research Inc., *A Review of Library Services for Multicultural Populations in the OLS-Trent Area: Final Report* (Willowdale, Ont.: OLS-Trent, May 1988), 15-25.

55. Michael Best, "New Library Hails 'Magic' Embracing North York," *Toronto Star*, 5 June 1987: A6; Phil Jenkins, *Shelf Life: The Short, Full Story of the Nepean Public Library* (Ottawa: Ottawa Public Library, 2005), 39-41; and Mike Funston, "We'll Open on the Day We're Ready, Director Says," *Toronto Star*, Sept. 1991: W2.

56. For Ryan's accomplishments, see "Mississauga's Chief Librarian Retires," *Toronto Star*, 20 Dec. 1988: W14.

57. See Cary Boucock, *In the Grip of Freedom: Law and Modernity in Max Weber* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2000) for the increasing formal rationality of Canadian law.

58. Sean Fine, "Libraries Plan Protest against Proposed Bill," *Globe and Mail*, 17 Nov. 1987: A15; and Donn Downey, "Library Doors Closed as Porn Bill Ridiculed," *Globe*, 11 Dec. 1987: D18. For Fowlie see Donn Downey, "Librarian Fought against Censorship," *Globe*, 14 May 1999: A.23.

59. See Dany Lacombe, *Blue Politics: Pornography and the Law in the Age of Feminism* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1994), 123-32 for the "revolt" of the librarians.

60. Flora MacDonald, "Theft is Theft," *Focus (OLA)* 13, no. 3 (Summer 1988): 20-25.

61. Françoise Hébert, *Photocopying in Canadian Libraries: Report of a National Study* (Ottawa: CLA and ASTED, 1987); and "OLA Takes the Lead: Bill C-60 Amendments Proposed," *Feliciter* 33 (Dec. 1987): 2 and 7.

62. Intellectual Freedom Handbook Committee, *Intellectual Freedom Handbook* (Toronto: OLA, 1990).

63. Les Fowlie, "Freedom to Read in the Nineties," *CLJ* 49 (Feb. 1992): 9-11; Catherine Gildiner, "Banning Books at the Library," *Globe and Mail*, 6 May 1993: A26; "Could Not Get Book," *Globe*, 26 May 1993: A20; and "Field of Dreams Author Beats Ban," *Toronto Star*, Oct. 21, 1993: A3.

64. Joyce MacPhee, "Two Libraries and a Controversial Book," *Feliciter* 42 (Jan. 1996): 32-33 [Burlington and St. Catharines]; "Cambridge Librarian [Greg Hayton] Defends Purchase of Madonna's Sex," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, 26 April 1993: B2; and Ann Curry, "American Psycho: A Collection Management Survey in Canadian Public Libraries," *Library & Information Science Research* 16 (summer 1994): 201-17.

65. Alvin M. Schrader, *Fear of Words: Censorship and the Public Libraries of Canada* (Ottawa: CLA, 1995), 116.

66. See *Inside OLA Supplement on Pay Equity*, no. 1 (Summer 1989); and Roma Harris, *Pay Equity in Predominantly Female Establishments: The Library Sector* (Toronto: Ontario Pay Equity Commission, Sept. 1988), 24-30.

67. Barbara Sibbald, "Renfrew Librarians Get Big Wage Hike in Two-Year Deal," *Ottawa Citizen* [Valley edition], 19 Aug. 1987: D2.

68. Roma M. Harris, "Public Libraries and Municipalities in Ontario: The Impact of Pay Equity," *Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science* 19 (July 1994): 40-57.

69. OLA Government Documents Committee, *Statement of the Ontario Library Association to the Commission on Freedom of Information and Individual Privacy*, Ontario Library Association fonds, F 1195-8, box 12, AO.

70. "Ontario Freedom of Information Act Includes Public Library Boards," *Feliciter* 37 (Feb. 1991): 9.

71. Alvin M. Schrader, "Community Pressures to Censor Gay and Lesbian Materials in the Public Libraries of Canada," in *Liberating Minds: The Stories and Professional Lives of Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Librarians and Their Advocates*, ed. by Norman G. Kester (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., 1997), 149-60.

72. Rosemary Kavanagh, *Automating Libraries*, 27.

73. Margaret Andrewes, "Ontario Libraries Start Strategic Plan Process," *Feliciter* 34 (July-Aug. 1988): 6.

74. For 1985-1990 documentation see, Strategic Planning for Ontario Public Libraries, OLA Special Projects Files, Ontario Library Association fonds, F 1195-10 boxes 30-31, AO.

75. Jami Van Haaften, "Ontario Group Begins Plan," *Feliciter* 35 (July/Aug. 1989): 19; "Strategic Planners Receive Sage Advice," *Feliciter* 36 (Jan. 1990): 5; and "Ontario Strategic Planning Group Sets Goals," *Quill & Quire* 56 (July 1990): 31.

76. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 5 April 1990, 407.

77. Joseph Hall, "Lead Fight for Literacy, Premier Tells Librarians," *Toronto Star*, 26 Nov. 1990: A9.

78. Stan Skrzyszewski, "One Place to Look: A Vision of an Electronic Information Future for Ontario's Public Libraries," *Journal of Interlibrary Loan and Information Supply* 3, no. 4 (1993): 51-61.

79. *Ministry of Culture and Communications Position Statement on Public Library Boards Being Replaced by Committees of Council, January, 1992* (Toronto: MCC, 1992).

80. Legislature of Ontario, Standing Committee on Regulations and Private Bills, *Official Report of Debates*, Bill Pr46, 13 April 1994, T-212 to T-222; and Tom Urbaniak, *Her Worship: Hazel McCallion and the Development of Mississauga* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2009), 152-54.

81. Alexander Cameron, Betsy Cornwell, and Joanne Tate, "Public Library Boards and Chief Librarians: A Creative Balance," *CLJ* 49 (April 1992): 135-39; Diane Mittermeyer, "The Public Library Boards of Trustees versus the Committees of City Council: A Power Game," *Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science* 19 (April 1994): 1-17; and Ursula Benoit, John Slater, and Stan Skrzyszewski, *What Do Municipal Councillors Think About Their Public Libraries?* (N.p.: SOLS?, September 1992), 16-19.

82. "Ontario Funding Package to Expand Library Information

Networks," *Feliciter* 38 (March 1992): 3.

83. Task Force on Information Policy, *A Proposal for an Information Policy for Ontario* (Toronto: OLA, 1992), 11-12; and Advisory Committee on a Telecommunications Strategy for the Province of Ontario, *Telecommunications, Enabling Ontario's Future* (Toronto: MCC, August 1992), 84-85.

84. "University of Toronto Conference Focuses on Librarianship as a Women's Profession," *Feliciter* 38 (May 1992): 2; Roma M. Harris, *Librarianship: The Erosion of a Woman's Profession* (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Pub. Corp., 1992), 121-43; and Jane Aspinall, "Technology's Double Edge: Is a Wired Workplace Emancipating Librarians, or Eliminating Them?" *Quill & Quire* 59 (Feb. 1993): 8-9.

85. "Coalition for Public Information" *InsideOLA* no. 28 (1993): 1.

86. *One Place to Look: Ontario Public Library Strategic Plan, 1990: 3 Years Later* (Toronto: MCTR, 1993), 6-11.

87. Bert Hill, "Uneasy Silence; All Is Not Quiet at the Ottawa Public Library," *Ottawa Citizen*, 24 Feb. 1995: A7.

88. Ontario Strategic Directions Council, "Response to the Report of the Provincial-Municipal Task Force under the Municipal Sector Agreement," 1 Dec. 1994, typescript.

89. Roma Harris and Juris Dilevko, "Bargaining Technological Change in Canadian Libraries," *Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science* 22 (Dec. 1997): 20-36. For challenges to professional claims see Eliot Freidson, *Professionalism, the Third Logic: On the Practice of Knowledge* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2001), 179-96.

90. Scott Anderson, "Cuts Clash: Public Outcry Stops Slated Service Reductions at Toronto Public Library," *Quill & Quire* 60 (Feb. 1994): 10.

91. Judith Merrill, "Public Disservice," *Quill & Quire* 60 (Nov. 1994): 10.

92. Michele Landsberg, "Why Kill Acclaimed Library Service for Children?" *Toronto Star*, 2 Sept. 1995: K1.

93. Jane Aspinall, "Tradition vs Technology: 'Reorganization' of Children's Services a Flashpoint at Once-Pioneering Toronto Public Library," *Quill & Quire* 61 (Nov. 1995): 5, 7; and Michele Landsberg, "Library Friends Score a Victory for Children," *Toronto Star*, 9 Dec. 1995: J1.

94. Jane Aspinall, "Battle to Save Toronto Branch," *Quill & Quire* 61 (Sept. 1995): 19. Also, "Library Closing Speaks Volumes about City Hall," *Globe and Mail*, 10 July 1995: A6; and "Angry Library Patrons Trying to Fight City Hall," *Toronto Star*, 2 Aug. 1995: A 17.

95. Jane Becker, "Library Downsizing Became a Fiasco," *Toronto Star*, 10 July 1997: A23.

96. ASM Advanced Strategic Management Consultants, *The 'Connected' Public Library: A New Vision for the Ontario Library Consortium (OLC)* (Ottawa: ASM, 3 June 1996), 8-15; and "The Power of Partnerships: Library Co-operation and Innovation in Halton," *Feliciter* 40 (Oct. 1994): 49-52.

97. Christopher Brown-Syed, *Parents of Invention: The Development of Library Automation Systems in the Late 20th Century* (Santa Barbara, Calif.:

Libraries Unlimited, 2011), 63-110 discusses this transformation.

98. Successful combined facilities continued: see Norm Damaren, "Facing the Funding Squeeze: A School District/Public Library Partnership," *Computers in Libraries* 17, no. 1 (Jan. 1997): 35-38 [St. Benedict Secondary School and Clemens Mill branch, Cambridge].

99. Ann Curry and Alison Curtis, "Connecting to the Internet: The Challenge for Canada's County and Regional Libraries," *Library & Information Science Research* 22 (2000): 77-103. Federal funding for CAP ended in 2012.

100. "Freenet Plugs Ottawa in," *Ottawa Citizen*, 1 Feb. 1993: 1.

101. Mary Land, "\$1m boost for libraries," *Quill & Quire* 62 (Sept. 1996): 18.

102. Stan Skrzyszewski, *Canada's Public Libraries and the Information Highway* (Toronto: Canada's Coalition for Public Information, 1995) and Stan Skrzyszewski and Maureen Cubberley, *Future-Knowledge: The Report; A Public Policy Framework for the Information Highway* (Toronto: OLA and the Coalition, 3 April 1995). For its OLA origins see Files: Canada's Coalition for Public Information, Ontario Library Association fonds, OLA Special Projects, F 1195-10, box 17, AO.

103. Cheryl Cowan Buchwald, "A Case Study of Canada's Coalition for Public Information in the Information Highway Policy-making Process," *Library & Information Science Research* 22 (2000): 123-44; and Daniel G. Dorner, "The Essential Services Policy Network: Organizational Influence in Canada's Information Highway Policy Development Process," *Library Quarterly* 72 (Jan. 2002): 27-84.

104. Robert Fulford, "The Ideology of the Book," *Queen's Quarterly* 101 (1994): 801-11.

105. Scott Anderson, "Life Is a Highway: Ontario Library Assn. Debates Dilemmas for Libraries Facing Oncoming Electronic Traffic," *Quill & Quire* 60 (Jan. 1994): 20.

106. Strategic Directions Council, *Ontario Public Library Guidelines: A Developmental Tool for Small, Medium and County Libraries* (Sudbury, Ont.: OLS-North, 1997).

107. Barbara Clubb, "Ottawa Public Library: A Window on the World," *Electronic Information Partnerships* 5 (Jan.-March 1997): 16-17.

108. Scott Anderson, "Toronto Next Free-Net City," *Quill & Quire* 60 (April 1994): 9.

109. Mary Land, "Libraries Break New Ground [with Clearnet Communications Inc.]," *Quill & Quire* 63 (June 1997): 23.

110. Isabel J. Askew, "TPL Partners with Local Hospital," *Quill & Quire* 66 (Oct. 2000): 12.

111. Scott Anderson, "Current Demands and Future Promise," *Quill & Quire* 60 (June 1994): 20-21.

112. Rosemary Kavanagh, "The Virtual Library for Blind and Print

Disabled Students," *Education Libraries* 23, no. 1 (1999): 9-11.

113. Thora Gislason, "Alpha Ontario: An Innovative Provincial Literacy Resource," *Feliciter* 42 (Sept. 1996): 24-28.

114. Devin Crawley, "Libraries Experiment with E-book Lending," *Quill & Quire* 66 (June 2000): 18.

115. Ekos Research Associates, *Reading in Canada, 1991* (Ottawa: Communications Canada, 1992), 6-10; and *Linking Artists and Audiences* (Ottawa: Communications Canada, 1989), 44-46. Also, Catherine S. Ross, "Reader on Top: Public Libraries, Pleasure Reading, and Models of Reading," *Library Trends* 57 (Spring 2009): 632-656. Juris Dilevko and Candice Magowan, *Readers' Advisory Service in North American Public Libraries, 1870-2005: A History and Critical Analysis* (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland & Co., 2007) critique the trend to favour entertainment and leisure instead of edifying literature with educational purpose.

116. Michael S. Hart, "Project Gutenberg: Access to Electronic Texts," *Database* 13 (Dec. 1990): 6-9; and Vivienne Monty, "Electronic Journals: Publishing Paradigm," *Feliciter* 42 (Feb. 1996): 56-61.

117. Kathleen Sibley, "Libraries Test E-mail Reference Services: Canada to Participate in Pilot Project for Global Network," *Quill & Quire* 66 (July 2000): 8.

118. "Homolka Publication Ban Raises Questions about Electronic Dissemination," *Feliciter* 40 (Jan. 1994): 28-30.

119. Derek Weiler, "To Filter or not to Filter? Burlington Library Seeks Legal Opinion," *Quill & Quire* 65 (March 1999): 13-14; and Morris-Rose-Ledgett Barristers & Solicitors, *Legal Opinion on Internet Access* (Toronto: OLA, 1998), 15-16 with accompanying documentation.

120. James Grainger, "Library Clerk Resigns Over 'Liberal' Internet Policy," *Quill & Quire* 66 (June 2000): 17.

121. "Ontario Library Association Statement on Intellectual Rights of the Individual," clause 5, typescript, approved at OLA Annual General Meeting, Toronto, 7 November 1998.

122. Gary Deane, "Public Libraries, Pornography, and the Damage Done: A Case Study [Ottawa]," *Library Leadership & Management* 18 (winter 2004): 8-13.

123. Leslie Fitch and Jody Warner, *Dividends: The Value of Public Libraries in Canada* (Toronto: Book and Periodical Council, 1997), 29; and Donald Gutstein, "Are Libraries Abandoning Their Principles?" *Quill & Quire* 66 (Feb. 2000): 19.

124. John Carver, *Boards That Make a Difference* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990).

125. Rod Sawyer, "The Economic and Job Creation Benefits of Ontario Public Libraries," *The Bottom Line: Managing Library Finances* 9, no. 4 (1996): 14-26; and Liwen Vaughan, "The Impact of the Public Library on Business Success: An Analysis Based on Medium-sized Businesses in

Ontario," *Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science* 22 (July 1997): 16-29.

126. Carol Neshevich, "More Than Just Books," *Network World Canada* 8 (3 July 1998): 27; and Dianne Craig, "Virtual Library Created in Ontario—Network 2000," *Feliciter* 43 (June 1997): 34-35.

127. C.K. Tan, "Ontario Virtual Library: New Millennium Library," *The Electronic Library* 17 (June 1999): 139-42.

128. See *City of Windsor Act, 1978 (no. 2)* which retracted the 1921 legal obligation for Walkerville to use Willistead Manor as a public library.

129. Allan Benner, "Library Designated Historic," *St. Catharines Standard*, 15 June 1998: B3; and Elaine Tweedie, "Campbellford Library Receives Heritage Designation," *Campbellford EMC*, 26 June 26 2009: 18.

130. Camilla White, "Wawa Girl Recognized for Letter on Accessibility for Disabled," *Sault Star*, 15 Sept. 1998: B3.

131. John Barber, "Whether 1800 Library Stays or Goes Modern Is Issue," *Globe and Mail*, 29 June 1999: A3.

132. "Suburban Simplicity," *Canadian Architect* 40 (Aug. 1995): 30-31.

133. Bronwen Ledger, "Saving Grace," *Canadian Architect* 42 (Oct. 1997): 30-31; and Jyl MacDougall, "Literal Restoration," *Canadian Interiors* 36 (Mar.-Apr. 1999): 28.

134. Larry W. Richards, "Temple on the Fringe," *Canadian Architect* 39 (Feb. 1994): 14-23.

135. John B. Mays, "Of Griffins and Public Guardians," *Globe and Mail*, 6 Sept. 1995: C1; and Steven Mannell, "Critique: Petrified Futurism," *Canadian Architect* 41 (Sept. 1996): 28-30.

136. Christopher Hume, "Library Was Free, Now Thornbury Has to Fill It," *Toronto Star*, 7 Nov. 1995: C4.

137. Joseph W. Palmer and Lynne Prunskus, *A Guide to Local History Resources in Public Libraries of the Province of Ontario* (Arlington, Virginia: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, 1996).

138. Ekos Research Inc., *Canadians, Public Libraries and the Information Highway: Final Report* (Ottawa: Ekos, 1998), 24-25 with exhibit 3.4.

139. Market Probe Canada, *Ontario Public Library Strategic Plan Research* (Toronto: Market Probe, Nov. 2000), 40-44.

140. Kathleen Scardellato, "Experiences in Developing and Maintaining the Virtual Reference Library at Toronto Public Library," *Program: Electronic Library and Information Systems* 35, no. 2 (2001): 167-80; and John Lorinc, "Toronto Star Gives \$2.5m to Library," *Quill & Quire* 65 (May 1999): 8.

141. Claude Bonnelly, "The Canadian Initiative on Digital Libraries," *New Review of Information Networking* 9, no. 1 (2003): 101-12. The program dissolved in 2007.

142. "The Digitization of Public Library Collections," *Access (OLA)* 5 (Winter 1999): 47; and Emily Atkins, "Let's Get Digital," *Quill & Quire* 65 (June 1999): 22.

143. Derek Weiler, "Internet Dominates OLA Conference," *Quill & Quire* 65 (March 1999): 14.
144. *Building Value Together: A Vision for Change for Ontario Public Libraries: The Discussion Paper* (Toronto: SDC, 2002), 32.
145. For technological responses, see Lorne Bruce, "Building Canadian Electronic Libraries: The Experience in Ontario Public Libraries, 1960-2010," in Ravindra Sharma, ed., *Libraries in the Twenty First Century: An International Perspective* (Munich: De Gruyter Saur, 2012), vol. 1, 91-104.
146. See William Birdsall, "A 'New Deal' for Libraries in the Digital Age?" *Library Trends* 46 (Summer 1997): 52-68.
147. This branch moved again to the newly created Heritage and Libraries Branch from 2000-2007 and then merged into the operations of the Programs and Services Branch of the Ministry of Culture.
148. "Minister's Remarks, September 26, 1995, Strategic Directions Council," Toronto, MCZCR, 1995, typescript.
149. "Booking the Trend," *Ottawa Citizen*, 21 Dec. 1995, A12.
150. OLTA, *Lobbying Plan: A Plan to Maintain Ontario's Library Boards* (Toronto: OLTA, 1996) opposed legislative changes based on "political priorities instead of community and service needs" (p. 2).
151. OLA presentation reported in Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Standing Committee on General Government, *Official Report of Debates*, 22 December 1995, GS-284 to GS-288.
152. "Minister's Remarks, February 10, 1996, [at the] Ontario Library Association Super Conference," typescript.
153. Jeff Outhit, "City Slashes \$200,000 from Library Budget," *Kingston Whig-Standard*, 25 Jan. 1996: 8; Gail Swainson, "Budget Cuts Force Reference Library to Close for 2 Weeks to Cut Costs," *Toronto Star*, 19 Sept. 1996: A2; and Doug Schmidt, "Libraries' Closure Plans Spark Protests," *Windsor Star*, 20 June 1996: B1.
154. "Ontario to Pave Way for Fees," *Toronto Star*, 19 Oct. 1996: A3.
155. David Crombie, chair, *Report of the Who Does What Panel* (Toronto: Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, Dec. 1996), unpagued.
156. Lee Palser, "The Windsor Public Library: Crowded Shelves, Conflicting Philosophies," *Windsor Star*, 4 Aug. 1990: E1, E8.
157. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 20 January, 1997, 1510.
158. See Ontario Management Board of Cabinet, *Alternative Service Delivery Framework* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1996).
159. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 26 February 1997, 7258.
160. "Speaking notes for the Honourable Marilyn Mushinski, Minister of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation, Ontario Library Association 1997 Super Conference, February 7, 1997," typescript.
161. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 26 Feb. 1997, 7251.
162. Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Standing Committee on General Government, *Official Report of Debates*, G-3555 to G-3768.
163. Val Ross, "Budget Cuts Mark End of Chapter in Library History,"

Globe and Mail, 1 March 1997: C2; and Val Ross, "Rural Libraries Fear New Legislation," *Globe*, 24 May 24 1997: C2.

164. Michele Landsberg, "Read it and Weep: Province's Dumb-sizing Hits Library," *Toronto Star*, 3 Nov. 1996: A2; and Doug Saunders, "Corporate Identity to Cover Library," *Globe and Mail*, 23 Oct. 1996: A1.

165. Elizabeth Renzetti, "Librarians Amazed as Ontario Tories Withdraw Bill 109," *Globe and Mail*, 13 Nov. 1997: D5; and "Speaking notes for the Hon. Isabel Bassett, Minister of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation, at the OLA policy forum luncheon, November 7, 1997," typescript.

166. John Lorinc, "Merged Libraries Cut 3%," *Quill & Quire* 64 (June 1998): 20; and John Lorinc, "Amalgamation Brings Major Changes to TPL," *Quill & Quire* 65 (Oct. 1999): 10-11.

167. Gloria J. Leckie and Jeffrey Hopkins, "The Public Place of Central Libraries: Findings from Toronto and Vancouver," *Library Quarterly* 72 (July 2002): 326-72.

168. Marcel Giroux, "Kingston Public Library Joins Frontenac Public Library," *Access (OLA)* 6 (Fall 1999): 15-18; Phil Jenkins, *Shelf Life: The Short, Full Story of the Nepean Public Library* (Ottawa: Ottawa Public Library, 2005), 53-61; and Sally E. Scherer, "Chatham Public Library Joins Kent County Public Library," *Access (OLA)* 6 (Fall 1999): 20-24.

169. Andy Johnston, "Library System Almost Complete," *Chatham Daily News*, 29 July 1999: 1.

170. Linda Kent, "Amalgamation Means More Library Services for Everyone," *Lindsay Daily Post*, 20 Sept. 2001: 3.

171. Derek Weiler, "Libraries Confident about Y2K." *Quill & Quire* 65 (June 1999): 24; and Lynda Goodridge, "'FE [Fort Erie] Library Will Be Ready for Y2K," *Niagara Falls Review*, 11 Dec. 1999: A9.

172. Kate Heartfield, "Library Offers Y2K Babies the Gift of Literacy," *Ottawa Citizen*, 2 Jan. 2000: A18; Ron Grech, "Library Becomes Millennium Project," *Sudbury Star*, 21 Aug. 21 1999: A2; Michael-Allan Marion, "Book Lovers Get Expanded Library Privileges," *Brantford Expositor*, 29 Dec. 29 1999: A6; and Derek Weiler, "An Ontario Library's Unusual New Home [London]," *Quill & Quire* 68 (May 2002): 20.

173 "INFO to Upgrade Resource Sharing Technologies," *Feliciter* 45 (April 1999): 121.

174. Chris Hornsey, "Youth Mysteries Given Reprieve," *Windsor Star*, 27 May 1999: A5. For a defence of series books see Catherine S. Ross, "If They Read Nancy Drew, So What? Series Book Readers Talk Back," *Library & Information Science Research* 17, no. 3 (1995): 201-36.

175. Tim Philp, "Brantford's Electric Library Goes Online," *Brantford Expositor*, 13 March 1999: D7.

176. "Outsourcing Selection at Toronto Public Library Angers Union," *Feliciter* 44 (June 1998): 10; and Mary Land, "Wholesalers Gaining Clout as Libraries Cut Costs: The Outsourcing of Book-Buying Decisions Is Raising

Concerns among Librarians,” *Quill & Quire* 62 (Dec. 1996): 10.

177. Karen Harrison, “Library Fees: Never Say Never?” *Quill & Quire* 61 (May 1995): 13; and Mary Soderstrom, “Libraries Say No to User Fees: Principle of Free Access Gains Ground across Country,” *Quill & Quire* 65 (April 1999): 10.

178. See Richard Apostle and Boris Raymond, *Librarianship and the Information Paradigm* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1997), 1-36.

179. Roma Harris and Victoria Marshall, “Reorganizing Canadian Libraries: A Giant Step Back from the Front,” *Library Trends* 46 (Winter 1998): 564-80.

180. Wil Vanderelst, “An Expanding Future,” *Access (OLA)* 5 (Winter 1999): 8-10.

181. Jane Aspinall, “The Core Question: Public Libraries Debate Place of Community Activities,” *Quill & Quire* 60 (Sept. 1994): 10-11; and *The Library’s Contribution to Your Community: A Resource Manual for Libraries* (Toronto: SOLS, Jan. 1998), 15-21.

182. *Library Trustee Development Program*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Southern Ontario Library Service, c. 2000); and Randee Loucks and Lorraine Williams, *The Ontario Library Trustee’s Handbook*, rev. ed. (Toronto: OLA, 2001).

183. Marianne Scott, “A New Theory of Evolution,” *Quill & Quire* 63 (June 1997): 29.

184. Frank Webster, *Theories of the Information Society*, 4th ed. (London: Routledge, 2014) provides an overview.

185. Larry McCallum, “The Incredible Shrinking Library Association,” *Quill & Quire* 66 (Sept. 2000): 12.

186. “FLIS Launches MIS Degree Program,” *Quill & Quire* 55 (March 1989): 24; Jane Aspinall, “Library Schools: Integrate, but Don’t Disappear,” *Quill & Quire* 60 (Nov. 1994): 4, 10; Jane Aspinall, “University of Toronto Revamps School,” *Quill & Quire* 60 (Sept. 1994): 22-23; and Mary Land, “UWO Library School in Merger [with Journalism and Continuing Education],” *Quill & Quire* 62 (Oct. 1996): 12. Western changed its MLS (dating to 1967) to a Master of Library and Information Science (MLIS) in 1985. In 1995, Toronto’s Master of Information Studies (MIS) replaced both the Master of Library Science (dating to 1950) and the Master of Information Science (MIS) degree begun in 1988. Toronto changed the MIS to the Master of Information (MI) in 2009. The University of Ottawa, which terminated its original library school in 1976, began offering a bilingual program for a Master of Information Studies (MIS) in 2009.

187. For two popular guides, see Michael E. Casey and Laura C. Savastinuk, *Library 2.0: A Guide to Participatory Library Service* (Medford, New Jersey: Information Today, 2007) and Nancy Courtney, ed., *Library 2.0 and Beyond: Innovative Technologies and Tomorrow’s User* (Westport, Conn: Libraries Unlimited, 2007).

ILLUSTRATIONS



12. Official opening of the St. Jacobs Public Library, 2 June 1934



13. April 1939 meeting of OLA, Maritime Library Institute, Quebec Library Assn. and Montreal Special Libraries Assn., Windsor Hotel, Montreal



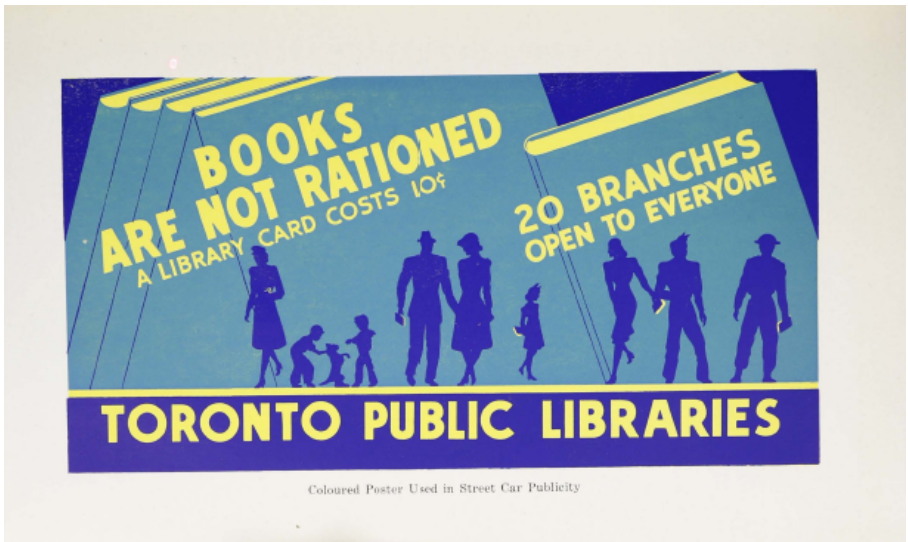
14. Angus McGill Mowat, c.1930



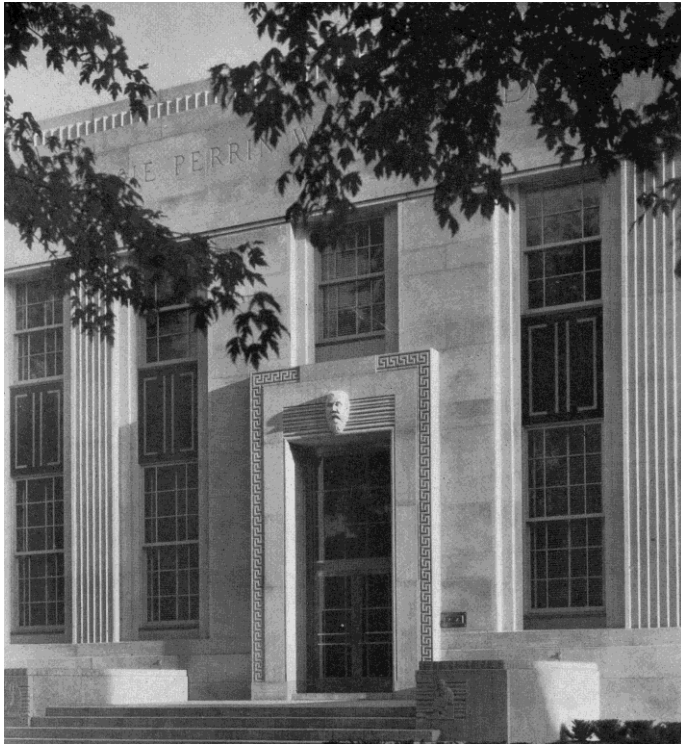
15. Opening day at Kenilworth branch in Hamilton, 15 January 1932



16. Lillian Helena Smith, n.d.



17. Promotional wartime poster used by Toronto Public Library c.1942



18. New London Public Library, c.1942



19. Timmins Public Library children's book club, c.1946



20. CBC radio broadcast of Citizens' Forum held at London Public Library, 1945.



21. Drawing by Alethea Johnston, children's librarian at Kitchener Public Library, for 1955 OLA meeting held at Fern Cottage Resort near Orillia.



22. Miss Huron, the County Co-operative bookmobile, n.d.



23. W. A. "Bill" Roedde and several children reading alongside a bookmobile based at Fort William, c.1958



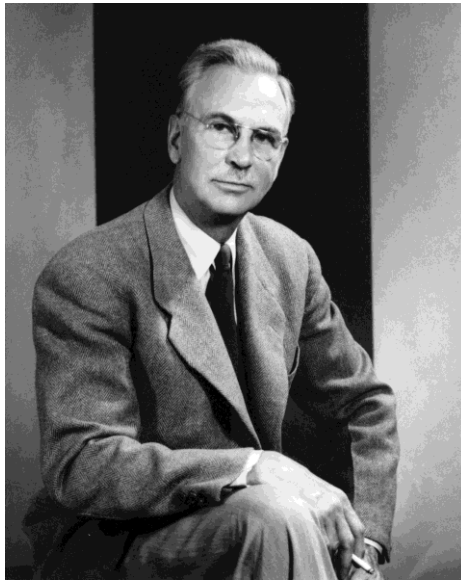
24. Mission Bay Indian Day School students meet the Northwestern Regional Library Co-Operative bookmobile, c.1958



25. Dept. of Education Travelling Libraries display, c.1956



26. New Oshawa Public Library, c.1955



27. Richard Crouch, chief librarian,
London Public Library (1923-61), n.d



28. CLA convention opening at Niagara Falls, 11 June 1956: L to R: Mrs. R. Urquhart; William Graff, OLA President 1955-56; Gladys Thompson, Niagara Falls trustee; Willard Ireland, CLA President; Eileen Weber, Chief Librarian Niagara Falls; George King, Chair, Stamford Public Library



29. H.C. Campbell, chief librarian,
Toronto Public Library, c.1957



30. Minister of Education, William G. Davis, at the opening of Meadowvale
combined school public library in Toronto Township, 13 May 1965



31. Patricia Fleming (left), Head of TPL's Metropolitan Bibliographic Centre, describes new computer system at City Hall Library to Toronto area librarians, 15 April 1968



32. Larry Moore, OLA executive director, at Niagara Falls conference, 1992



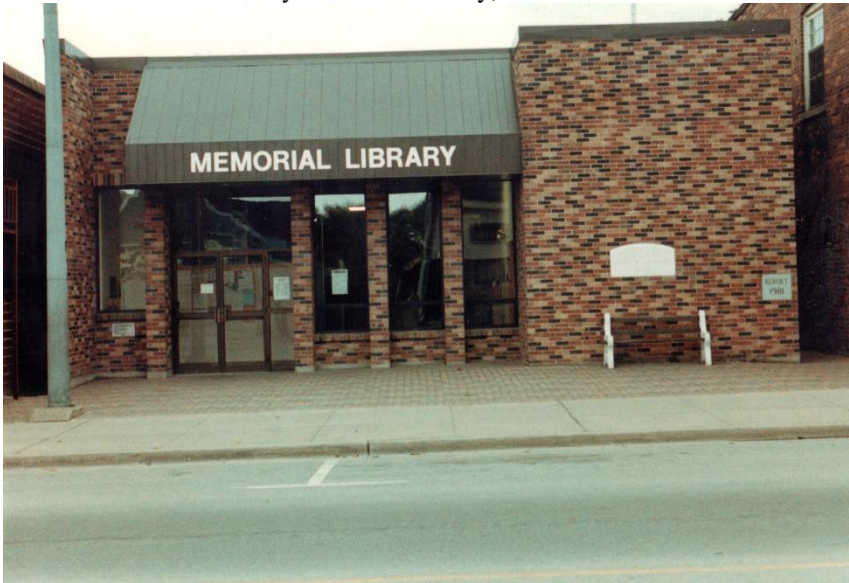
33. Sutton [Centennial] Public Library, June 1978



34. Glen Morris Public Library, July 1979



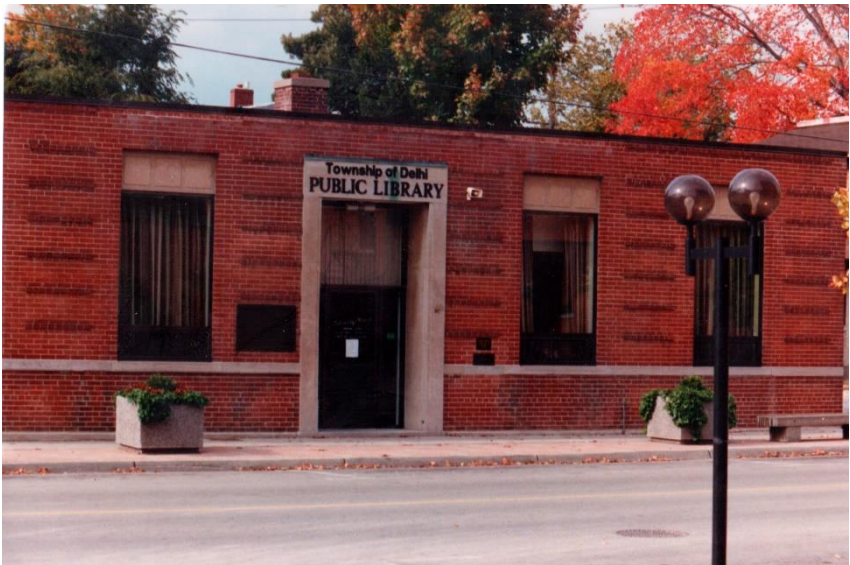
35. Stayner Public Library, October 1985



36. New Alliston Memorial Public Library (opened 1982), September 1985



37. Port Dover Centennial Library, October 1990



38. Delhi Public Library, October 1990



39. Niagara-on-the-Lake Public Library, summer 2010



40. L.E. Shore Memorial Library, Town of The Blue Mountains, Thornbury, c. 2009

FIGURES and TABLES

FIG. 1 - ONTARIO LIBRARIES LEGISLATIVE GRANTS, 1920-1940

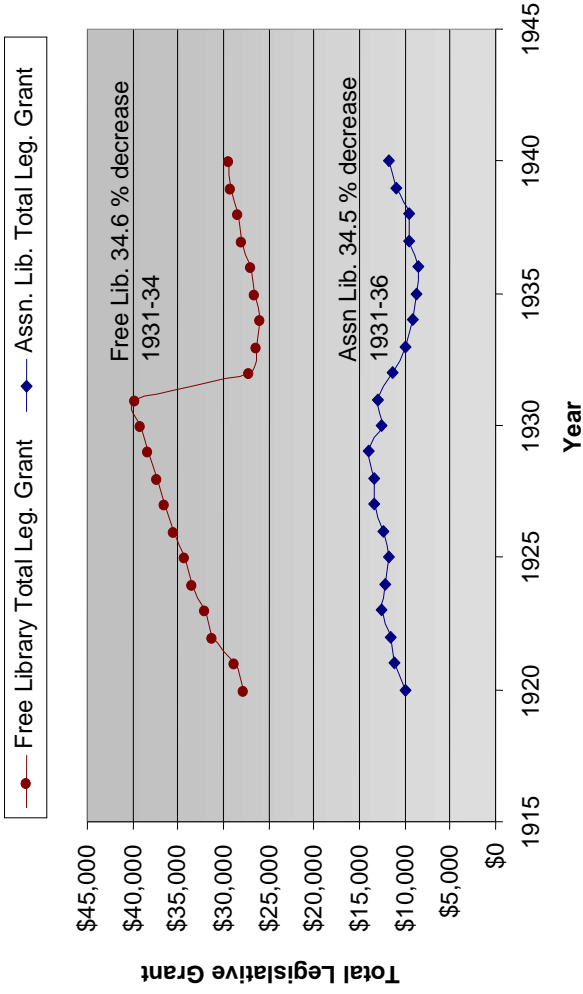


FIG. 2 - LIBRARY EXPENDITURE PER CAPITA SERVED IN ONTARIO, 1920-40

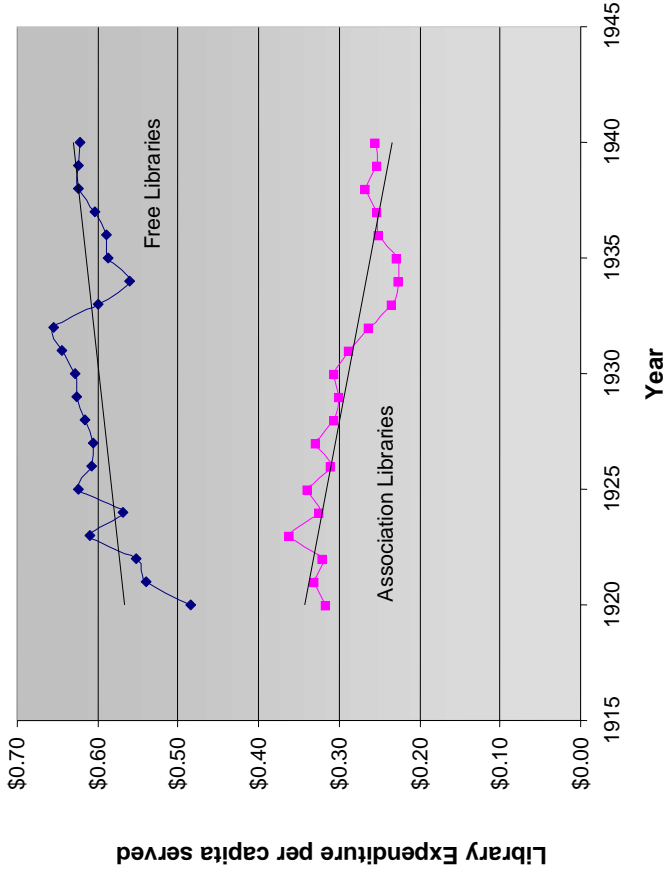


Table 1
Half-Century of Public Library Growth in Ontario to 1931

<i>Year</i>	<i>Ontario Pop. 000's</i>	<i>Libraries and branches</i>	<i>Volumes Held</i>	<i>Per Capita Vols.</i>	<i>Circulation</i>	<i>Per Capita Circulation</i>	<i>Total Expenditure \$\$\$</i>	<i>Per Capita Expenditure \$\$\$</i>
1886-87	2,020.0	145	289,682	0.1	707,662	0.4	109,329	0.05
1890-91	2,114.3	215	477,964	0.2	917,046	0.4	173,066	0.08
1895-96	2,137.0	319	658,696	0.3	1,917,365	0.9	183,689	0.09
1901	2,182.9	415	1,066,117	0.5	2,668,361	1.2	212,080	0.10
1906	2,299.0	366	1,209,392	0.5	2,536,099	1.1	213,340	0.09
1911	2,527.3	364	1,402,283	0.6	3,787,100	1.5	320,455	0.13
1916	2,713.0	388	1,709,846	0.6	5,131,930	1.9	659,119	0.24
1921	2,933.7	423	2,129,716	0.7	8,239,891	2.8	890,781	0.30
1926	3,164.0	466	2,523,603	0.8	10,299,451	3.3	1,090,469	0.34
1931	3,431.7	490	2,882,977	0.8	13,993,287	4.1	1,344,858	0.39

Note: Libraries and branches reporting prior to 1901 include Mechanics' Institutes
Source: DBS *Survey of Libraries in Canada 1933*

Table 2
 Librarians in Canada and Ontario, 1931

<i>Age</i>	<i>Male*</i>	<i>Female*</i>	<i>Total*</i>	<i>Ontario Percent of Total</i>
20-24	1 (0)	113 (82)	114 (82)	71.9 %
25-34	36 (16)	265 (184)	301 (200)	66.4
35-44	44 (20)	179 (106)	223 (126)	56.5
45-54	38 (18)	130 (75)	168 (93)	55.3
55-64	48 (17)	88 (64)	136 (81)	59.6
64-69	14 (5)	17 (15)	31 (20)	64.5
70+	22 (9)	14 (11)	36 (20)	55.5
All ages	203 (85)	806 (537)	1009 (622)	61.6

* Ontario numbers are reported in brackets

Source: *Census of Canada, 1931* [vol. 7, table 40]

Table 3

Library Cooperation with Adult Study Groups, 1935

<i>Place</i>	<i>Group Activity with Library</i>
Almonte, Aurora, Ayr	Travel clubs use resources for papers on different countries
Belleville	Staff compile book lists for groups on request and publish these in newspaper
Brampton	Staff suggest books for reading and review for local travel and book clubs
Campbellford	Reading club started
Chatham	Staff prepare reading lists and purchase titles studied by groups
Dundas & Dunnville	Each library helps one group
Gore's Landing	Sponsors a monthly literary meeting
Hamilton	Prepares programs and collects special information for its study clubs
Ingersoll	Provides books on art appreciation and psychology for university extension lectures
Kingston	Book loans to Girl Guides summer camps
Kirkland Lake	Loans books to Young Women's Christian Association
Kitchener	Maintains a club room, mostly for university extension groups that meet, sometimes on a weekly basis; and offers reading lists
London	Co-operates with parent education classes, Workers' Educational Assn., university extension, and art classes by providing space to meet and book lists
Niagara Falls	Provides club room in library and sponsors an Art Club which meets weekly for practical work and instruction; also involved in university extension lectures
North Gower	Co-operates with Boy Scout troop with reduced 25¢ membership fee
Ottawa	Provides lecture room used by Arts and Letters Club and other groups
Peterborough	Assists clubs with selection of books and provides relaxed loan periods
St. Catharines	Assists clubs with their respective requests
St. Thomas	Arranges special book displays at request of clubs
Sault Ste. Marie	Sponsors a girls' reading club

Table 3 continued

<i>Place</i>	<i>Group Activity with Library</i>
Simcoe	Assists English and Travel clubs
Weston	Assists Literary Club, Home and School Association, and a mental health study group
Whitby	Club presidents get books and become provide them to clubs
Windsor	Provides bibliographies to all study groups

Note: in 1935 DBS reported that eighty-five branches of the Women's Institutes provided financial assistance to Ontario's public libraries, several donated books, and twenty-seven maintained their own libraries. The Institutes and its membership and public libraries often worked together to promote rural living and to inform citizens through the study of national and international issues. The WI activities are not listed above.

Source: DBS, *Survey of Libraries 1935*

Table 4

Public Libraries Summary by Status, 1931

<i>Place</i>	<i>DBS 1931 Population Served</i>	<i>Reported Expenses in \$</i>	<i>Reported Volumes</i>	<i>Reported Circulation</i>	<i>Legislative Grant earned for 1932 in \$</i>
Toronto (% of Ontario total)	631,207 (29.2%)	\$533,024 (39.6%)	399,610 (13.9%)	3,810,765 (27.2%)	\$2,646 (6.9%)
Hamilton	155,547	91,544	126,571	1,064,996	804
Ottawa	126,872	80,088	115,324	401,093	767
London	71,148	46,083	94,943	615,523	550
Windsor	63,108	39,948	52,862	514,281	361
<i>Cities total (% of Ontario total)</i>	416,675 (19.3%)	\$257,663 (19.2%)	389,700 (13.5%)	2,595,893 (18.6%)	\$2,482 (6.5%)
Kitchener	30,793	16,417	32,078	213,428	160
Brantford	30,107	14,437	38,493	250,441	160
Fort William	26,277	20,097	41,844	184,173	320
<i>22 small cities total (% of Ontario total)</i>	426,874 (19.7%)	\$243,341 (18.1%)	496,705 (17.2%)	3,347,343 (23.9%)	\$3,951 (10.3%)
Timmins	14,200	4,981	9,677	73,106	160
Cornwall	11,126	3,557	10,384	38,745	160
Sandwich	10,715	2,309	5,841	43,647	141
Walkerville	10,105	15,660	20,628	150,985	315
<i>111 towns total (% of Ontario total)</i>	404,567 (18.7%)	\$218,557 (16.3%)	800,762 (27.8%)	2,894,322 (20.7%)	\$14,002 (36.4%)
Swansea	5,031	1,192	3,970	21,865	86
Fergus	2,594	2,067	6,040	18,932	155
Fort Erie	2,383	2,430	9,106	38,361	224
<i>114 villages total (% of Ontario total)</i>	102,000 (4.7%)	\$56,674 (4.2%)	397,674 (13.8%)	796,411 (5.7%)	\$8,171 (21.3%)
<i>223 unincorp. places, school sections, etc. (% of Ontario total)</i>	182,302 (8.4%)	\$35,606 (2.6%)	400,521 (13.9%)	548,555 (3.9%)	\$7,186 (18.7%)
<i>Ontario totals</i>	2,163,625	\$1,344,865	2,884,972	13,993,289	\$38,438

Source: Dept. of Education, *Report of Minister*

Table 5

Cooperation between Public Libraries and Schools, 1935

<i>Place</i>	<i>School Activity with Local Library</i>
Belleville	Books talks to various classes either at library or in schools
Brampton	Schools allow bonus marks for library books read aside from prescribed supplementary reading
Grimsby	Organizes special shelves of books for assignments developed by teachers
Hagersville	Each fall school principals and teachers meet to choose 75-100 books for classes and distribute these to appropriate classes; English high school teachers also take same number of books, mostly non-fiction
Hamilton, Ottawa	Place packages of books in schools (Ottawa reports 47,344 circulations)
Honeywood	High school students receive assistance with appropriate library books for debates, essays, or oratorical contests
Huntsville	Opens library to students on Wednesday afternoons for 2 hours; students supervised by teachers who record books charged out
Kingston	Places books in 2 outlying schools, usually 35 volumes per classroom
Kitchener	Books sent to schools at request of teacher and used by "brighter students" when their work completed; some teachers bring classes to library during school hours
Lambton County	Rural schools included as members in co-operative book purchases, book exchange and distribution to their own small school libraries; township schools pay \$5-\$10 each to participate in this scheme
London	Loans of 40-60 books for one year to about 40 classrooms for which teachers have made requests
Marmora	Free membership to all rural school children
Milbank	Provides books to 2 schools on basis of 25¢ per pupil per year
Morrisburg & Wardsville	School board pays annual sum to library for teachers to make special arrangements for students

Table 5 continued

<i>Place</i>	<i>School Activity with Local Library</i>
Mount Forest	Librarian marks school cards to indicate books received
Niagara Falls	4,000 circulations through schools
North Bay	Auxiliary or opportunity classes spend regular periods in library under supervision of teachers and the librarian
Orillia	Opened new Boys' and Girls' section and deliver books talks in schools; promote story hours at library for interested students
Oshawa	Loans to schools "at a distance;" and staff visit to explain use of library
Pickering	Teachers and library prepare lists of supplementary reading for assignments
St. Catharines	Placed 3,000 books in public and separate schools; teachers request books and exchange them when desired; and loans to schools outside city
St. Thomas	Loans collections to public school classes one a month; students and teachers from public and separate schools visit library each year for books talks by library staff
Toronto	Established 11 school branches in addition to its Boys' and Girls' House and children's sections in 15 branch libraries: 1 million total circulation in 1935
Walkerville	Loans to classrooms, usually 40 books at a time and lessons in schools on use of library
Weston	Sponsors children's book week when library produces posters and conducts essay contests

Source: DBS, *Survey of Libraries 1935*

Table 6

Public Libraries in Northern Ontario Districts, 1931

<i>Place</i>	<i>Library Status</i>	<i>1931 Pop. Served</i>	<i>Expenses \$ 1931</i>	<i>Volumes 1931</i>	<i>Circulation 1931</i>
Fort William	free	26,277	\$ 20,097	41,844	184,173
Sault Ste. Marie	free	23,083	12,034	20,687	159,196
Port Arthur	free	19,818	15,317	22,270	150,952
Sudbury	free	18,518	6,979	6,144	50,886
North Bay	free	15,528	7,434	13,166	74,493
Timmins	free	14,200	4,981	9,677	73,106
Kirkland Lake	assn.	10,000	1,083	1,917	14,313
Kenora	free	6,766	4,077	7,866	54,366
Fort Francis	free	5,470	2,549	7,942	57,307
Cochrane	assn.	3,963	336	6,979	9,057
Cobalt	assn.	3,885	16	1,461	173
Parry Sound	free	3,512	1,668	6,910	27,279
Copper Cliff	assn.	3,173	1,312	6,329	13,754
New Liskeard	free	880	2,577	9,465	19,177
Haileybury	assn.	813	597	2,762	11,748
Blind River	assn.	2,805	310	1,208	5,257
Espanola	assn.	2,500	439	5,678	3,250
Porcupine Dome	free	2,488	755	2,490	9,791
Chapleau	assn.	2,200	299	2,455	7,345
Thessalon	assn.	1,632	120	2,121	1,238
Iroquois Falls	assn.	1,476	1,318	4,155	12,694
Victoria Mines	assn.	1,350	49	1,752	1,167
Dryden	free	1,326	642	2,302	12,283
Englehart	assn.	1,210	41	960	2,948
Emo	assn.	1,152	86	1,308	1,893
Schreiber	free	1,142	510	2,117	14,909
Callander	assn.	900	61	419	1,200

Table 6 continued

<i>Place</i>	<i>Library Status</i>	<i>1931 Pop. Served</i>	<i>Expenses \$ 1931</i>	<i>Volumes 1931</i>	<i>Circulation 1931</i>
Burk's Falls	free	855	503	2,409	6,236
Gore Bay	assn.	672	286	1,332	1,842
South River	free	672	101	1,482	1,870
Powassan	assn.	650	191	2,055	3,364
Sundridge	free	524	146	1,536	2,975
Bruce Mines	assn.	473	320	624	1,407
Depot Harbour	assn.	450	145	2,727	3,394
Kearney	assn.	327	83	798	2,516
Ignace	free	275	51	994	1,372
Hiltonbeach	assn.	214	220	1,812	1,428
Emsdale	assn.	200	69	na	na
<i>Totals</i>		185,379	\$87,878	209,657	1,002,600

Source: Dept. of Education, *Report of the Minister*

Table 7
Public Library Book Expenditures and Circulation, 1930-1939

<i>Year</i>	<i>Free Library Book Expenditure</i>	<i>DBS Cost of Living Index 1935-39=100</i>	<i>Book Exp. In 1939 dollars</i>	<i>Free Library Circulation</i>	<i>Assn. Library Circulation</i>	<i>Total Public Library Circulation</i>	<i>Increase or Decrease</i>
1930	\$ 243,145	120.8	\$ 204,298	11,433,208	892,700	12,325,908	~
1931	246,484	109.0	229,524	13,058,007	935,280	13,993,287	13.5%
1932	227,209	98.9	233,182	14,627,537	1,022,403	15,649,940	11.8%
1933	197,096	94.3	212,145	14,467,908	988,099	15,456,007	- 1.2%
1934	206,086	95.6	218,805	13,604,102	956,987	14,561,089	-5.8%
1935	203,351	96.2	214,554	13,144,307	892,282	14,036,589	-3.6%
1936	215,891	98.1	223,373	12,520,676	866,387	13,387,063	-4.6%
1937	239,256	101.2	239,965	12,336,077	857,565	13,193,642	-1.4%
1938	244,389	102.2	242,715	13,456,531	898,184	14,354,715	8.8%
1939	247,402	101.5	247,402	13,034,104	939,163	13,973,267	-2.7%
<i>1930-39 Increase</i>	\$ 4,257			1,600,896	46,463	1,647,359	13.4%

Source: Ontario Dept. of Education, *Report of the Minister*, and Statistics Canada, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, Table K1-7 (1983)

Table 8

Juvenile Use of Public Libraries, 1940-42

<i>Place</i>	<i>Juvenile Books in Library</i>		<i>Registered Juvenile Borrowers</i>	<i>Schools Receiving Book Loans</i>	
	<i>Volumes</i>	<i>Circulation</i>		<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Barrie	2,784	39,885	*	6	-
Brantford	10,967	66,346	4,842	-	10
Campbellford	2,437	7,172	*	-	3
Chatham	6,064	46,231	*	12	3
Collingwood	2,578	5,550	340	-	1
Galt	3,140	26,680	2,429	-	5
Guelph	7,548	72,141	4,230	2	14
Kingston	9,005	56,768	*	-	5
Kitchener	11,579	91,627	4,204	4	11
Leamington	2,526	7,813	*	10	-
London	17,167	125,999	5,218	150	47
Midland	2,144	20,034	1,000	8	5
Niagara Falls	7,952	41,509	2,911	1	3
North Bay	6,650	46,480	3,456	1	15
Orillia	2,744	22,261	1,137	14	-
Ottawa	32,815	181,675	8,687	-	137^
Owen Sound	8,304	53,490	1,110	12	7
Penetanguishene	2,523	7,490	302	-	3
Peterborough	5,434	62,974	892	-	1
Port Arthur	5,050	61,492	4,938	8	1
Preston	2,520	25,462	439	6	3
Renfrew	3,786	9,954	*	-	3
St. Thomas	6,278	39,944	1,745	15	5
Sault Ste. Marie	5,159	40,782	*	7	8
Simcoe	3,134	9,406	*	10	3
Smiths Falls	4,365	5,481	*	-	6
Toronto	132,056	1,350,010	71,015	-	17
Walkerton	2,199	5,732	220	5	3
Wallaceburg	2,169	12,669	*	10	4
Waterloo	3,523	15,744	1,380	3	-
Windsor	25,807	194,132	10,368	-	6
Woodstock	4,488	21,498	989	3	7

Notes: Selected threshold is 2,000 volumes with 5,000 loans

Not all libraries reporting to DBS

*Not stated

^Classrooms

Source: DBS, *Survey of Libraries 1940-42*, Table 6, p. 8-10

Table 9
Growth of Free Libraries, 1945-1953

Year	DBS Ont. Population 000s	Population Served 000s	Legislative Grant \$	Total Expenses \$	Salary Expenses \$	Book Expenses \$	Registered Borrowers	Volumes Held	Book Circulation
1945	4,000	2,346.0	31,936	1,750,130	799,311	322,547	729,532	3,165,617	12,116,128
1946	4,093	2,377.9	76,675	1,954,675	855,556	361,506	744,192	3,245,836	12,136,846
1947	4,176	2,439.4	200,238	2,196,887	1,023,485	422,174	741,748	3,162,957	12,079,805
1948	4,275	2,466.4	287,988	2,489,845	1,183,910	435,032	753,759	3,446,460	12,456,598
1949	4,378	2,484.7	322,352	2,754,553	1,392,312	467,658	769,480	3,583,041	13,070,091
1950	4,471	2,665.8	338,790	2,948,689	1,475,229	503,545	807,024	3,686,418	13,894,110
1951	4,597	2,720.3	407,158	3,378,604	1,706,015	561,370	813,406	3,821,767	14,558,581
1952	4,788	2,779.2	471,805	3,822,596	1,943,071	619,648	839,565	3,992,535	15,439,476
1953	4,941	2,917.2	620,791	4,022,148	2,092,869	685,593	942,445	4,236,250	16,025,539
<i>Percent</i>									
<i>Increase</i>	23.5%	24.3%	1,843.9%	129.8%	161.8%	112.6%	29.2%	33.8%	32.3%

Source: DBS, *Survey of Libraries*
Ontario Department of Education, *Report of the Minister of Education*

Table 10
Canadian Public Libraries Comparison by Province, 1952-54

<i>Province</i>	<i>Volumes per capita</i>	<i>Circulation per capita</i>	<i>Per borrower circulation</i>	<i>Per volume circulation</i>	<i>Per capita expenses \$</i>	<i>Local revenue %</i>	<i>Provincial revenue %</i>
Ontario	1.2	5.6	16.9	4.8	\$ 1.50	80.4 %	12.2 %
Nova Scotia	0.6	3.1	16.5	5.0	.96	96.6	~
New Brunswick	1.2	2.4	12.4	2.0	.70	93.7	~
Quebec	0.7	1.3	20.0	1.9	.54	71.8	11.8 *
Manitoba	0.6	3.4	22.7	5.4	.93	96.1	0.5
Saskatchewan	1.3	5.4	21.1	4.3	1.64	94.7	0.4
Alberta	0.9	5.0	19.4	5.5	1.24	93.7	1.2
British Columbia	1.0	6.2	21.7	6.3	1.95	91.9	4.3
Canada	1.0	4.3	18.1	4.4	\$ 1.23	83.6 %	9.0 %

*Not comparable due to inclusion of one library solely supported by province

Source: DBS, *Survey of Libraries, 1952-54*

Table 11

Provincial Library Grant, 1930-2000

<i>Year</i>	<i>Legislative Grant for Libraries \$ 000's</i>	<i>Total Dept. or Ministry Expenditures \$ 000's</i>	<i>Grant as % of Expenditures</i>
1930/31	55.6	12,862	0.43
1935/36	41.2	9,901	0.42
1940/41	40.9	12,556	0.33
1945/46	58.6	30,779	0.19
1950/51	425.0	57,713	0.74
1955/56	864.9	100,141	0.86
1960/61	1,749.4	226,511	0.77
1965/66	3,249.8	443,521	0.73
1970/71	7,657.6	1,125,205	0.68
1975/76	19,091.9	111,157	17.2
1980/81	22,944.5	203,882	11.3
1985/86	30,559.4	215,466	14.2
1990/91	39,167.1	324,073	12.1
1995/96	43,136.2	339,692	12.7
2000/01	39,174.9	335,569	11.7

* Dept. of Education 1930-71; Min. of Culture and Recreation 1975-81; Min. of Citizenship and Culture 1985/86; Min. of Culture and Communications 1990/91; Min. of Culture, Tourism and Recreation 1995/96; Min. of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation 2000/01

Source: *Public Accounts of the Province of Ontario*

Table 12
Library Service in Metropolitan Toronto, 1958

<i>Library Board</i>	<i>Pop. In</i>	<i>Borrowers</i>	<i>Vols. Held</i>	<i>CLA vol. per</i>	<i>Circ.</i>	<i>Salaries</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Expend. per</i>		
<i>000s</i>	<i>000s</i>	<i>per capita</i>	<i>per capita</i>	<i>standard</i>	<i>000s</i>	<i>per capita</i>	<i>Expend. 000s \$</i>	<i>capita \$</i>		
East York	68.3	8 ^A	19	0.3	2	127	1.9	23	37	0.79
Etobicoke	120	34.1	76	0.6	1.75	531	4.4	108.3	170	1.42
Forest Hill	20	3.4 ^A	8	0.4	2.5	41	2.1	8.7	14	0.70
Leaside	16.4	8.9	28	1.7	2.5	146	8.9	31.4	52.5	3.20
Long Branch	11	4.8	17	1.5	2.5	95	8.6	12	20	1.81
Mimico	14	5.1	18.5	1.3	2.5	66.6	4.8	10	20	1.46
New Toronto	12	3	29	2.4	2.5	105	9.0	23.6	37.7	3.14
North York	183	42	80	0.4	1.75	767	4.2	152	282	1.54
Scarborough	152	37	59	0.4	1.75	767	5.0	109	156	1.03
Swansea	8.7	1	5	0.6	2.5	12	1.4	1.4	2.1	0.24
Toronto	658	286	942	1.4	1.5	4,200	6.4	1,093	1,700	2.60
Weston	9.5	6.6	18	1.7	2.5	96	10.1	10.6	20.1	2.12
York Twp.	118	27.5	88	0.7	1.75	395	3.3	85	128	1.08
<i>Totals</i>	1,389	467.4	1,387.5	1.0	1.5	7,348.6	5.3	1,668.3	2,640.2	1.90

Table 12 continued

NB: Materials expenses include books, periodicals, films, records and bindings

NB: A – Adult only

Toronto had 1 main library and 18 branches

York Township had 1 main library, 2 branches, and 1 bookmobile

Etobicoke Township had 1 main library, 2 branches, and 1 bookmobile

Scarborough Township had 1 main library, 3 branches, and 1 bookmobile

North York Township had 1 main library and 1 bookmobile

Source: R. Shaw, *Libraries of Metropolitan Toronto (1960)*, table IV

Table 13

Regional Schemes by the Province of Ontario

<i>Regional Development Associations</i>	<i>Date Est.</i>	<i>Regional Library Systems</i>	<i>Date Est.</i>	<i>Dept. of Education Regions</i>	<i>Date Est.</i>
Northwestern	1955	Northwestern	1957	Northwestern	1965
Northeastern	1955	Northeastern	1959	Northeastern	1965
		North Central	1960	Midnorthern	1965
		Algonquin	1962		
Niagara	1957	Niagara	1963	Niagara	1966
Lake St. Clair	1963	Southwestern	1963	Western Ont.	1965
Lake Ont.	1955	Lake Ontario	1964	Eastern Ont.	1966
Mid-Western	1956	Midwestern Ont.	1964	Midwestern Ont.	1965
Lake Erie	1963	Lake Erie	1964		
Eastern Ont.	1954	Eastern Ont.	1965	Ottawa Valley	1966
Central Ont.	1966	Central Ont.	1965	East Central Ont.	1966
		South Central	1965		
Georgian Bay	1955	Georgian Bay	1966		
		Metro Toronto	1967	Metro Toronto	1966

Table 14

Major Public Library Openings, 1960-66

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date, Approximate Cost, Description</i>
Aurora	1963 ~ \$70,000 for new 4,500 sq. ft. building for centennial project
Barrie	1964 ~ \$195,000 for addition to Carnegie library
Bowmanville	1965 ~ \$145,000 for new 10,000 sq. ft. library
Collingwood	1964 ~ \$61,000 for new 5,200 sq. ft. library
Cooksville	1963 ~ \$380,000 for Toronto Township central library / "Township of Toronto Public Library, Cooksville, Ontario," <i>Canadian Architect</i> 9 (July 1964): 53-56
East York	1960 ~ \$300,000 for S. Walter Stewart Library / "East York Public Library, Ontario," <i>Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada</i> 38 (May 1961): 59-61
Etobicoke	1964 ~ \$174,000 for Eatonville Branch / "Eatonville Branch Library, Etobicoke," <i>Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada</i> 41 (Dec. 1964): 55; and "Eatonville Branch Etobicoke Public Library," <i>OLR</i> 48 (May 1964): 71-72
Etobicoke	1966 ~ Richview administrative central library opened
Forest Hill	1962 ~ \$260,000 for new library
Guelph	1965 ~ \$442,000 for central library (Carnegie demolished)
Hamilton	1963 ~ \$150,000 for Barton Street branch
Kingston	1966 ~ \$200,000 for two-storey Calvin Park branch
Kitchener	1962 ~ main library / D. Shoemaker, "Kitchener's New Main Public Library," <i>Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada</i> 36 (April 1959): 115.
Long Branch	1964 ~ \$110,000 for addition
North Bay	1966 ~ \$300,000 for new central library
North York	1960 ~ \$615,00 for 41,000 sq. ft. Gladys Allison central library
North York	1961 ~ \$307,000 for Don Mills branch
North York	1962 ~ \$150,000 for Bathurst Heights branch
North York	1962 ~ \$310,000 for Downsview branch
Oakville	1962 ~ \$120,000 for Woodside branch
Parry Sound	1964 ~ \$111,000 including regional headquarters for Algonquin / R.A. Smith, "Parry Sound Builds a Library," <i>OLR</i> 49 (Feb. 1965): 14-15

Table 14 continued

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date, Approximate Cost, Description</i>
Peterborough	1965 ~ \$150,000 for Delafosse branch / Robert Porter, "Peterborough Opens Delafosse Branch," <i>OLR</i> 50 (Feb. 1966): 10-11.
Port Credit	1962 ~ \$118,000 for 7,600 sq. ft. library / "Port Credit Public Library, Ontario," <i>Canadian Architect</i> 7 (Feb. 1962): 46
Sarnia	1961 ~ \$500,000 for library and art gallery / R.T. Bradley, "The New Sarnia Public Library and Art Gallery," <i>OLR</i> 45 (Aug. 1961): 171-74
Scarborough	1961 ~ \$115,000 for Bendale branch
Scarborough	1966 ~ \$719,000 for Cedarbrae district library
Simcoe	1964 ~ \$89,000 for new library to replace Carnegie building
Strathroy	1965 ~ \$82,000 for a new library
Sudbury	1963 ~ \$149,000 for addition / Isabel McLean, "Sudbury Public Library Keeps Pace with City Growth," <i>OLR</i> 48 (May 1964): 53-56
Timmins	1960 ~ \$175,000 for remodeling of a post office as library
Toronto	1960 ~ \$350,000 for addition to central library on College St.
Toronto	1962 ~ \$125,000 for Jones branch
Toronto	1964 ~ \$440,000 for Parkdale branch
Toronto	1964 ~ \$275,000 for Boys and Girls House addition
Toronto	1965 ~ City Hall branch / Joyce N. Watson, "A New Municipal Reference Library for Metropolitan Toronto," <i>OLR</i> 49 (Aug. 1965): 123-24; and "A Dream Come True," <i>OLR</i> 50 (Feb. 1966): 5-7
Waterloo	1966 ~ \$515,00 for new library to replace Carnegie building
York Twp.	1964 ~ \$260,000 for addition to central library on Eglinton Ave.

General Sources: "New Libraries in Ontario," *OLR* 46 (Aug. 1962): 152-55
 "New Buildings in Ontario," *OLR* 48 (Feb. 1964): 26
 "Architects of Ontario Libraries," *OLR* 50 (Feb. 1966): 32-36

Table 15

Planning for Centennial Libraries, 1967

<i>Place</i>	<i>Eligible Net Cost</i>	<i>Municipal cost</i>	<i>Shared ON/Canada cost</i>	<i>Project Notes</i>
Atikokan Twp.	\$26,760	\$12,574	\$14,186	Museum and library opened June 1966
Acton	\$45,760	\$37,472	\$8,288	
Almonte & Ramsay Twp.	\$26,250	\$16,372	\$9,878	Convert fire hall for public library
Ancaster Twp.	\$200,000	\$173,416	\$26,584	Municipal offices & library
Arnprior	\$19,000	\$8,052	\$10,948	Convert post office to library
Barry's Bay	\$7,000	\$4,122	\$2,878	Convert building to library
Bertie Twp.	\$20,200	\$10,270	\$9,930	located in Stevensville
Blenheim	\$10,500	\$4,200	\$6,300	Convert municipal bldg. to library
Bolton & Albion Twp.	\$16,150	\$5,846	\$10,304	Joint project, library in Bolton
Bracebridge	\$10,251	\$4,443	\$5,808	Children's section
Bruce County	\$20,000	\$11,638	\$8,362	Addition to county library
Caledonia	\$23,000	\$18,604	\$4,396	Library to open August 1967
Cardinal	\$20,879	\$16,991	\$3,888	Library opened 3 March 1967
Chatham	\$515,000	\$455,474	\$59,526	Library to open May 1967
Chesley	\$13,000	\$9,706	\$3,294	Remodeling of library
Copper Cliff	\$71,400	\$64,220	\$7,180	Library to open May 1967
Cornwall	\$132,253	\$45,863	\$86,390	Addition to library
Creemore	\$2,550	\$860	\$1,700	
Crystal Beach	\$6,000	\$2,228	\$3,772	Convert town hall to library
Dryden	\$50,952	\$38,546	\$12,406	Library to open May 1967
Dysart et al Twp.	\$10,800	\$5,196	\$5,604	
Emo Twp.	\$7,000	\$2,888	\$4,112	Library opened July 1967
Essa Twp.	\$10,000	\$3,334	\$6,666	Library located in Angus
Fenelon Twp.	\$5,000	\$1,668	\$3,332	
Fort Erie	\$75,000	\$56,970	\$18,030	
Fort Frances	\$93,415	\$74,687	\$18,728	Addition to library and museum
Gainsborough Twp.	\$3,000	\$1,000	\$2,000	Convert school to public library

Table 15 continued

<i>Place</i>	<i>Eligible Net Cost</i>	<i>Municipal cost</i>	<i>Shared ON/Canada cost</i>	<i>Project Notes</i>
Geraldton	\$27,680	\$20,930	\$6,750	
Grimsby South Twp.	\$3,344	\$1,144	\$2,200	
Hawkesbury	\$26,048	\$8,792	\$17,256	
Hespeler	\$8,000	\$2,668	\$5,332	Children's section
Kent County	\$55,000	\$29,928	\$25,072	Joint project with 4 townships & 2 villages
Lakefield	\$19,700	\$15,390	\$4,310	Memorial hall & upper floor library
Lion's Head	\$2,614	\$1,782	\$832	Convert building to library
Lively	\$10,500	\$4,078	\$6,422	Addition to library
Madoc	\$45,000	\$1,818	\$2,682	Addition to library
Marathon	\$28,960	\$23,844	\$5,116	Library to open June 1967
Markham	\$62,000	\$52,196	\$9,804	Village library
Meaford	\$14,500	\$6,832	\$7,668	Convert post office to library
Michipicoten Twp.	\$24,900	\$16,022	\$8,878	Library in Wawa (joint project)
Middlesex Co.	\$210,000	\$179,568	\$30,432	
Mimico	\$300,000	\$263,720	\$36,280	New library
Nepean Twp. & Richmond				Branch at Bells Corners
Nipigon Twp.	\$17,320	\$8,362	\$8,958	Library opened 16 August 1967
North Norwich Twp.	\$11,975	\$7,315	\$4,660	
North York	nr			Branch on Finch Ave.
Oakville	\$114,000	\$38,000	\$76,000	New library
Orangeville	\$13,700	\$4,584	\$9,116	Children's section and area in basement
Osnabruck Twp.	\$10,400	\$3,592	\$6,808	Library in Ingleside
Oxford County	\$75,000	\$52,726	\$22,274	
Oxford East Twp.	\$10,848	\$6,696	\$4,152	Convert to municipal offices & library

Table 15 continued

<i>Place</i>	<i>Eligible Net Cost</i>	<i>Municipal cost</i>	<i>Shared ON/Canada cost</i>	<i>Project Notes</i>
Paisley	\$15,300	\$11,354	\$3,946	Library to open June 1967
Pembroke (T & Twp.)	\$59,200	\$19,752	\$39,448	Joint project: addition to existing library.
Pickering	\$14,000	\$10,490	\$3,510	Library to open March 1967
Picton	\$20,000	\$10,298	\$9,702	Library addition
Point Edward	\$15,268	\$9,780	\$5,488	Library with fire dept. and offices
Port Dover	\$34,036	\$25,128	\$8,908	Library to open May 1967
Powassan	\$13,500	\$11,424	\$2,076	
Ridgetown	\$39,068	\$28,346	\$10,722	
Sault Ste. Marie	\$776,000	\$644,830	\$131,170	
Sioux Lookout	\$10,710	\$5,456	\$5,254	Convert service station to library
S. Porcupine Twp.	nr			New library
Streetsville	nr			New library
Sutton West	nr			New library
Teck Twp.	\$107,266	\$72,442	\$34,824	Library in Kirkland Lake
Tisdale Twp.	\$40,000	\$22,724	\$17,276	New library
Toronto Twp.	\$70,000	\$28,300	\$41,700	New library for Malton
Toronto Twp.	\$70,000			Lakeview branch
Toronto Twp.	\$70,000			Clarkston branch
Vaughan Twp.				Richvale branch
Vaughan Twp.	\$1,400	\$8,000	\$6,000	Kleinberg branch
Vaughan Twp.	\$40,000	\$18,904	\$21,096	Maple branch
Wallaceburg	\$54,720	\$34,448	\$20,272	Addition to Carnegie library
Waterdown	\$17,000	\$13,312	\$3,688	Conversion to library
Woodstock	\$68,184	\$26,250	\$41,934	Addition to Carnegie library
<i>Totals</i>	\$4,068,261	\$2,837,865	\$1,062,506	

Source: "Commitment Schedules," Municipal Centennial Grants Program Records, box 5, RG 19-125, Department of Municipal Affairs, Archives of Ontario

Table 16

Local Area Governance Studies, 1965-1974

<i>Area-Region</i>	<i>Report-date</i>	<i>Area Governance Recommendation</i>	<i>Effective Date</i>	<i>Recommended Library Service Tier</i>	<i>Library Boards</i>
Ottawa-Carleton	Jones report, 1965	single-tier	1 Jan. 1969	upper	retain
Niagara	Mayo report, 1966	two-tiers	1 Jan. 1970	lower	retain
Peel-Halton	Plunkett report, 1966	single-tiers	1 Jan. 1974		abolish
Lakehead	Hardy report, 1968	join Thunder Bay city & outlying district	1 Jan. 1970	lower	retain
Hamilton-Burlington-Wentworth	Steele report, 1968	two-tiers	1 Jan. 1974	upper	retain
Muskoka	Patterson report, 1969	two-tiers	1 Jan. 1971	upper	abolish
Waterloo	Fyfe report, 1970	two-tier option	1 Jan. 1973	lower	
Sudbury	Kennedy report, 1970	amalgamate city & two-tiers	1 Jan. 1973	lower	
Oshawa-Ontario (Durham)	Oshawa area planning & development study, 1971	two-tiers	1 Jan. 1974	lower	retain
Wellington-Guelph	Turnbull report, 1972	no action		~	~
Haldimand-Norfolk	Richardson report, 1973	two-tiers	1 April 1974	lower	retain
Brantford-Brant	Smith report, 1974	no action		~	~
York	no report	two-tiers	1 Jan. 1971	lower	retain

Table 17

Major Public Library Buildings, 1968-1995

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date, Total Cost, Description</i>
Alliston	June 1982 ~ \$360,000 for new memorial library
Almonte	Oct. 1981 ~ \$270,000 for Elizabeth Kelly library
Aurora	1976-1979 ~ \$500,000 for 13,000 sq. ft. central library phased expansion
Aylmer	June 1982 ~ \$290,000 to relocated library to heritage designated Old Town Hall
Belleville	Sept. 1973 ~ \$240,000 extension to Corby Library, "Olive Delaney wing"
Bracebridge	May 1985 ~ \$610,000 for renovation and addition to Carnegie library
Brampton	Sept. 1985 ~ \$1,750,000 for new 12,000 sq. ft. Cyril Clark branch
Brantford	Jan. 1992 ~ \$4,500,000 for new 60,000 sq. ft. central library on two floors
Burlington	Nov. 1970 ~ \$665,000 library opened by Governor-General Rolland Michener / "Burlington Public Library, Ontario," <i>Canadian Architect</i> 17 (Aug. 1972): 46-51
Cambridge	June 1973 ~ \$260,000 for new Preston branch
Cambridge	Jan. 1993 ~ \$2,500,000 renovation and expansion to Cambridge Library & Gallery for Galt library
Chinguacousy Twp.	Sept. 1972 ~ library and art gallery opened in Chinguacousy Civic Centre complex in Bramalea by Premier William Davis / <i>Report to the Township of Chinguacousy for the Library Cultural Centre in the Bramalea City Centre</i> (Don Mills, Ont.: A.D. Margison and Associates, 1969)
Delhi Twp.	Nov. 1977 ~ \$125,000 for new library addition at Delhi
Dundas	Aug. 1970 ~ \$330,000 for new adult services library
Dunnville	July 1983 ~ \$830,000 for municipal complex including new library
Espanola	Oct. 1978 ~ \$225,000 for new library in civic complex
Etobicoke	May 1973 ~ \$858,000 Albion area branch
Fort Erie	1981 ~ \$760,000 for renovation for Centennial library
Frontenac Co.	May 1974 ~ \$232,000 for county headquarters in Kingston
Galt	Sept. 1969 ~ \$725,000 new central library and gallery opened by Sheila Egoff
Gananoque	Oct. 1977 ~ \$266,000 for new central library
Halton Hills	Oct. 1981 ~ \$750,000 for new library-cultural centre in Georgetown

Table 17 continued

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date, Total Cost, Description</i>
Hamilton	April 1970 ~ \$423,000 Terryberry branch opened by Lieutenant-Governor Ross Macdonald
Hamilton	May 1980 ~ Prince Philip opens new 145,000 sq. ft. central library
Hawkesbury	July 1972 ~ \$242,000 for a new library
King Twp.	Jan. 1970 ~ \$115,000 for new township library in King City
Kingston	April 1978 ~ \$2,800,000 for new central library
Kitchener	July 1976 ~ \$295,000 for Forest Heights branch combined with swimming pool
Lindsay	Sept. 1977 ~ \$692,000 for addition to Carnegie building
London	April 1968 ~ \$1,000,000 for 45,000+ sq. ft addition to central library for art gallery and children's library opened by Premier John Robarts
London	April 1972 ~ \$305,000 for Byron Memorial branch
London	March 1982 ~ \$730,000 for Northland branch [renamed E.S. Beacock branch in 1985]
March Twp.	Aug. 1972 ~ \$117,000 new township library (later Kanata)
Markham	March 1975 ~ \$597,000 Thornhill Community Centre branch
Markham	Jan. 1984 ~ \$1,500,000 for Unionville branch
Markham	Sept. 1981 ~ \$1,025,000 for Markham Village branch
Metro Toronto	Nov. 1977 ~ \$27,000,000 central library at Yonge and Asquith / "Metropolitan Toronto Central Library," <i>Canadian Architect</i> 23 (Jan. 1978): 20-24; B. Downs. "Critique: A Richness of Form, Space and Books," <i>Canadian Architect</i> 23 (Jan. 1978): 25-29.
Milton	Nov. 1974 ~ \$390,000 new main library / "Milton Central Library, Milton, Ont.," <i>Canadian Architect</i> 21 (May 1976): 41-44
Mississauga	Oct. 1976 ~ \$2,500,000 for Burnhamthorpe district branch / "Burnhamthorpe District Library, Mississauga, Ontario, Canada, 1976," <i>Architecture and Urbanism</i> 138 (March 1982): 103-08.
Mississauga	Feb. 1977 ~ \$1,100,000 for Malton branch and community centre
Mississauga	Sept. 1991 ~ \$43,000,000 new central branch in civic centre
Nepean Twp.	April 1972 ~ Merivale branch opened in converted A & P grocery store
Nepean Twp.	April 1988 ~ new central library located in municipal civic square complex
Newmarket	Jan. 1979 ~ \$568,000 for central library on Park St.
Niagara Falls	Nov. 1974 ~ \$2,000,000 central library replaces 1910 Carnegie library
North York	March 1970 ~ \$938,000 York Woods area branch
North York	May 1974 ~ \$416,000 Humber Summit branch shared with parks and recreation as a community centre

Table 17 continued

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date, Total Cost, Description</i>
North York	June 1987 ~ \$20,000,000 for new central library in civic centre
North York	Sept. 1992 ~ \$6,000,000 for Barbara Frum branch
Oshawa	April 1978 ~ \$1,600,000 addition to McLaughlin Library opened by Premier William Davis
Ottawa	May 1974 ~ \$4,700,000 central library to replace Carnegie building / "Ottawa Public Library," <i>Canadian Architect</i> 19 (June 1974): 41-47
Ottawa	July 1976 ~ \$840,000 Alta Vista branch
Owen Sound	Oct. 1973 ~ \$550,000 addition to Carnegie library
Pembroke	Oct. 1974 ~ \$120,000 addition to Carnegie library
Perth	Dec. 1981 ~ \$730,000 for new library to replace burned Carnegie
Peterborough	Sept. 1980 ~ \$2,300,000 for new central library
Pickering	May 1990 ~ a 34,000 sq. ft. central library adjoining the new Pickering civic complex
Richmond Hill	Aug. 1983 ~ \$760,000 for new Richvale branch
Richmond Hill	Aug 1993 ~ \$12,500,000 for new central library
St. Catharines	June 1977 ~ \$3,600,000 for new city centennial main library
St. Thomas-Elgin	Oct. 1974 ~ \$903,000 for combined city-county facility
Scarborough	Aug. 1972 ~ \$820,000 for Albert Campbell branch / "Albert Campbell District Library," <i>Progressive Architecture</i> 53 (April 1972): 102-7; and "Albert Campbell Library, Scarborough, Ontario," <i>Canadian Architect</i> 17 (Jan. 1972): 38-47
Scugog	May 1982 ~ \$380,00 for addition to memorial library at Port Perry
Simcoe	Nov. 1985 ~ \$1,410,000 to renovate Norfolk Co. jail as a library
Thorold	June 1983 ~ \$505,000 for a main library renovation beside Chestnut Hall
Tillsonburg	June 1975 ~ \$330,000 to replace Carnegie library
Toronto	Sept. 1968 ~ \$380,000 Charles R. Sanderson branch
Toronto	April 1971 ~ \$425,000 for new Palmerston branch
Toronto	Dec. 1975 ~ \$5,600,000 Northern District branch
Toronto	Oct. 1995 ~ \$9,200,000 for new Lillian H. Smith branch
Uxbridge	Sept. 1987 ~ \$1,200,000 addition to main library
Vaughan Twp.	June 1994 ~ \$4,700,000 for new branch in Thornhill
Wentworth Co.	Sept. 1969 ~ \$85,000 new Saltfleet branch
Whitby	May 1979 ~ \$403,000 for new main library on Dundas St.
Whitchurch-Stouffville	July 1977 ~ \$360,000 for new main library
Windsor	Nov. 1973 ~ \$3,600,000 new central library to replace Carnegie
Windsor	Oct. 1995 ~ \$2,300,000 for new Riverside branch
York	Jan. 1975 ~ \$520,000 Jane-Dundas branch opens

Table 18

Provincial Expenditures on Regional Libraries, 1966-1981

<i>Regional System</i>	<i>Grants for Regional Libraries in 000's Dollars</i>			
	<i>1966</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1976</i>	<i>1981</i>
Algonquin	\$ 99	\$ 142	\$ 203	\$ 313
Central Ontario	39	221	529	750
Eastern Ontario	70	323	600	780
Georgian Bay	32	117	286	369
Lake Erie	42	167	259	371
Lake Ontario	59	200	454	513
Metropolitan Toronto	~	738	1,376	1,685
Midwestern	50	166	458	502
Niagara	42	151	398	402
North Central	108	139	442	604
Northeastern	75	137	408	444
Northwestern	121	216	474	655
South Central	171	246	572	586
Southwestern	49	179	380	412
<i>Totals</i>	\$ 957	\$ 3,142	\$ 6,839	\$ 8,386

Sources: *Ontario Library Review*
Ontario Public Library Statistics

Table 19

Ontario Public Library Finance and Performance, 1985-1995

Year	Statistics Canada Ont. Pop.	Municipal Revenue \$000's	Provincial Grants \$000's	Per Capita Revenue	Total Circulation	Reference Transactions	Program Attendance	Interlibrary Loans Lent
1985	9,297,550	\$178,172.3	\$32,849.1	\$ 22.70	66,436,025	9,449,796	2,278,304	324,454
1986	9,438,132	189,207.7	35,454.4	\$ 23.80	67,975,118	10,115,015	2,337,951	329,902
1987	9,644,258	206,307.0	37,214.1	\$ 25.25	69,586,332	11,121,737	2,359,451	334,246
1988	9,842,215	224,999.4	<u>38,553.4</u>	\$ 26.78	71,220,372	10,390,216	2,324,440	333,240
1989	10,107,519	257,592.9	33,180.0	\$ 28.77	74,948,714	10,972,216	<u>2,467,086</u>	322,544
1990	10,297,875	275,456.6	33,213.3	\$ 29.97	77,261,742	11,334,454	2,417,850	278,272
1991	10,428,132	299,145.8	34,447.3	\$ 31.99	82,534,304	12,718,488	2,233,427	293,168
1992	10,569,806	<u>311,402.5</u>	34,282.7	<u>\$ 32.70</u>	88,567,007	13,355,911	2,212,592	251,831
1993	10,688,391	308,415.5	35,768.1	\$ 32.20	88,567,007	13,651,817	2,185,994	230,587
1994	10,818,251	305,309.9	36,811.0	\$ 31.62	95,544,839	<u>14,096,787</u>	2,089,161	220,487
1995	10,949,976	306,212.7	35,909.5	\$ 31.24	<u>98,417,271</u>	13,966,918	2,023,036	220,788
<i>Increase</i>	17.7%	71.9%	9.3%	37.6%	48.1%	47.8%	-11.2%	-31.9%

Source: Ontario Public Library Statistics

Table 20

Public Library Positions in Ontario 1955, 1984, and 1995

<i>Libraries</i>	<i>Librarians*</i>			<i>Library Technicians</i>		<i>Population Served in 000's</i>	
	<i>1955</i>	<i>1984</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1984</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1955</i>	<i>1995</i>
Free	478	~	~	~	~	3,374	~
Association	48	~	~	~	~	223	~
under 5,000 pop.	~	5	10	7	20	~	384
5,001 to 15,000	~	34	33	40	47	~	1,321
15,001 to 30,000		48	49	33	47		
30,001 to 50,000	~	51	60	56	38	~	1,949
50,001 to 100,000		139	151	79	75		
100,001 to 250,000	~	147	197	104	149	~	5,111
above 250,000		497	545	154	148		
Counties	~	37	47	16	33	~	1,034
Regional Systems**		123	115	19			
<i>Totals</i>	526	1,081	1,207	508	557	3,597	9,799

* 1955 totals are for Certificates of Librarianship issued by the Province; 1984 and 1995 totals for librarians holding professional library degrees

**1984 includes new OLS areas with Metro Toronto; 1995 Regional Systems are Toronto Metro Library Special Service Board (SOLS and OLS-North excluded)

Sources: *Ontario Library Review*
Public Library Statistics

Table 21

Major Municipal Restructuring and Amalgamations after 1995

<i>Area or Region</i>	<i>New Government Jurisdiction</i>	<i>Effective Date</i>
Ottawa-Carleton region*	Ottawa and all municipalities in former region are amalgamated as one city	1 Jan. 2001
Toronto region*	Metro Toronto, Toronto, and six local governments form one single-tier city	1 Jan. 1998
Hamilton-Wentworth region*	City of Hamilton amalgamated with all municipalities in former region	1 Jan. 2001
Kingston and Frontenac County	Kingston amalgamates two rural townships and its library serves entire reorganized county	1 Jan. 1998
Haldimand-Norfolk region*	New Haldimand County reformed New Norfolk County reformed	1 Jan. 2001
Simcoe County	32 municipalities reduced to 16 served by Simcoe County Library Co-operative	1 Jan. 2001
Brant County	6 municipalities form one single-tier County of Brant	1 Jan. 1999
Kent County and Chatham	All county municipalities and city merged into single-tier Municipality of Kent-Chatham	1 Jan. 1998
Sudbury area	7 lower-tier municipalities and region merged as single-tier City of Greater Sudbury	1 Jan. 2001
Wellington County	21 municipalities reduced to 7 served by county library	1 Jan. 1999
Victoria County	19 municipalities restructured as single-tier City of Kawartha Lakes	1 Jan. 2001
Essex County	21 municipalities merged into 9 served by county library	1 Jan. 1999
Prince Edward County	10 municipalities merged as single-tier City of Prince Edward	1 Jan. 1998
District of Timiskaming	3 municipalities merged into City of Timiskaming	1 Jan. 2004
District of Thunder Bay	4 municipalities merged into Town of Greenstone	1 Jan. 2001

* Four upper-tier Regional Municipalities disestablished, 1998-2001

Number of public library boards in 1995 — 406

Number of public library boards in 2005 — 264

INDEX

- Aboriginal library services, 284-85, 351, 397
- Accessibility services, 283-84, 301, 351, 422
- Administrators of Medium-Size Public Libraries, 303, 345
- Adult Education, 4, 12, 25-27, 29-31, 35-36, 100, 104-05, 107, 124, 127-28, 145, 156, 223-24, 246, 288-90
- Agincourt, 28, 265
- Ajax, 75, 170
- Algonquin region, 221, 304
- Allison, Gladys, 214, 223
- Althouse, John G., 99-100, 115, 151, 159, 186, 194-95
- American Library Assn., 1, 13, 19, 74, 82-83, 108, 147-48, 150, 173, 411, 436
- Architecture, 73, 91, 142-44, 169-71, 210, 260-61, 299-300, 325, 336, 340, 360-62, 398-99, 421-23
- Association of Canadian Bookmen, 5, 61-62
- Association of Municipalities of Ontario, 310-11, 338, 359-60
- Association of Small Public Libraries of Ontario, 350, 368
- Atkinson Charitable Foundation, 211, 231, 365
- Aubry, Claude B., 190-91, 200, 232, 310
- Audio-visual services, 127, 163, 171, 189, 191, 262, 298-300, 354-55, 391, 420
- Aurora, 338, 390
- Automation, 235ff, 350-52, 365, 386, 389-92, 394-97
- Aylmer, 338-39, 360
- Baetz, Reuben C., 343, 349-50
- Baker, Ronald, 308, 357, 391
- Barnstead, Winifred G., 16, 57, 108, 189
- Barrie, 78, 155, 390, 422
- Barteaux, Eleanor, 58, 92, 102
- Barton branch (Hamilton), 56, 232
- Bassam, Bertha, 100, 239
- Bassett, Isabel, 431-32
- Bassnett, Peter J., 338, 346-59, 370, 397
- Bateson, Nora, 82, 85, 115, 124
- Beacock, E. Stanley, 352, 437
- Belleville, 35, 39, 47, 55, 243, 277
- Berton, Pierre, 201
- Bibliographic Centre (Toronto), 214, 339
- Bibliographical Society of Canada, 160
- Bishop, Olga, 233
- Black, Mary J.L., 4, 14, 17, 21, 35, 40, 44, 55, 72, 407, 437
- Blind and visually impaired services, 298, 327, 365, 418
- Book and Periodical Development Council, 342, 362
- Bookmobiles, 136-37, 166, 168, 171, 232, 243, 258, 285, 287, 298
- Books by mail, 203, 233, 305
- Books for Boys and Girls*, 20, 200
- Bowron, Albert W., 236, 282, 301-12, 325-32, 344, 359

- Boys and Girls House (Toronto),
20, 34, 51-52, 137, 164, 169,
190, 226
- Bracebridge, 261-62
- Brampton, 35, 46, 296, 329
- Brantford, 31, 34, 39, 94, 146, 152,
154, 232, 422, 435-36
- Brief on Libraries in Ontario*
(OLA, 1945), 109-10
- Broadcasting, 7, 17, 43, 57-59, 73,
125-127, 147, 163-166, 294,
337
- Brockville, 31, 35, 47, 167
- Brook, Philip R., 210, 261, 299
- Brown, Jack E., 233
- Bruce County, 102, 208, 304, 390
- Buller, Grace, 339, 340, 346, 350,
367
- Burlington, 170, 299, 402, 419
- Butterill, Betty, 223, 366
- Cambridge, 402, 422
- Cameron, Florence L., 47, 102,
107
- Campbell, Albert, 220, 300, 437
- Campbell, Henry C., 192, 229,
235, 265, 327, 359
- Canada Institute for Scientific and
Technical Information, 311
- Canada Needs Libraries* (CLA,
1945), 104-05
- Canadian Association for Adult
Education, 4, 80, 100
- Canadian Association of
Children's Librarians (1939),
63
- Canadian Authors Association, 4,
61, 164
- Canadian Bibliographic Centre,
TPL, 139, 158
- Canadian Book Week, 62, 294
- Canadian Broadcasting
Corporation, 57, 104, 126-27,
141, 164-66, 231
- Canadian Catalogue of Books*
Published in Canada, 27, 105,
139, 294
- Canadian Library Assn., 137-39,
141, 149, 155, 165, 185, 187,
193-96, 216, 233-36, 238, 278,
293-96, 333-34, 389, 401, 412,
417, 436-37
- Canadian Library Council, 61, 81-
83, 104, 108-10, 138, 158-59,
191
- Canadian Periodical Index*, 36, 39,
56, 92, 105, 111, 387
- Canadian Union of Public
Employees, 238, 293, 327, 409
- Canadian War Services Library
Council, 81-83, 97
- Canadian Youth Commission, 124,
160-61
- Carlisle, Dorothy, 41, 44, 47, 62,
102, 189
- Carnegie Corporation, 13, 82-85
- Carson, William O., 16, 24-31, 34,
62, 406, 427, 437
- Carter, Phillip H., 300, 361, 423
- Censorship, 37-39, 80, 125, 147-
50, 199-202, 229-30, 295-96,
362-63, 400-02
- Centennial libraries, 259-62, 281
- Central Ontario region, 262, 265,
356, 368
- Certification of librarians, 99-103,
108-13, 130-35, 189, 197, 236-
37, 276, 292
- Chapman, Alfred, 340, 422
- Chatham, 59, 213, 260, 365, 433

- Chief Executives of Large Public Libraries, 276, 303, 343
- Children's services, 20, 27, 51-54, 92, 94, 164-65, 190-91, 198-200, 205, 219, 234, 296, 341-42, 362, 412-13, 435
- Clubb, Barbara, 294, 408, 427-28
- Coalition for Public Information, 411, 415
- Cobourg, 28, 373
- Collingwood, 3, 4, 426
- Comic books, 146, 198-99
- Commission on Post-Secondary Education, 274, 288ff, 304
- Committee on Government Productivity, 287-89
- Committee on the Aims and Objectives of Education, 271-75
- Community information centres, 279, 2845-86, 328, 344, 359
- Cooperative Book Centre of Canada, 187
- Copyright, 140, 326, 399-401
- Cornwall, 209, 260-61, 277, 422
- County and Regional Municipality Librarians, 277, 303-05, 341, 356, 365, 391-92
- County library associations, 22, 41-49, 92, 96-97, 111, 134
- County library co-operatives (1947-65), 134-35, 166-68, 212, 218
- County libraries (after 1966), 46, 113-14, 172, 212, 221, 240, 242, 304ff, 369, 373, 434
- Cox, Rita, 394-95
- Crombie, David, 302, 429
- Crouch, Richard E., 44, 47, 93, 109, 127-28, 190, 232, 300, 437
- Dafoe, Elizabeth, 127
- Davies, Robertson, 148, 165, 361
- Davis, William G., 222-25, 239ff, 272ff, 288, 302, 310-11, 350
- De la Fosse, Frederick, 62, 89, 437
- Deacon, William A., 80, 190
- Deer Park Branch (Toronto), 143, 169, 266, 296, 340
- Digital libraries, 424-26
- Directors of Ontario Regional Library Systems (1968-84), 276-77, 282, 298, 317, 345
- Drew, George A., 96, 99-103, 106, 130, 133-34, 426
- Drummond branch (Niagara Falls), 28, 144
- Dundas, 270, 283, 433
- Dunham, B. Mabel, 46-47, 103, 191
- Dunlop, William J., 35, 54, 154, 159, 186, 206, 208, 211-12, 215
- Dutton, John, 262, 302
- Eadie, Arthur H., 143-44, 168-69
- East York, 137, 223, 243
- Egoff, Sheila, 51, 126, 300
- Electronic libraries, 385ff, 394, 415-21 424-26
- Elgin County, 44-46, 170, 188, 224, 240, 242, 284, 300, 339, 389
- Elliott, Kathleen (Moyer), 46, 63, 79
- Entering the 80s* (1980), 345-46, 348

- Espanola, 29
- Essex County, 45, 92, 339, 428-29, 433
- Etobicoke, 135, 168, 210, 296, 432
- Evans, Beatrice, 134, 212
- Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, 332-33
- Feminism, 189, 192, 287, 293-94
- Ferguson, George Howard, 11-12, 37-38
- Film services, 26, 109, 112, 129, 162-63, 262, 265, 272, 296, 298-99, 339, 349, 355, 390
- Finch, Mary, 231
- Firth, Edith G., 214
- Fish, Susan A., 364ff, 371
- Fisher, Douglas M., 308
- Flesherton, 199
- Forest Hill, 219
- Fort Erie, 261, 435
- Fort William, 15, 23, 30, 40, 52, 77, 163, 189, 207
- A Foundation for the Future* (1982), 254-60
- Fowle, E. Les, 296, 399
- Francophone library service, 231, 290, 348, 363, 365, 372, 396
- Freedom of information legislation, 387-88, 402-03
- Freedom to Read Statement (ALA, 1953), 150
- Freedom to Read Week, 362, 402
- Freiser, Leonard, 219, 233
- Friends of the Library, 392
- Frontenac County, 277, 433
- Galt, 46, 51, 63, 300
- Gananoque, 47, 53
- Geac Computer Corp., 352, 390
- Gender and librarianship, 25, 293-94, 411
- George H. Locke branch (Toronto), 144
- Geraldton, 170, 427
- Gill, Margaret S., 83, 86, 137, 233
- Goderich, 93, 134, 167
- Government publications, 39, 61, 63, 158, 213, 286, 326, 332
- Graff, William, 194, 214
- Gregory, Evelyn, 137, 437
- Grimsby, 362
- Guelph, 88, 129, 142, 233
- Haliburton County, 240
- Hall-Dennis Report, 271-75
- Halton County, 45, 270, 275, 413
- Halton Hills, 338, 360
- Hamilton, 30, 36, 73, 84, 87, 122, 143-44, 151, 171, 209, 232, 282, 293, 340, 389, 433
- Handicapped library services, 283-84, 298, 327, 351, 394, 422
- Hanover, 32, 350, 419
- Hardie, Betty D., 94, 135-36
- Hepburn, Mitchell, 50, 60, 99
- Herbert, Samuel B., 16, 54, 96-97, 111, 134
- Hespeler, 31, 46, 422
- Hope Commission (1950), 151-55
- Hughes, Margaret, 98, 133-34, 212, 223
- Hume, Anne I., 35, 45, 59, 90-93, 100ff, 127, 143, 190
- Huron County, 46, 93, 95, 136, 166, 389
- Immigrant services (New Canadians), 23, 29, 35, 145, 162ff, 230

- Indian band libraries, 245, 278,
 284-85, 334, 365
 Info Globe, 331, 387
 Information Canada, 285-86
 Information Network for Ontario,
 410, 435
 Institute of Professional Librarians,
 195-98, 237ff, 292-94, 306
 Intellectual freedom statements,
 229-30, 292ff, 342, 401, 419
 Interlibrary loan, 101, 203ff, 209,
 246, 264, 356-57, 368, 401
 Internet, 411-29, 437
 Israel, Fred C., 301
- Jamieson, David Park, 93, 100
 Jarvis, Marjorie, 4, 299
 Jennings, Frederick C., 16-22, 32,
 36, 41-42, 44-45, 48, 50-51,
 54-55, 81, 90, 109, 172, 190
- Kane, Alice, 228, 342
 Kapos report (Toronto), 231
 Kenilworth branch (Hamilton), 40,
 88
 Kennedy, Aimée, 37, 53, 189
 Kenora, 206-07
 Kent County, 92, 94, 264, 365, 433
 Kent, Charles D., 128-29, 224,
 235, 273
 Kerr, Vivien (Mrs. Gordon Kerr),
 151, 155, 157
 King Township, 299, 338
 Kingston, 15, 53, 77, 144, 211,
 361, 428, 433
 Kitchener, 15, 46, 53, 163, 226,
 234, 246, 421
 Kirkland Lake, 146, 211-12, 397
 Kyte, E. Cockburn, 63, 103
- Lake Erie region, 224, 240, 282,
 331-32, 352, 390
 Lamb, W. Kaye, 139, 172, 209
 Lambton County, 18, 21, 41-47,
 52, 190, 224, 264, 285, 309,
 392
 Land, Brian R., 239
 Landon, Fred, 34-35, 170
 Landsberg, Michele, 296-97, 412-
 13
 Large print books, 7, 283-84, 327
 Lawson, Clinton D., 280, 330
 Leaside, 96, 136, 142, 144, 212,
 219
 Lennox & Addington County, 277,
 337
 Letts, Alberta, 93-94, 185-87
 Libraries and Community
 Information Branch (1979-95),
 344, 348ff, 356ff, 364ff, 395-
 96, 405, 408-10, 427
Libraries in Canada (1933), 4, 8,
 13-18
Libraries of Metropolitan Toronto
 (1960), 218-20
Libraries in the Life of the
 Canadian Nation (CLA, 1946),
 137-38
 Library Association of Ottawa, 23,
 62, 79, 83
 Library Bill of Rights (ALA), 147-
 148
 Library extension, 150, 187, 203,
 212, 230, 278
 Library Legislation in Ontario
 1920 Act, 16
 1947 Act, 134-35
 1957 Act, 206
 1959 Act, 213
 1962 Act, 221

- 1963 Act, 223
 1966 Act, 244-46
 1984 Act, 366-73
Library Needs of the Province of Ontario (OLA, 1944), 101-03
 Library outreach services, 232, 266, 283-84
Library Science for Canadians, 33
 Library technicians, 237ff, 292
 Lindbergh, Charles, 85, 88
 Literacy and libraries, 58, 334, 362, 386, 389, 394-95, 418, 420, 435
Little Black Sambo controversy, 199-200
 Local history collections, 34, 161, 214, 421, 423
 Locke, George, 4, 12-13, 21, 26, 37, 44, 55, 62, 407, 437
 Locke Memorial branch (Toronto), 143-44
 Lomer, Gerhardt, 74, 82
 London, 14, 44, 56, 73, 91, 106, 128, 131, 293, 300, 332, 352
 Long Branch, 136, 168, 196
 Loosley, Elizabeth, 98, 136, 219
 Ludlow, Virginia Felicity, 232, 283
 Lyle, Lurene (McDonald), 23, 35

 Macmillan Co. Canada, 30, 62, 343
 MacMillan, Jean Ross, 103, 194
 MacRae, Lachlan, 147, 163
 Marchese, Rosario, 405, 408, 430
 Maritime Library Institute, 63, 81
 Markham, 361, 390
 Massey Commission (Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences), 7, 137-41, 159-60

 McCombs, Charles F., 83-85
 McCaffrey, Bruce R., 350, 354, 359-60, 363, 366
 McDonough, Irma, 243, 259, 340-41, 350
 McLaughlin, Robert S., 171
 McLuhan, Marshall, 226-27, 386, 415
 Meadows, Donald, 357, 392
 Metropolitan Toronto Regional Library (1967-97), 244, 265-67, 302-03, 327, 336-37, 343, 347, 352-53, 357, 367, 392-95, 429, 432-33
 Middlesex County, 21, 44, 48, 92-94, 107, 127, 164, 185, 223-24, 240, 285
 Midland, 294
 Midwestern region, 240, 246, 262, 282, 330-31, 352, 356
 Military camp libraries in WWII, 76-82, 97
 Milton, 360
 Mimico, 261-62
 Mississauga, 296, 340, 399, 409
 Montagu Leeds, Agnes (Lancefield), 39, 55, 155
 Montreal Special Libraries Association, 23, 62-63
 Moore, Larry, 326, 369, 431
 Moose Factory, 210-11, 285
 Moriyama, Raymond, 300, 325, 336, 340, 398
 Morisset, Auguste-Marie, 131
 Morton, Elizabeth H., 138, 165, 195-96
 Mountain Branch Library (Hamilton), 144
 Mowat, Angus, 40, 54-57, 78-80, 92, 96-98, 102-03, 108-15,

- 123-25, 130-42, 150-52, 155,
167-168, 174, 191, 196, 206-
12, 216, 221, 284-85
- Multilingual collections, 231, 266,
311, 393
- Munro, June E., 223, 258
- Munro, Lily Oddie, 372, 385, 394,
396
- Mushinski, Marilyn, 427-29
- Mustard, Mary, 152, 154, 188
- National Film Board, 100, 105,
112, 129, 163
- National Library, 60, 63, 84-85,
105, 138-41, 172, 186, 204,
213, 228, 233, 260, 311, 331,
339, 341, 415
- National Research Council, 76, 84,
86, 233, 311
- National Selective Service in
WWII, 89
- The Need for a Provincial Library*
(1955), 186
- Neill, Samuel D., 211-12, 359
- Nepean Township, 223, 261, 338,
399, 433
- Network 2000, 420-21, 432, 436
- Network Development Office
(1978-84), 343, 345, 352, 355,
365, 370
- Newmarket, 90, 390
- Niagara Falls, 28, 74, 82, 100, 107,
135, 144, 155, 165, 170, 208-
09, 221, 240, 263, 300, 325,
412
- Niagara region, 224, 263-64, 270,
306, 330-31, 343-46
- Niagara-on-the-Lake, 334, 422
- Norfolk County, 46, 170, 225, 360,
434
- North Bay, 142, 196, 206
- North Central region, 217, 298,
309, 351
- North York, 168, 194, 214, 265-67,
283, 286, 296, 302, 363, 398
- Northumberland County, 373, 422
- Northwestern region, 173, 206,
211, 281
- Oakville, 142, 213, 261, 275, 360,
362, 365
- One Place to Look* (1990), 404-08,
413
- Ontario College of Education, 16,
57, 99, 108, 110, 130, 195, 231
- Ontario Committee on Taxation,
267ff, 276, 287
- Ontario Joint Fiction Reserve, 277,
390
- Ontario Legislative Library, 42,
109, 112, 153, 159, 204-05
- Ontario Library Assn., 21-23, 50,
60-63, 81-82, 91-93, 99-103,
109-11, 147, 153-59, 185-89,
192-95, 215-17, 225, 230, 235,
279, 281-82, 308-10, 325, 362,
368-70, 386, 401-07, 428-31
- 1937 meeting Ottawa, 23
- 1939 meeting Montreal, 62-63
- 1955 meeting Orillia, 185
- 1963 meeting Kitchener, 225
- 1968 meeting Hamilton, 282
- 1976 meeting Toronto, 325
- 1983 meeting Toronto, 366
- 1990 meeting Toronto, 406
- 1997 Super Conference, 430
- Ontario Library Consortium, 392,
413

- Ontario Library Review*, 3, 16, 18, 26, 34, 36, 58, 92-93, 111, 128, 134, 148, 174, 194, 212, 233, 339, 341, 350
- Ontario Library School (1911-27), 2, 16, 18, 22, 26-27, 34
- Ontario Library Service areas (1985-89), 367-68, 388-91, 396-97
- Escarpment, 368, 386
- Rideau, 396-97
- Saugeen, 372, 397
- Thames, 390, 397
- Trent, 368, 390-91, 398
- Ontario Library Service North (1989-), 396-98
- Ontario Library Service-South (1989-), 396-98
- Ontario Public Library Week, 373, 385, 410, 427
- Ontario Provincial Library Council (1967-84), 244-46, 276-80, 291-92, 301-03, 309-12, 326, 339, 341, 345-48, 351, 367
- Ontario Public Librarians Advisory Committee, 303, 310, 343, 345, 357
- Ontario Public Libraries
- Programme Review (1980-82), 346-54, 395, 398, 412
- Ontario Public Libraries Strategic Directions Council, 410, 416, 423-26
- Ontario Public Library Information Network, 386, 390ff, 397
- Ontario Public Library Strategic Planning Group, 405ff
- The Ontario Public Library: Review and Reorganization* (1975), 301-12
- Ontario Regional Group of Cataloguers, 23, 91-92, 189, 235
- Ontario Teachers' Federation, 106, 132, 243
- Open shelf service, 42, 203-06, 210, 212-13
- Orillia, 52, 151, 211, 226, 401
- Oshawa, 50, 90, 95, 171, 285
- Ottawa, 14, 54, 62, 77, 85, 88-90, 169, 190-91, 210, 231, 299, 342, 411, 414, 427, 435
- Outreach Ontario, 294, 297, 304, 327, 339, 341
- Owen Sound, 300, 394, 413
- Oxford County, 45, 224, 240, 398, 421
- Parkhill, John, 240, 265, 337, 347
- Parry Sound, 145, 221
- Pay equity and equal pay, 192, 293, 388, 402-03, 409
- Peel County, 35, 46, 103, 270
- Pensions, 91-92, 156, 158, 188, 193
- Peterborough, 210, 361
- Petawawa, 77, 82
- Phelan, Josephine, 194, 231
- Pierce, Lorne, 78, 81, 97, 227
- Port Arthur, 15, 149, 169
- Port Perry, 40-41, 199, 338, 360
- Porter, Robert, 149, 202
- Postal rates (Library Book Rate), 63, 73, 105, 332-33
- Preston, 46, 88, 94
- Project Progress* (CLA, 1981), 333-34
- Provincial Library proposals (prior to 1959), 101-03, 110-11, 153,

- 155-60, 173-74, 185-86, 203-04
- Provincial Library Service (1959-79), 203-205, 217ff, 301ff, 339-44, 367
- Public lending right, 332-33
- Public Libraries Branch (renamed PLS in 1959), 16ff, 26ff, 30ff, 42, 55, 78, 80, 93, 96, 99, 102, 110ff, 123, 133ff, 145, 150, 152ff, 156, 185ff, 196, 198, 203-205, 209-11
- Publishers and publishing, 6, 61, 160, 236, 294, 332, 341-42
- Quebec Library Assn., 23, 62
- Radio and library programs, 57-58, 104-05, 126-27, 164-65
- Radio Reading Service, 364-65
- Rae, Bob, 406
- Rationing in wartime, 75, 96, 107
- Readers' advisory service, 20, 27, 30, 278
- Reading surveys, 94-95, 124-26, 149-50, 161-62, 199, 334, 418
- Reconstruction after WWII, 86-88, 95-100, 106ff, 126, 172, 186
- Reference service, 39, 160, 232-33, 305, 336, 413-14, 418-19
- Regional library co-operatives (1957-66), 212, 217, 224-25
- Regional library systems (1967-84), 245-46, 280, 324, 330-31, 343-44, 355-56, 368, 372
- Regional libraries (pre-1957), 14-15, 29, 111-13, 205
- Renfrew, 43, 207, 402
- Report on Provincial Library Service in Ontario* (Wallace Report, 1957), 203-13
- Richmond Hill, 216, 361, 422
- Rideau branch (Ottawa), 39-40
- Ridington, John, 4, 14, 17, 61, 82, 187
- Robarts, John P., 160, 215-17, 222, 266-68, 302, 336-37
- Rockefeller Foundation, 82-85, 128, 138
- Roedde, William, 211ff, 217, 224, 274, 280, 341, 346, 354
- Royal Commission Inquiry into Civil Rights, 292-93
- Royal Commission on Book Publishing, 272, 281, 294, 333
- Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, 60-61
- Royal Commission on Education (Hope Commission), 106, 151-55
- Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto (1965), 220
- Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto (1974), 302-03
- Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 293-94
- Runnymede branch (Toronto), 28, 39-40
- Sanderson, Charles R., 44, 58, 74, 76, 82-85, 97, 103-04, 127, 135-36, 141, 143, 150, 153, 164, 191, 327, 437
- Sarnia, 15, 44, 102, 163, 392
- Sault Ste. Marie, 56, 163, 207, 260
- Scarborough, 243, 265, 282, 330, 336, 361

- School libraries, 22, 36, 44, 50ff,
102, 110, 117, 137, 152, 156,
188, 201, 219-20, 242, 263,
271ff, 275, 282, 366
- Schryver, Louise, 222
- Schwenger, Frances, 392, 433
- Scott, Marianne, 386, 388, 437
- Scugog Twp., 41, 338, 360
- Select Committee on the
Utilization of Educational
Facilities, 263, 275
- School library service, 22, 50-54,
111, 152-54, 219, 243, 271-76
- Seniors' services, 232, 282, 397-98
- Series books for children, 27, 198,
435-36
- Shaw, Ralph, 214-20, 235, 302
- Shepley, Gladys, 95, 100
- Shore, Leonard E., 399, 422
- Shut-in services, 232, 283-84
- Silverthorn, Mary, 100
- Simcoe County, 45, 92, 108, 185,
218, 272, 369
- Skrzeszewski, Stan, 415
- Slyfield, Arthur, 50
- Smith, Barbara J., 211, 243
- Smith, David, 107, 344
- Smith, Lillian H., 20, 51ff, 63, 143,
165, 190, 415, 422-23
- Snell, John, 135
- South Central region, 273, 297-98,
329, 356
- Southern Ontario Library Service
(1989-), 396, 412-13
- Spereman, Patricia, 93, 111, 134
- St. Catharines, 47, 59, 61, 73, 263,
264, 312, 312, 402, 406, 437
- St. Jacob's, 40
- St. John, Francis R., 239-46, 270ff,
282, 289, 301
- St. John, J. Bascom, 222, 242
- St. Thomas, 44, 52, 79, 102, 265,
293, 300, 339
- Stanbury, Richard, 214, 219-20
- Stormont, Dundas & Glengarry
counties, 277
- Storytelling, 58-59, 126, 143, 228,
342
- Stratford, 39, 102, 394
- Story hours, 20, 27, 58, 126-27,
165, 228, 342
- Sudar, Dan D., 331
- Sudbury, 19, 142, 170, 281, 397,
433
- Sykes, William J., 20, 30, 35, 54
- Talking books, 283, 298, 301, 327,
355
- Television library programming,
126, 165-66, 231, 298
- The Learning Society* (COPSE
Report, 1972), 289-91
- The People's Need for Book
Service* (CLA, 1945), 110
- Thomson, Jean, 165
- Thunder Bay District Co-operative,
167, 206
- Thunder Bay, 279, 293, 394
- Timmins, 125
- Toronto Public Library Board, 43,
76, 214
- Toronto Public Library Staff
Association, 14, 103, 32
- Toronto, 3, 12, 14, 20, 25, 36-37,
43, 51, 61, 76, 84, 125, 137,
153, 169, 191, 208, 214, 231,
265-66, 284, 303, 327, 337,
340, 392, 412-13, 423, 432-33

- Toy libraries, 297
- Travelling libraries service, 15, 18, 33, 42-43, 51, 100, 134, 157-58, 189, 206ff, 223, 242-43
- Tremaine, Marie, 39, 160
- Tri-Regional Catalogue, 281, 354, 390
- Trotter, Frances, 126
- Unionization, 106, 193, 238, 294, 326-27, 412
- University of Ottawa library school, 131
- University of Toronto Library Automated Systems (UTLAS), 306, 330, 340-43, 354, 386, 391
- University of Toronto Library School, 57, 82, 100, 110, 131, 154, 188, 238-39
- University of Toronto, 2, 12, 16, 31, 33, 35, 131, 186, 233, 244, 265, 328
- Vanderelst, Wil, 354, 367, 396
- Vaughan, 390, 422
- Victoria County, 166, 240, 434
- Video in libraries, 296, 299, 304, 355, 363, 371, 390
- Waddell, Evelyn (pseud. Lyn Cook), 89, 194
- Wages and salaries in libraries, 15, 19 36, 56, 89-90, 101-102, 110, 123, 131-32, 192-195, 206, 221, 239, 293, 327, 411
- Waldon, Freda F., 81-84, 87, 109, 132, 137ff, 157, 164, 232
- Wallace, W. Stewart, 56, 60-61, 103, 186-215
- Warren, Jessie, 47-48, 270
- Waterford, 170
- Waterloo County, 46, 270
- Waterloo, 100, 199, 390
- Wawa, 422
- Weiner (Wilson), Roberta, 164, 166, 174, 216
- Welch, Robert S., 303, 310-11, 334-36, 343
- Welland, 161
- Welland County, 135, 263
- Wentworth County, 136, 166, 240, 270, 360, 433
- Wertheimer, Leonard, 266
- Westdale branch (Hamilton), 210
- Williams, Elsie Perrin, 73, 91, 435
- Williams, Lorraine, 359, 366
- Windsor, 38, 45, 52, 59, 77, 92, 127, 141, 151, 162, 169, 194, 210, 228, 300, 429, 437
- Wintario lottery, 304-05, 312, 341, 343, 353, 364, 372
- Woodstock, 45, 47, 224, 265, 297
- Y2K bug, 434-35
- Yaffe, Phyllis, 294, 342
- York, 42, 137, 168, 210, 433
- Young Canada's Book Week, 153, 164, 228, 342
- Youth adult services, 94-95, 124-25, 160-61, 169, 228



ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Lorne Bruce studied history at McMaster University, Hamilton, and library science at the Western University in London. He worked as the chief librarian in two smaller Ontario public libraries at Hanover and King City for several years. After 1982, he has been at the University of Guelph Library in various public service roles, most recently as Head of Archival and Special Collections. In 1993–94, he served as President of the University of Guelph Faculty Association. In 2012–13, he was President of the Ex Libris Association. He is the author of numerous articles and books on library history such as *Free Books for All: The Public Library Movement in Ontario, 1850–1930* (Dundurn, 1994) which complements this revised (2020) *Places to Grow*. He is currently researching and publishing on various aspects of Canadian library history. His current internet site, Library History Today Blog at <https://libraries-today.blogspot.com>, discusses many different topics in library history.

Follow the growth of Ontario's public library system through seven dramatic decades ...

The Great Depression

War and the Home Front

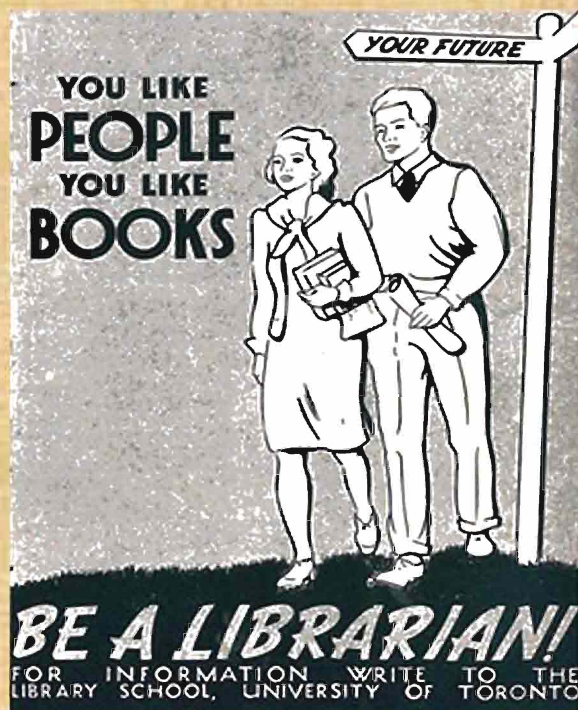
Postwar Renewal

Provincial Library Planning, 1955–66

The Centennial and the Seventies

Regions and Reorganization, 1976–85

The Eighties, the Internet, and Millennium



**Libraries and communities
in transition**

